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A Late-Byzantine Hagiographer:
Philotheos Kokkinos and His *Vitae* of Contemporary Saints

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PhD in Classics

The University of Edinburgh

2017

Declaration of own work

Hereby I confirm –

a) That the thesis has been composed by me, and
b) That the work is my own, and
c) That the work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

Mihail Mitrea

To Elena Cristina

It is so silent all around me that I can hear
the moonbeams when they strike the windows.

Inside me
a stranger's voice has come awake
singing of a longing that is not mine.

They say that those who died before their time long ago
with young blood in their veins,
with strong passion in their blood,
with strong sunlight in their passion,
will come,
come and live on
in us
those unlived lives.

It is so silent all around me that I can hear
the moonbeams when they strike the windows.

Ah, who knows in whose breast – once, in eternity
you, my soul, will play
on the soft strings of silence,
on the harp of darkness –
a choked-off song of longing and desire to live? Who knows, who knows?

Quietude *by Lucian Blaga*

I love and honour him as saint because of his miracles, which he wrought after his departure from here to God, showing his own tomb a spring of miracles.

στέργω καὶ τιμῶ τοῦτον ὡς ἅγιον ἀπὸ τῶν θαυμάτων αὐτοῦ, ἃ μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκδημίαν εἰργάσατο, ἰαμάτων πηγὴν τὸν ἴδιον ἀναδείξας τάφον.

Philotheos Kokkinos, Synodal *tomos* of 1368

[Contemporary icon of St. Philotheos Kokkinos, property of the author]

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Abstract

This dissertation offers the first systematic historical contextualization and literary analysis of the five saints' *lives* composed by Philotheos Kokkinos (*ca*. 1300–1378) for his contemporaries Nikodemos the Younger, Sabas the Younger, Isidore Boucheir, Germanos Maroules, and Gregory Palamas. Notwithstanding Kokkinos' prominent role in the political and ecclesiastical scene of fourteenth-century Byzantium, as well as the size and significance of his hagiographic œuvre, both the hagiographer and his saints' *lives* have received surprisingly little scholarly attention. My dissertation fills this gap and shows Kokkinos as a gifted hagiographer who played a leading role, both through his ecclesiastical authority and hagiographic discourse, in orchestrating the societal breakthrough of hesychast theology that has remained at the core of Christian Orthodoxy up to this day.

The dissertation is structured in three parts. The first, *Philotheos Kokkinos and His Œuvre*, offers an extensive biographical portrait of Kokkinos, introduces his literary œuvre, and discusses its manuscript tradition. A thorough palaeographical investigation of fourteenth-century codices carrying his writings reveals Kokkinos' active involvement in the process of copying, reviewing, and publishing his own works. This section includes an analysis of the "author's edition" manuscript *Marcianus graecus* 582, and presents its unusual fate. Moreover, Part I establishes the chronology of Kokkinos' *vitae* of contemporary saints and offers biographical sketches of his heroes, highlighting their relationship to their hagiographer. The second part, *Narratological Analysis of Kokkinos'* Vitae *of Contemporary Saints*, constitutes the first comprehensive analysis of Kokkinos' narrative technique. It first discusses the types of hagiographic composition ('hagiographic genre') Kokkinos employed for his saints' *lives* (*hypomnema*, *bios kai politeia*, and *logos*), and then it offers a detailed investigation that sheds light on the organization of the narrative in Kokkinos' *vitae* and his use of specific narrative devices. This includes a discussion of hesychastic elements couched in the narrative. Part II concludes with considerations on Kokkinos' style and intended audience. The third part, *Saints and Society*, begins with a detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of the miracle accounts Kokkinos wove in his saints' *lives*. This considers the miracle typology, types of afflictions, methods of healing, and the demographic characteristics of the

beneficiaries (such as age, gender, and social status), revealing that Kokkinos shows a predilection for including miracles for members of the aristocracy. Second, it presents Kokkinos' view on the relationship between the imperial office and ecclesiastical authority by analysing how he portrays the emperor(s) in his *vitae*. Moreover, this part addresses the saints' encounters with the "other" (Muslims and Latins), revealing Kokkinos' nuanced understanding of the threats and opportunities raised by these interactions. Finally, it makes the claim that through his saints' *lives* Kokkinos offers models of identification and refuge in the troubled social and political context of fourteenth-century Byzantium, promoting a spiritual revival of society. As my dissertation shows, Kokkinos' *vitae* of contemporary saints sought to shape and were shaped by the political and theological disputes of fourteenth-century Byzantium, especially those surrounding hesychasm. Their analysis offers insights into the thought-world of their author and sheds more light on the late-Byzantine religious and cultural context of their production.

The dissertation is equipped with six technical appendices presenting the chronology of Kokkinos' life and works, the narrative structure of his *vitae* of contemporary saints, a critical edition of the preface of his hitherto unedited *Logos* on All Saints (*BHG* 1617g), a transcription of two hitherto unedited prayers Kokkinos addressed to the emperors, the content of *Marc. gr.* 582 and Kokkinos' autograph interventions, and manuscript plates.

Lay summary

The Constantinopolitan Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (*ca*. 1300–1378) played a prominent role in the political and ecclesiastical affairs of fourteenth-century Byzantium and produced a significant literary output. This includes five *vitae* dedicated to his contemporaries Nikodemos the Younger, Sabas the Younger, Isidore Boucheir, Germanos Maroules, and Gregory Palamas. This dissertation presents the first systematic attempt to contextualize and analyse these saints' *lives* as literary compositions. Moreover, it sheds light on Kokkinos' activity as a hagiographer and his seminal role in the societal breakthrough of hesychast theology, a doctrine that has remained authoritative in the Orthodox Church to this day. Thus, my dissertation contributes to the study of late-Byzantine literature, hagiography, and church history.

The dissertation is structured in three parts. The first, *Philotheos Kokkinos and His Œuvre*, offers an extensive biographical portrait of Kokkinos, introduces his literary œuvre, establishes the chronology of his *vitae* of contemporary saints, and presents their manuscript tradition. A thorough investigation of the fourteenth-century codices that carry his writings shows that Kokkinos took an active role in the process of copying, reviewing, and transmitting his own works. Moreover, Part I offers short biographical portraits of Kokkinos' heroes highlighting their relationship to their hagiographer. The second part, *Narratological Analysis of Kokkinos'* Vitae *of Contemporary Saints*, discusses the 'hagiographic genres' Kokkinos employed, and then offers the first comprehensive analysis of Kokkinos' narrative technique. This part includes a discussion of the hesychastic elements Kokkinos included in his *vitae*, and offers considerations on his literary style and intended audience. The third part, *Saints and Society*, first analyses the miracle accounts Kokkinos presents in his saints' *lives*, looking at their typology, types of afflictions cured, methods of healing, and the demographic characteristics of the beneficiaries. Second, it analyses how Kokkinos portrays the emperor(s) who are present as characters in his *vitae*. Third, it addresses the instances of the saints' encounters with the "other" (Muslims and Latins), revealing Kokkinos' nuanced understanding of the threats and opportunities raised by these interactions. Finally, it makes the claim that Kokkinos presents his saints as models of identification and refuge in the troubled social and political context of fourteenth-century Byzantium.

List of abbreviations

AASS	*Acta sanctorum* (Paris, 1863–1940)
AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
Ἀρχ.Ποντ.	*Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου*
Beck, *Kirche*	Beck, Hans-Georg. *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1959.
BHG	*Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 3rd edn. Ed. François Halkin. Brussels, 1957; repr. 1969.
BMFD	*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders'* Typika *and Testaments*. Ed. John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000.
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BSl	*Byzantinoslavica*
ByzSt	*Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CFHB	*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae*
CMR 5	*Christian–Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*. Vol. 5: *1350–1500*. Ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
CPG	*Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum*, 2 vols. Ed. Ernst von Leutsch and Friedrich G. Schneidewin. Göttingen, 1851; repr. Hildesheim, 1965.
CSHB	*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*
Darrouzès, *Regestes*	Darrouzès, Jean. *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1: *Les actes des patriarches*, fasc. 5: *Les regestes de 1310 à 1376*; fasc. 6: *Les regestes de 1377 à 1410*. Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1977, 1979.
Notitiae	Darrouzès, Jean. *Notitiae episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*. Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1981.
Decreta	*Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta. Editio critica*, vol. IV.1: *The Great Councils of the Orthodox Churches. Decisions and Synodika. From Constantinople 861 to Constantinople 1872*. Ed. Alberto Melloni. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016.
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DSp	*Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*
DTC	*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*
ΕΕΘΣΠΘ	*Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*
ΕΕΘΣΠΑ	*Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν*
ΕΕΒΣ	*Ἐπετηρὶς ἑταιρείας βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν*

Efthymiadis, *Companion*	Efthymiadis, Stephanos. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. I: *Periods and Places*, vol. II: *Genres and Contexts*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011, 2014.
Failler, *Apologia*	Failler, Albert. "La déposition du patriarche Calliste I^{er} (1353)." *REB* 31 (1973): 5–163.
GOTR	*The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
Gouillard, "Synodikon"	Gouillard, Jean. "Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie: édition et commentaire." *TM* 2 (1967): 1–316.
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
Gregoras, *Romaike Historia*	*Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia: graece et latine*. Ed. Immanuel Bekker, 3 vols. (CSHB 6–8). Bonn: Weber, 1829–1855.
Janin, *Églises CP*	Janin, Raymond. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I: *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriacat œcuménique*, 3: *Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd edn. Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969.
Grands centres	Janin, Raymond. *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins (Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique)*. Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1975.
JEChrS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JÖBG	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*
Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*	*Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri IV*. Ed. Ludovic Schopen, 3 vols. (CSHB 2–4). Bonn: E. Weber, 1828–1832.
Kleinchroniken	Schreiner, Peter. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 3 vols. (CFHB 12) Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975–1979.
Kokkinos, *v.Germ*.	Philotheos Kokkinos. "Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γερμάνου τοῦ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν Ἄθω σεβασμίᾳ καὶ μεγίστῃ Λαύρᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου." In *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα. Α΄. Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἅγιοι*. Ed. Demetrios Tsames. Thessalonike: Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν, 1985, 97–158.
v.G.Pal.	"Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Γρηγόριον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θεσσαλονίκης." In Tsames, 427–591.
v.Isid.	"Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ ἐγκώμιον τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰσιδώρου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως." In Tsames, 329–423.
v.Nik.	"Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ὅσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Νικόδημον τὸν νέον τὸν ἐν τῇ σεβασμίᾳ μονῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ τοῦ Φιλοκάλλους." In Tsames, 83–93.
v.Sab.	"Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα τοῦ νέου τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Ὄρει τῷ Ἄθῳ." In Tsames, 161–325.
LMA	*Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Munich–Zurich, 1977–95)
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 10 vols. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1957–65.

MEG	*Medioevo greco. Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina*
MM	Miklosich, Franz, and Joseph Müller. *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi–sacra et profana*. Vienna, 1860–90.
Mošin-Traljić	Mošin, Vladimir A., and Seid M. Traljić. *Filigranes des XIII^e^ et XIV^e^ siècles*. 2 vols. Zagreb: Académie yougoslave des sciences et des beaux-arts, Institut d'histoire, 1957.
NCE	*New Catholic Encyclopedia*
OCP	*Orientalia christiana periodica*
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan et al. New York–Oxford, 1991.
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus*. Series graeca. Ed. Jean-Paul Migne. Paris, 1857–66.
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completes*. Series latina. Ed. Jean-Paul Migne. Paris, 1844–80.
PLP	*Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*. Ed. Erich Trapp et al. Vienna, 1976–.
PmbZ	*Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*. Ed. Ralph-Johannes Lilie, Claudia Ludwig, Thomas Pratsch, and Beate Zielke. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2013.
Πρακτικά ΓΠ	*Πρακτικά Θεολογικοῦ συνεδρίου εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ Παλαμᾶ*. Thessalonike, 1986.
Πρακτικά ΦΚ	*Πρακτικά Θεολογικοῦ συνεδρίου εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Φιλοθέου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Θεσσαλονικέως (14–16 Νοεμβρίου 1983)*. Thessalonike, 1986.
PS	Gregory Palamas. *Συγγράμματα*. I. *Λόγοι ἀποδεικτικοί, Ἀντεπιγραφαί, Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Βαρλαὰμ καὶ Ἀκίνδυνον, Ὑπὲρ ἡσυχαζόντων*. Ed. Boris Bobrinsky et al. Thessalonike, 1962. II. *Πραγματείαι καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ γραφείσαι κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1340–1346*. Ed. Giorgios Mantzarides, Nikolaos Matsoukas, and Basil Pseutonkas. Thessalonike, 1966. III. *Ἀντιρρητικοὶ πρὸς Ἀκίνδυνον*. Ed. K. Kontogiannes and B. Phanourgakes. Thessalonike, 1970. IV. *Δογματικαὶ πραγματείαι καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ γραφείσαι κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1348–1358*. Ed. Panayiotis Chrestou, B. Phanourgakes, and Basil Pseutonkas. Thessalonike, 1988. V. *Κεφάλαια ἑκατόν πεντήκοντα, Ἀσκητικὰ συγγράμματα, Εὐχαί*. Ed. Panayiotis Chrestou. Thessalonike, 1992. VI. *Ὁμιλίαι*. Ed. Basil Pseutonkas. Thessalonike, 2015.
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
RESEE	*Revue des études sud-est européennes*
RGK	*Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600*. I–III. Ed. Ernst Gamillscheg, Dieter Harlfinger, and Herbert Hunger. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981, 1989, 1997.
RHT	*Revue d'histoire des textes*

RPK	*Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*. Vol. 1: *Edition und Übersetzung aus der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315–1331*. Ed. Herbert Hunger and Otto Kresten; Vol. 2: *Edition und Übersetzung aus der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1337–1350*. Ed. Herbert Hunger, Otto Kresten, Ewald Kislinger, and Carolina Cupane; Vol. 3: *Edition und Übersetzung aus der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1350–1363*. Ed. Johannes Koder, Martin Hinterberger, and Otto Kresten. CFHB 19.1–3. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981, 1995, 2001.
RSBN	*Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SOsl	*Symbolae Osloenses*
ST	Studi e testi
S&T	*Segno & Testo*
StP	*Studia patristica*
SVThQ	*St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*
ΘΗΕ	*Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*
TIB	*Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Ed. Herbert Hunger et al. Vienna, 1976–.
TLG	*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires*
Tusc.	*Tusculum-Lexikon griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters*. Ed. Wolfgang Buchwald, Armin Hohlweg, and Otto Prinz. Munich, Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1982.
ZRVI	*Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*

Prosopographical list

Alexios Apokaukos (d. 1345) – *PLP* 1180
Andrew Palaiologos, leader of the Zealots (1345–1350) – *PLP* 21425
Andronikos Maroules (d. before 1344) – *PLP* 17145
Andronikos III Palaiologos (*r*. 1328–1341) – *PLP* 21437
Andronikos IV Palaiologos (*r*. 1376–1379) – *PLP* 21438
Anna Palaiologina of Savoy (1306–1365/6) – *PLP* 21347
Athanasios the Athonite (*ca*. 925/30–*ca*. 1001) – *PmbZ* 20670
Athanasios Metaxopoulos, spiritual father of Germanos Maroules – *PLP* 17972
Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople (1289–1293, 1303–1309) – *PLP* 415
Barlaam (Bernardo Massari) (of Calabria) (*ca*. 1290–1348) – *PLP* 2284
Constantine Armenopoulos (*fl*. 1345–1360) – *PLP* 1347
Constantine Palamas – *PLP* 21549
Cyprian, metropolitan of Kiev (*ca*. 1330–1406) – *PLP* 13925
David Disypatos – *PLP* 5532
Demetrios Gemistos (d. before 1402) – *PLP* 3631
Demetrios Kydones (*ca*. 1324–*ca*. 1397/8) – *PLP* 13876
Demetrios Maroules – *PLP* 17148
Dionysios, friend and supporter of Palamas – *PLP* 5490
Dorotheos Blates, metropolitan of Thessalonike (after 1371–1379) – *PLP* 2818
Dositheos II Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem (1641–1707)
Eirene Palaiologina (*ca*. 1349–d. after 1362) – *PLP* 21352
Eudokimos, monk at Esphigmenou – *PLP* 6239
George Galesiotes (*ca*. 1278/80–after 1357) – *PLP* 3528
Gerasimos, spiritual father of Isidore Boucheir (d. before 1325) – *PLP* 3756
Germanos Maroules (*ca*. 1252–*ca*. 1336) – *PLP* 17147
Gregory Akindynos (*ca*. 1300–*ca*. 1348) – *PLP* 495
Gregory Drimys – *PLP* 5828
Gregory Palamas (*ca*. 1294/6–*ca*. 1357/9) – *PLP* 21546
Gregory of Sinai (d. after 1337) – *PLP* 4601
Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina (1333–1397) – *PLP* 21365
Hyakinthos Kerameus, *hegoumenos* of Karakallou (1310–1333) – *PLP* 11649, 92365
Hyakinthos of Vicina, metropolitan of Ungrovlachia (1359–1372) – *PLP* 29454
Iakobos Koukounares, metropolitan of Monembasia (1344–1347) – *PLP* 13408
Iakobos Maroules (*fl*. 1320–1341) – *PLP* 17151
Ioannikios, disciple of Germanos Maroules – *PLP* 8848
Ioannikios Gabras – *PLP* 3363
Isaac Argyros – *PLP* 1285
Isidore I Boucheir (*ca*. 1300–1350) – *PLP* 3140
Jeremiah, metropolitan of Thessalonike (1315–1327) – *PLP* 8110
Job, *hegoumenos* of the Great Lavra – *PLP* 8931
John Holobolos (d. 1403) – *PLP* 21044
John XIV Kalekas, Patriarch of Constantinople (1334–1347) – *PLP* 10288
John VI Kantakouzenos (*r*. 1347–1354) – *PLP* 10973
John Mauropous (d. *ca*. 1075–1081) – *ODB* 1319
John V Palaiologos (*r*. 1354–1391) – *PLP* 21485
Joseph Kalothetos (d. *ca*. 135 5/6) – *PLP* 10615
Joseph, the "philosopher" (1280–*ca*. 1330) – *PLP* 9078

Kallistos I, Patriarch of Constantinople (1350–1353, 1355–1363) – *PLP* 10478
Makarios, metropolitan of Thessalonike (1342–1343/4) – *PLP* 92600
Makarios Chrysokephalos (*ca*. 1300–1382) – *PLP* 31138
Malachias (the scribe "anonymus Aristotelicus") – *PLP* 16473
Malachias, spiritual father of Germanos Maroules – *PLP* 16493
Manuel II Palaiologos (1350–1425) – *PLP* 21513
Manuel Tzykandyles – *PLP* 28129
Markos Blates – *PLP* 2819
Matthew of Ephesus (Manuel Gabalas) (*ca*. 1271/2–1355/60) – *PLP* 3309
Matthew Kantakouzenos (*r*. 1353–1357) – *PLP* 10983
Maximos Kausokalybites (the "hutburner") (1272/85–1367/80) – *PLP* 16810
Metrophanes, metropolitan of Melnik (1347–1352) – *PLP* 18061
Neilos (Nicholas) Kabasilas (*ca*. 1285/1300–1363) – *PLP* 10102
Neilos Kerameus, Patriarch of Constantinople (1380–1388) – *PLP* 11648
Nicholas Chamaetos Kabasilas (*ca*. 1319/23–after 1391) – *PLP* 30539
Nikephoros Gregoras (*ca*. 1293/4–*ca*. 1360) – *PLP* 4443
Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (d. *ca*. 1335) – *PLP* 20826
Niketas Myrsiniotes (Neilos, metropolitan of Rhodos) (*ca.* 1382–1402) – *PLP* 19883
Nikodemos, spiritual father of Gregory Palamas – *PLP* 20374
Nikodemos the Younger (*ca*. 1267–*ca*. 1307) – *PLP* 20369
Niphon of Athos (d. 1411) – *PLP* 20687
Petriotes – *PLP* 23042
Pezos, hieromonk of Karakallou (*fl*. before 1336) – *PLP* 22242
Philotheos, metropolitan of Selymbria (*ca*. 1362–1389) – *PLP* 29896
Philotheos Kokkinos (*ca.* 1295/1300–*ca.* 1378) – *PLP* 11917
Prochoros Kydones (*ca*. 1333–1369/70) – *PLP* 13883
Theodore Atuemes – *PLP* 1642
Theodore Dexios (first half of the 14th c.) – *PLP* 5194
Theodore Meliteniotes (d. 1393) – *PLP* 17851
Theodore Metochites (1270–1332) – *PLP* 17982
Theodoretos, spiritual father of Germanos Maroules – *PLP* 7341
Theodosios, Patriarch of Trnovo (1337–1360) – *PLP* 7182
Theoleptos, metropolitan of Philadelphia (*ca*. 1283/4–1322) – *PLP* 7509
Theophanes of Vatopedi – *PLP* 7616
Thomas Magistros (*ca.* 1280–*ca.* 1347/8) – *PLP* 16045
Sabas (Tziskos) the Younger (*ca*. 1283–1348) – *PLP* 27991
Stefan Dušan – *PLP* 21182
Urban V, Pope (1362–1370) – *PLP* 21173

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PROLOGUE

Philotheos Kokkinos' story begins in the present with the story of an old place, hidden in the depths of the Carpathian Mountains in Romania. The story of this unique place was brought to the surface through the personal experience of the Romanian writer Cornel Constantin Ciomâzgă.[1] Somewhere in the Carpathians, in the centre of Romania, there is a large grotto hidden deep in the wilderness, far off the beaten track. Its existence is known only by a few and its location and entrance are concealed in such a way that none of those chancing upon it would be able to recognize it for what it is. However, Ciomâzgă is among the very few people who regularly visit this place. According to him, the entry into the grotto can only be reached by crawling on knees and elbows through a narrow and steep tunnel of about 100 meters. At the end of this tunnel, one finds a meter-high rock covered in vegetation. To all but those who enter habitually this looks like a dead end. It is in fact a secret door that slides onto a system of thick beams, to be only opened by a caretaker from the inside. To open it, one must pull a string a certain way and for a certain number of times in order to activate a bell at its end. If this signal is rightly carried out, the caretaker will open the door. Past it, one continues crawling down the tunnel until reaching a stairway made out of 40 steps in its upper part and 33 in its lower section. At its end, a large and dry grotto opens up, "the holy catacomb," as Ciomâzgă calls it.

This "catacomb" is home to a full-size *skete* dedicated to the Holy Trinity, which hosts three hesychast monks. The interior of the church is adorned with frescoes depicting scenes from the New Testament, while the screen of the sanctuary, made out of wild pear wood, carries oval icons set in Florentine silver lace. There are also two small *parekklesia* carved into the walls of the grotto, dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul, and Andrew respectively. A spring gushes forth streams of crystalline water in the middle of the grotto, which also houses a small cemetery. In it, seven tombs and an ossuary bear the earthly remains of a chain of monks that

[1] Ciomâzgă, *Lucrarea*, 101–130.

spans more than six centuries and a half. On the south-east side, a three-meter long opening in the white rock allows light, fresh air, and birds to enter and fill the space. In the upper part of the grotto, there are three cells carved in stone, one for each of the monks practising *askesis* in that place: *geron* Carp (the spiritual father of Ciomâzgă), Haralambie and Nichita. According to Ciomâzgă, Haralambie is more than 100 years old and has lived for more than four decades in this "catacomb." He is not only the most advanced spiritually, but also the most educated of the three. At the age of 28, while still in the world, he earned his second PhD and mastered fourteen languages. Nichita, a former shepherd with no education, is the caretaker of the grotto, the one who grants access inside. They spend their time in *hesychia*, unceasing prayer and contemplation of God, living a hesychast way of life, frozen in time and insulated from all external interference. Three times a week (on Wednesday, Friday and Sunday) they serve the Divine Liturgy, which is announced by the three bells of the *skete*.

As *geron* Carp revealed to Ciomâzgă, there have always been three monks living and practising *askesis* in this grotto. Each has two disciples living either on Athos, in Jerusalem or somewhere in Romania. At certain times each disciple comes to the grotto, resides there shortly and after receiving spiritual guidance he returns into the world. When any of the monks feels his worldly end drawing near, he chooses one of his disciples to replace him in the grotto. He then passes on his "testament" to the disciple who will, in turn, also choose his own disciples. Thus, as the oral tradition has it, the ascetic practice of this place goes back unbroken to the middle of the fourteenth century when three hesychast monks founded this "holy catacomb." Their names were Pachomios, an elderly monk and former disciple of Gregory of Sinai at Paroria; John, a younger monk who had lived for several years in a monastic centre at Kelifarevo, founded by Theodosios of Trnovo; and Gerbasios, another elderly monk who is said to have lived at the *skete* of St. Sabas on Mount Athos together with Gregory Palamas. As *geron* Carp has learned from his predecessor, the founders of the "holy catacomb" had the blessing of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos. Furthermore, their first *antiminsion*, which survives to the present day, was given to them by Hyakinthos of Vicina, the first metropolitan of Ungrovlachia.

Although I do not count among the very few who have had the chance to visit this grotto and meet these hesychast monks, I am fortunate enough to be acquainted with someone who goes there regularly. During his visits to my parents' house, Ciomâzgă has not only confirmed the veracity of the facts presented in his book, but further described in vivid details the transformative experience of visiting the *skete* and attending the night vigils together with the monks. As he confesses, he entered the grotto in the dead of the night. A single candle was lighting the entire space, its light reflected on the white rocks. Upon entering the *skete*, he first venerated the icons on the screen and then kissed the reliquary silently presented to him by Haralambie, dressed in golden priestly garments. The whole space of the church was filled with fragrance and the dim light of several candles. A wooden *semandron* was filling the grotto with countless sounds and vibrations. When the night vigils began, each monk uttered prayers in a sequence, not by reading them from a prayer book, but by talking directly to God. Their faces were shining as the divine presence was reflected on them, light and time suspended. At some point three bells announced the Divine Liturgy and, like the *semandron*, filled the grotto with countless sounds and vibrations. Unceasing tears soaked the long beards of the monks. As Ciomâzgă confessed, that was "a night of a new life," which he hoped would never end.

Thus, in central Romania, deep in the Carpathians, there is a hidden grotto where three monks live in *hesychia* and continue an ascetic tradition of more than six centuries and a half, which goes back to Kokkinos. It is only recently that a broader Romanian audience has learned about the existence of this "holy catacomb" through Ciomâzgă's book. Although this grotto will remain hidden for most of the people, it is my hope that at some point, God willing, the monks will give Ciomâzgă the blessing to bring along one of his friends.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation presents the first systematic attempt to contextualize and analyse an extensive late-Byzantine hagiographic corpus (of more than 150,000 words) comprising five *vitae*, that was composed by a gifted hagiographer for contemporary figures. This hagiographer was a hieromonk, theologian and prolific man of letters with a distinguished ecclesiastical career, who played a prominent role in the political and ecclesiastical scene of fourteenth-century Byzantium. This dissertation is centred on this figure and explores the ways in which he constructed the five saints' *lives* through which, I argue, he ultimately promoted and vindicated the hesychast theology that has remained at the core of Christian Orthodoxy up to this day. This hagiographer is Philotheos Kokkinos and his saints are Nikodemos the Younger, Sabas (Tziskos) the Younger, Isidore Boucheir, Germanos Maroules, and Gregory Palamas.

1. Previous scholarship

The story presented in the Prologue shows that Kokkinos' spiritual legacy is still alive today. However, the size and significance of his spiritual and literary legacy notwithstanding, Kokkinos and his œuvre have attracted surprisingly little scholarly attention. Moreover, even among scholars of Byzantium, Church history, or Orthodox theology, acquaintance with Kokkinos goes little beyond the mere facts that he was patriarch of Constantinople, a supporter of hesychasm, and the biographer of Gregory Palamas. Furthermore, most of the scholarship on hesychasm focuses primarily on Palamas and his theology, relegating Kokkinos to a secondary position. However, as my dissertation will argue, he was a seminal figure of the hesychast movement and one of the most important actors in orchestrating the societal breakthrough of hesychast theology, and the canonization of Palamas. If the bibliography on the latter is substantial and constantly increasing with numerous publications and symposia that explore his life and theological thought,[2] the same

[2] The bibliography on Palamas is vast. See Sinkewicz, "Gregory Palamas," in *La théologie byzantine*, vol. 2, 131–188. The first monograph on Palamas was authored by Stăniloae, *Viața și învățătura*

cannot be said of his hagiographer. In the shadow of Palamas, Kokkinos has received little scholarly attention, which more often than not treats him only cursorily and occasionally in connection to late-Byzantine politics and theology.[3]

The first to write a short (encomiastic) *life* for Kokkinos, including generic information on his writings, was one of his contemporaries. Shortly after Kokkinos' death, an anonymous author composed an *akolouthia* in his honour which includes some biographical data. This text was discovered and edited by Kotzabassi in 1996.[4] In the early nineteenth century, an anonymous Athonite monk wrote another (encomiastic) *life* and *akolouthia* to celebrate Kokkinos' memory. Similarly to the fourteenth-century *life*, of which the nineteenth-century author was not aware, the later *life* provides few biographical details on Kokkinos. These texts were edited by Dentakes.[5]

One of the first scholarly and systematic entries on Kokkinos features in the appendix to Cave's *Historia literaria* published at the end of the seventeenth century.[6] The entry focuses on Kokkinos' writings and the manuscripts transmitting them, although it erroneously attributes to Kokkinos some works which did not stem from his pen. It lists only three hagiographic compositions, dedicated to All Saints, St. Anysia, and St. Demetrios the Myroblytos, and some of the manuscripts carrying them. The author does not mention any of Kokkinos' *vitae* of contemporary saints, with the exception of the liturgical office (*akolouthia*) for Gregory Palamas.

Starting with the first half of the twentieth century, Kokkinos has received a series of dictionary and encyclopaedia entries. In 1935, Laurent contributed an entry on Kokkinos to the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*. Its structure (life, works, and bibliography) as well as content were replicated, often abridged and, at times,

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sfântului Grigorie Palama, followed by Meyendorff's *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*. See also Papademetriou, *Introduction to St. Gregory Palamas*. Ware, "Ἡ σημασία τοῦ Παλαμᾶ," in *Ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 159–166, pointed out that, although a scion of the Eastern Christianity, Palamas and his theology are of great importance for the Western Christianity today.

[3] For instance, Ioannidis, "Οι φίλοι τοῦ Παλαμᾶ," in *Ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 543–572, includes Kokkinos among Palamas' "friends and collaborators" and offers a short biographical sketch, reproducing uncritically information from previous scholarship (*PLP*, Laurent, and Beck; cf. *infra*).

[4] Kotzabassi, "Eine Akoluthie," *JÖB* 46 (1996): 299–310.

[5] Dentakes, *Βίος καὶ ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλοθέου*. Tsames, "Εἰκονογραφικὲς μαρτυρίες," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 22 (1977): 37–52, found iconographic testimonies to Kokkinos' veneration as a saint as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[6] Cave, "Philotheus, cognomento Coccinus," in *Scriptores ecclesiastici*, 512–513.

extended and emended, in subsequent entries authored by Beck, Janin, Kourouses, Chiovaro, Beyer, Tinnefeld, Solignac, Zeses, Talbot, Todt, and Mitrea.[7]

An important milestone in the scholarship on Kokkinos was Niggl's 1955 unpublished dissertation, *Prolegomena zu den Werken des Patriarchen Philotheos von Konstantinopel (1353–1354 und 1364–1376)*.[8] As he wrote in the preface to his dissertation, this constituted a preliminary work ("eine Vorarbeit") to his two intended projects: an edition of Kokkinos' unedited works, and a monograph on Kokkinos' role in the fourteenth-century hesychast debates. Unfortunately neither project came to fruition. After a short biographical sketch of Kokkinos, Niggl succinctly introduces his œuvre, divided in polemical, hagiographic, homiletic and exegetic, poetical, and occasional works, and, lastly, documents and decrees. He erroneously includes among Kokkinos' writings the *Hagioreitikos tomos* and the synodal *tomos* of 1341. For each work, including the five *vitae* of contemporary saints (together with eight other hagiographic compositions), Niggl provides a comprehensive list of codices transmitting it and, if any, its critical edition(s). For the edited writings, he offers short considerations on their content, and, at times, date of composition.[9] Niggl's dissertation offered an important starting point for a more comprehensive analysis and contextualization of Kokkinos' writings and their manuscript tradition.

A more elaborate study of Kokkinos' life and works has been attempted in another unpublished dissertation, *Φιλόθεος Κόκκινος. Βίος και έργο*, defended by Tsentikopoulos in 2001 at the Department of Theology at the Aristotle University of Thessalonike. As the title suggests, Tsentikopoulos structured his dissertation in two parts. The first part follows Kokkinos' life and ecclesiastical career chronologically, while the second presents his writings, grouped into six thematic categories: dogmatic, hagiographic, homiletic, poetical and liturgical, *diataxeis*, and occasional

[7] Laurent, "Philothée Kokkinos," *DTC* 12.2 (1935): 1498–1509; Beck, *Kirche*, 723–727; Janin, "Philotheos Kokkinos," *LThK* 8 (1963): 478–479; Kourouses, "Φιλόθεος ὁ Κόκκινος," *ΘΗΕ* 11 (1967): 1119–1126; Chiovaro, "Philotheus Coccinus," *NCE* 11 (1967): 324–325; Beyer's entry in *PLP* no. 11917; Tinnefeld, "Philotheos Kokkinos," in *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, I.2, 398–404; Solignac, "Philothée Kokkinos," *DSp* 12.1 (1984): 1389–1392; *Tusc*. 636–637; Zeses, *Θεολόγοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*, 147–158; Talbot, "Philotheos Kokkinos," *ODB* 1662; Todt, "Philotheos. I. Ph. Kokkinos," *LMA* 6 (1993): 2104; "Kokkinos (Philothée)," in *DHGE*, announced in *DHGE* 29 (2007): 479; Mitrea, "Philotheos Kokkinos," in *Lexikon byzantinischer Autoren* (forthcoming).

[8] Georg Niggl (Thomas as Benedictine monk) (1922–2011) defended his dissertation in 1955 at Ludwig-Maximilians University of Munich under the supervision of Prof. Franz Dölger.

[9] Niggl, "Prolegomena," 1–3 (life), 4–118 (works).

works and letters.[10] Similarly to Niggl, he introduces each work as follows: title, printed edition(s) (if any), manuscript(s), place and date of composition, and content (by chapter). Tsentikopoulos' dissertation offers a lengthier and more detailed account of Kokkinos' life, and expands and emends Niggl's work on his writings. The part dedicated to Kokkinos' œuvre lists his works, their critical edition(s), and the manuscripts transmitting them, and it offers short descriptions of their content, without attempting to make a literary analysis. Moreover, information provided by historical sources such as Kantakouzenos' *Historiae* is often used without critical assessment, and the bibliographic material is, at times, dated and consists mainly of scholarship published in Greek.[11]

Several of Kokkinos' writings were edited as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. For instance, his *Logos enkomiastikos* (*BHG* 748) on the Three Hierarchs (Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Nazianzen and John Chrysostom) was printed in *Philippi Solitarii Dioptra* with facing Latin translation prepared by Pontanus.[12] Kokkinos' synodal *tomoi* (1351, 1368) and 15 *antirrhetikoi* against Gregoras were edited at the end of the seventeenth century by the French Dominican friar Combefis[13] and Patriarch Dositheos II Notaras of Jerusalem respectively.[14] His hagiographic works, including the *vitae* of hesychast saints, were published, starting in the second half of the nineteenth century by Kleopas,[15] Triantaphylles–Grappoutos,[16] Papadopoulos-Kerameus,[17] Gedeon,[18] Laourdas,[19] Ioannou,[20] and

[10] Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος Κόκκινος," 19–154 (life), 157–366 (œuvre).
[11] For instance, Tsentikopoulos does not mention relevant studies by Laiou, Macrides, Talbot, Rigo, and Fonkič. Additionally, Kokkinos' *Life* of Febronia (*BHG* 659g), marked as unedited in his dissertation, had been edited in 1987 by Tsames, "Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς Φευρωνίας," *Κληρονομία* 19 (1987): 225–270, edition at 231–270. A monograph published in 2009 in Romanian by Telea, *Patriarhul Filotei Kokkinos*, focuses on Kokkinos' ecclesiastical career and involvement in the hesychast debates. Unfortunately, similar to Niggl and Tsentikopoulos, it has several shortcomings, including inaccurate dates, names, or incorrect attribution of authorship. For example, following Niggl, Telea included the *Hagioreitikos tomos* among Kokkinos' writings. Moreover, the study is rather based on dated scholarship, failing to use, for instance, Tsentikopoulos' dissertation, Conticello's *La théologie byzantine*, vol. 2, or any recent contributions on hesychasm such as Krausmüller, "The rise of hesychasm," 101–126. Finally, Telea's monograph lists Kokkinos' hagiographic works without referring to their manuscript tradition or content; instead, it provides short biographical sketches of the saints eulogized.
[12] Pontanus, *Dioptra*, 359–405. The text was subsequently printed in *PG* 154, 767A–820D.
[13] *Bibliothecae graecorum veterum patrum*, II, 135–172 (*tomos* of 1351). These *tomoi* were reedited by Uspenskij (1892), Karmires (1968[2]), Rigo (2004), and Lauritzen (2016); see *infra* Part I.2.1.
[14] *Τόμος ἀγάπης*, 52[*]–85[*] (*tomos* of 1351), 93[*]–114[*] (*tomos* of 1368), 1–239 (15 *antirrhetikoi*).
[15] Kleopas, *Ὁμιλίαι μα΄*, α΄–πς΄ (on the basis of the sixteenth-century *Hieros. Sanctae Crucis*, ff. 302r–436v). The text was republished in *PG* 151, 551–656. See also Parios, *Βίος ἀξιοθαύμαστος*, 61–215.
[16] *Συλλογή*, vol. 1, 99–114 (*Logos* on St. Anysia of Thessalonike, *BHG* 146).

Oikonomides.[21] In 1978, Boloudakes edited Kokkinos' *akolouthia* for Gregory Palamas,[22] and in the early 1980s most of his homiletic, dogmatic and hagiographic writings were critically reedited by Pseutonkas, Kaïmakes, and Tsames.[23] In her 1992 dissertation, Kourtesidou edited most of Kokkinos' hymnographic works,[24] and Yaneva recently edited his two dogmatic treatises (*logoi dogmatikoi*) against Gregory Akindynos.[25] Kokkinos' writings have not been translated into Western languages,[26] barring a few notable exceptions. The *Life* of Gregory Palamas has been fully translated into Italian by Perrella,[27] and partially (the miracle accounts) into English by Talbot, who also translated into English his *Life* of Nikodemos the Younger.[28]

Kokkinos' activities as patriarch are well documented in the *Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople,* which is being reedited by the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The fourth volume of the edition, covering Kokkinos' second patriarchate, is forthcoming.[29] Based on this *Register*, as well as on other fourteenth-century

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[17] *Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς*, vol. 5, 190–359, 426–429 (the *Life* of Sabas the Younger, *BHG* 1606); "Žitija," 52–149 (the *Life* of Isidore Boucheir, *BHG* 962).

[18] Gedeon, *Ἀρχεῖον*, tome 1, vol. 2, 175–185 (the *hypomnema* to Nikodemos the Younger, *BHG* 2307).

[19] Laourdas, "Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Δημήτριον," *Μακεδονικά* 2 (1951/52): 558–580.

[20] Ioannou, "Vie de s. Germain," *AB* 70 (1952): 35–115, edition at 50–114. For corrections of Ioannou's edition, see Laurent, "Quelques observations," *REB* 10 (1952): 113–123.

[21] Oikonomides, "Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἱερομάρτυρα Φωκᾶν," *Νέον Ἀθήναιον* 4 (1963): 83–101, edition at 86–101. The *enkomion* (*BHG* 1537d) was reedited by Katsanes, "Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Φωκᾶν," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 27 (1982): 377–445, at 423–445.

[22] Boloudakes, *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου*.

[23] Pseutonkas, *Λόγοι καὶ ὁμιλίες*; Kaïmakes, *Δογματικὰ ἔργα*; Tsames, *Ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα*. Most of the writings gathered in these volumes were previously published separately in various issues of the *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ*. Pseutonkas did not include in his volume Kokkinos' lengthy homily on the Dormition of the Theotokos, but edited and published it one year later together with a long introduction, "Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς Θεοτόκου," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 27 (1982): 5–130, edition at 91–120. Unfortunately, neither Kaïmakes nor Tsames published the second volumes of their editorial projects of Kokkinos' works.

[24] Kourtesidou, "Ποιητικὰ ἔργα." Kourtesidou edited Kokkinos' suppliant *kanones* and prayers to Christ and the Theotokos, and *akolouthiai* and *kanones* for several saints: Gregory Palamas, Demetrios of Thessalonike, John Chrysostom, George, Nicholas, and All Saints.

[25] *Philotheos Kokkinos, De Domini luce*, ed. and trans. into Bulgarian by Yaneva, 21–23 (*protheoria*), 26–97 (*logos* 1), 98–142 (*logos* 2).

[26] Kokkinos' *logoi dogmatikoi* against Akindynos were translated into Bulgarian (cf. *supra*). His *Life* of Sabas the Younger was translated into Modern Greek by the monks of Vatopedi Monastery, *Βίος ἁγίου Σάββα τοῦ Βατοπαιδίνου*. The *Life* of Gregory Palamas was also translated into Romanian by Ică jr., "Cuvânt la cel întru sfinți Părintele nostru Grigorie," in *Sfântul Grigorie Palama*, 457–645.

[27] Perrella, "Discorso encomiastico sulla vita del Gregorio Palamas," in *Atto e luce divina*, 1353–1513.

[28] *Miracle Tales*, trans. Talbot and Fitzgerald Johnson, 300–405; Talbot, "Nikodemos, a holy fool," in *Studies in Honour of Jan Olof Rosenqvist*, 223–232.

[29] The Register was transmitted by the fourteenth and fifteenth-century manuscripts, *Vind. hist. gr*. 47 and 48, and documents the period between 1315–1372 and 1379–1402 respectively. Starting with 1981, three volumes of the new edition of *RPK* have been published within the *Corpus Fontium*

sources, scholars have discussed or touched upon Kokkinos' ecclesiastical and political activities during his patriarchate. Among them it suffices to mention Failler, Meyendorff, Chrestou, and more recently Congourdeau and Mureșan.[30] Although he does not exclusively dedicate a study to Kokkinos, in his numerous and thorough contributions on the documents and actors of the fourteenth-century theological disputes surrounding hesychasm, Rigo masterfully underlines Kokkinos' role in the political and religious scene of his time. Rigo also reedited and analysed Kokkinos' synodal *tomos* of 1368, which constitutes the official document of Palamas' canonization.[31] Moreover, aspects of Kokkinos' theology and method of argumentation, especially in his *antirrhetikoi* against Gregoras, were briefly explored by Russell and Lukhovitskij.[32] In 1983, Kokkinos' native city of Thessalonike hosted a theological symposium in his honour. The contributions offered brief inroads into the context of his life and focused mainly on his theology. However, three of them also addressed his hagiographic works. For instance, Tsames offered short introductory remarks on the *lives* of saints from Thessalonike, including the five *vitae* of contemporary saints, while Mantzarides succinctly discussed Kokkinos' *vitae* of "holy fools" (Nikodemos and Sabas the Younger).[33] Furthermore, pioneering palaeographic research by Fonkič, Mondrain, and Bianconi identified Kokkinos' autograph handwriting in a number of manuscripts, reconstructed his "habits" of reading, writing, and reviewing his own writings, and identified several scribes and collaborators from his entourage.[34]

Historiae Byzantinae. On *RPK*, see *The Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople: An Essential Source for the History and Church of Late Byzantium*, and *Historicum* 96 (2008).

[30] Failler, "La déposition," *REB* 31 (1973): 5–163; Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 85–107, 173–199; Chrestou, "Ἡ οἰκουμενικὴ πολιτική," 248–262; Congourdeau, "Deux patriarches," 37–53; Mureșan, "Philothée I[er] Kokkinos," 335–406.

[31] Rigo, "Il Monte Athos e la controversia palamitica," in *Gregorio Palamas e oltre*, 1–177; "La canonizzazione," *RSBN* 30 (1993): 155–202; "Il *Rapporto* dei metropoliti," *Byzantion* 85 (2015): 285–339; "Le Mont Athos entre le Patriarche Jean XIV Calécas et Grégoire Palamas," in *Mélanges offerts à Mirjana Živojinović*, 259–284.

[32] Russell, "Kokkinos and his defence of hesychasm," in *Spirituality in Late Byzantium*, 21–31; Lukhovitskij, "Historical memory of Byzantine Iconoclasm," in *Aesthetics and Theurgy in Byzantium*, 205–233.

[33] See Anastasios, "Κόκκινος ὡς ἁγιολόγος," in *Πρακτικά ΦΚ*, 51–65; Tsames, "Οἱ βιογραφίες τῶν ἁγίων τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης," in *Πρακτικά ΦΚ*, 69–84. See also Tsames' earlier article on Kokkinos' hagiographic works, "Τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 23 (1978): 9–22. Mantzarides, "Οἱ «διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοί»," in *Πρακτικά ΦΚ*, 87–97.

[34] Fonkič, "Les autographes," in *Manuscrits grecs*, 78–92 (in Russian); abridged Italian trans., "Gli autografi," 239–254. Fonkič identified Kokkinos' handwriting on the basis of his signature on a donation document from 1367 preserved on Athos. See Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, no. 83. Mondrain,

As it has become clear from above, Kokkinos' writings have not enjoyed a systematic and comprehensive scholarly investigation. This also holds true for his prolific hagiographic œuvre, which includes *vitae* of older saints (*metaphraseis*), as well as *vitae* for five new saints. In fact, the efflorescent hagiographic output of late Byzantium—including more than 35 *vitae* of contemporary holy men (5 of which were composed by Kokkinos), has only recently attracted more scholarly attention.[35] More than a decade ago, in his re-evaluation of Byzantine hagiography, Efthymiadis deplored the state of the art in Palaiologan hagiography and pointed out that it still awaited closer attention from the part of philologists and historians.[36] Over the past years, however, there have been sporadic contributions of a smaller scale on Palaiologan hagiographers and their writing techniques,[37] as well as English translations of some of these *lives*. Thus, in addition to the already translated *vitae* of late-Byzantine saints (Theodora of Arta, Gregory Palamas (Italian) and Romylos of Vidin),[38] McGrath, Greenfield, and Talbot have recently published English translations of the *lives* of three Palaiologan saints (Maximos Kausokalybites (the "hutburner"), Niphon of Athos, and Philotheos of Athos) within the *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* series.[39] Within the same series Greenfield will soon publish an English translation of Kallistos I's *vita* of Gregory of Sinai.[40]

Although Kokkinos was praised by Tsames as "the most noteworthy writer of saints' lives of the late Byzantine period,"[41] only a few scholars explored and

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"La constitution," 11–33; eadem, "L'ancien empereur," in *Gregorio Palamas e oltre*, 249–299; Bianconi, "Qualche riflessione su cultura profana," *MEG* 5 (2005): 93–119; idem, "La controversia palamitica," *S&T* 6 (2008): 337–376.

[35] For a recent overview of Palaiologan hagiography, see Talbot, "Hagiography in late Byzantium," in Efthymiadis, *Companion* I, 173–195; see also her pioneering article "Old wine in new bottles," 15–26.

[36] Efthymiadis, "New developments in hagiography," 157–171.

[37] See, for instance, Lukhovitskij, "Gregoras' *Vita* of St. Michael the Synkellos," *JÖB* 64 (2014): 177–196; Paraskevopoulou, *Το αγιολογικό και ομιλητικό έργο του Γρηγορά*; eadem, "An unpublished discourse of Gregoras," *Parekbolai* 2 (2012): 49–76; Hinterberger, "Hagiographische Metaphrasen," in *Imitatio, Aemulatio, Variatio*, 137–151; Talbot, "Compositional methods," in *Imitatio, Aemulatio, Variatio*, 253–259; eadem, "A unique saint's life," in *Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, 57–62; Bayrı, "La definition de 'l'autre' dans les récits hagiographiques" (DEA thesis, Paris, 2003).

[38] Talbot, "Life of St. Theodora of Arta," in *Holy Women of Byzantium*, 323–333; Perrella, "Discorso encomiastico sulla vita del Gregorio Palamas;" Bartusis, Ben Nasser and Laiou, "Days and deeds of a hesychast saint," *ByzSt* 9 (1982): 24–47.

[39] *Holy Men of Athos*, ed. and trans. by Greenfield and Talbot. The late-Byzantine collections of miracles attracted more scholarly attention. See, Talbot, *Faith Healing*. Rosenqvist, *The Hagiographic Dossier of St Eugenios of Trebizond*. Efthymiadis, "Collections of miracles (fifth–fifteenth centuries)," in Efthymiadis, *Companion* II, 103–142, esp. 125–142.

[40] The *vita* of Gregory of Sinai (*BHG* 722), ed. Beyer, *Kallist I Patriarch Konstantinopol'ja*.

[41] Tsames, "Οἱ βιογραφίες," 69.

analysed several aspects of these *vitae*: Laiou, Macrides, Talbot, Congourdeau, Ivanov, and Mergiali. In her seminal article on saints of the Palaiologan era, Laiou focused on the historical information provided by nineteen *vitae*, including Kokkinos' *lives* of Sabas, Isidore, Germanos, and Palamas. She considered these *vitae* "useful sources for social history" which "give a precious insight into everyday life and can provide valuable information about social conditions."[42] Similarly, Palmer briefly explored several passages of the *Life* of Sabas for historical evidence on the Catalan Company.[43]

Macrides' pioneering article, published shortly after Laiou's, investigated the beginnings of the Palaiologan revival of hagiography. In the last part of her article, she discussed the more formalized procedures of canonization (an acknowledged novelty of late Byzantium) in the cases of three Palaiologan saints, namely Meletios, Athanasios, and Gregory Palamas, stressing the importance placed on proof of miracles during the canonization process.[44] The significance and implications of miracle collections, either as independent dossiers or appended to a saint's life, have been addressed by Efthymiadis in a series of articles.[45] Kokkinos' accounts of Palamas' miracles were explored by Rigo and Talbot. The latter meticulously investigated Palamas' miracles looking at their structure, the types of afflictions and the methods of healing. She also highlighted Kokkinos' empathy towards the afflicted and briefly commented on the level of style. Finally, she underlined the richness of this miracle collection and called for further study.[46]

In another article dedicated to Kokkinos' *vitae*, Talbot succinctly looked at Kokkinos' depiction of the childhood of his heroes, his accounts of Palamas' healing miracles, as well as his description of holy foolery in the *vitae* of Nikodemos and Sabas.[47] These *vitae* also provided rich material for Ivanov's study on *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*. In his monograph, exploring the cultural phenomenon of holy foolery from its inception in the Egyptian monasteries to its later developments

[42] Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and society," in *Charanis Studies*, 84–114, at 84.
[43] Palmer, "*Life of Sabas* as a source for the history of the Catalan Company," 35–39.
[44] Macrides, "Saints and sainthood," in *The Byzantine Saint*, 67–87.
[45] Efthymiadis, "Greek Byzantine collections of miracles," *SOsl* 74 (1999): 195–211; "Late Byzantine collections of miracles and their implications," in *Οἱ ἥρωες της Ορθοδόξης Εκκλησίας*, 239–250. In these articles, Efthymiadis surprisingly did not include Kokkinos' accounts of Palamas' miracles, which he introduced later in "Collections of miracles," 128–129.
[46] Talbot, "Miracles of Palamas," in *The Byzantine World*, 236–247. Rigo, "La canonizzazione."
[47] Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," *Bysantinska Sällskapet Bulletin* 24 (2005): 48–64.

and variations in the Byzantine cities, Ivanov also considers this phenomenon in late Byzantium. In the chapter entitled "Decline," he notes that holy foolery was linked to some extent to hesychast theology and its mystical character which

> did in all likelihood stimulate some of its adherents to express their disdain for earthly life in ways which on occasion might have provoked shock. But since they regarded this as 'correct' behaviour rooted in ideas, it cannot count as holy foolery in our terms.[48]

He argues that in late Byzantium holy foolery "had become stereotyped and had lost all vestiges of its original meaning," and that the holy fools of this period were "only cases of lifestyles 'typical' of holy foolery." In order to support his argument, Ivanov quotes extensively from Kokkinos' *vitae* of Nikodemos the Younger and Sabas the Younger, two cases in point indicating "the Byzantine fusion of different types of holy foolery: the monastic and the itinerant." Showing that Kokkinos relied on earlier models for depicting his heroes as holy fools, Ivanov highlights the recurrent intervention and need of the hagiographer to explain the acts of his heroes.[49] Prior to Ivanov's study, aspects of Sabas' holy foolery were also explored by other scholars, such as Festugière, Morini, and Congourdeau.[50] The latter has also briefly examined Kokkinos' account of Sabas' travels and sojourn in the Holy Land.[51] Moreover, Congourdeau has translated into French and analysed passages from the *Life* of Sabas where Kokkinos criticizes the Zealot revolt in Thessalonike.[52]

In her recent book, Mergiali explores thirty-five *vitae* of Palaiologan saints (including Kokkinos' *vitae*) as historical sources, looking at how they depict and reflect the socio-political, spiritual and cultural realities of the Palaiologan era. After introducing the saints, whom she divided in eight categories (the ascetic monk, the holy fool, the hierarch, the monastic founder, the new martyr, the confessor, the musician, and the female saint), Mergiali extracted from the *vitae* historical information on their education, travels, miracles, clairvoyance, and canonization

[48] Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 220–243, at 222.
[49] Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 224, 232. Ivanov and Berger have prepared a volume of sources on holy foolery in English translation. Among the sources, they included excerpts from Kokkinos' *vita* of Sabas, namely his sojourn in Cyprus.
[50] Festugière, "Étude sur la *Vie* de S. Sabas le Jeune," in *Léontios de Néapolis*, 223–249. Morini, "Greci e latini nelle fonti agiografiche byzantine," *Rivista di Bizantinistica* 3 (1993): 183–225, at 214–219; Congourdeau, "Saints byzantins," in *La sainteté*, 71–81.
[51] Congourdeau, "La Terre Sainte," in *Pèlerinages et lieux saints*, 121–133.
[52] Congourdeau, *Les zélotes*, 86–91. See also *Thessalonique au temps des Zélotes*, 9–54.

process. She also touches briefly on the profile of the hagiographers. In the second part of her book, she presents several late-Byzantine historical events through the lenses of the saints and of their hagiographers.[53] Finally, her book does not mention recent scholarship on Kokkinos and his *vitae*, such as Talbot's above-mentioned articles and English translation of Palamas' miracles.[54]

The scholarly research presented above has only partially and cursorily investigated Kokkinos' hagiographic compositions dedicated to his contemporary figures. This dissertation attempts to fill this gap through a systematic and comprehensive analysis of these *vitae*.

2. Aims, research questions, methodology and structure

Holy men were an intrinsic part of Byzantine society or, as Galatariotou put it, "a feature of the Byzantine universe as indispensable as its emperors and its patriarchs."[55] The prominent status of the holy man in Byzantium is attested by the large corpus of hagiographic texts that has survived. However, throughout the millennial existence of Byzantium, the attitudes of Byzantine society towards holy men varied. For instance, in the twelfth century, which was characterized by a paucity of hagiographic production, the holy man was below the surface.[56] As Magdalino phrased it, "if we want to meet the Byzantine holy man of the twelfth century, we have to look for him not in hagiography, but in other literature."[57] In contrast to the scarce hagiographic production of the earlier period, the Palaiologan era witnessed a revival in the composition of saints' *lives* and miracle collections. This hagiographic efflorescence must be seen within the significant blossoming of learning that late Byzantium nurtured in spite of, or perhaps as a consequence and in response to, its socio-political and ecclesiastical mayhem.

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[53] Mergiali, *Γράφοντας ιστορία με τους αγίους*.
[54] For instance, in his recent article on the hagiographic dossier and the Constantinopolitan cult of St. Febronia, Kaplan, "Une hôtesse importante," in *Byzantine Religious Culture*, 31–52, does not discuss or even mention Kokkinos' *Life* of Febronia (*BHG* 659g), although Tsames had published its critical edition in 1987.
[55] Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint*, 1.
[56] Paschalidis, "The hagiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries," in Efthymiadis, *Companion* I, 143–172; Beck, *Kirche*, 271 and 638–42, noted that "das Zeitalter der Komnenen hagiographisch eine Enttäuschung."
[57] Magdalino, "The Byzantine holy man in the twelfth century," in *The Byzantine Saint*, 51–66, at 54, and 65–66.

The fourteenth century brought the onset of prolonged civil wars and the high-profile religious and theological controversies surrounding hesychasm.[58] These debates involved prominent men of letters, both statesmen and ecclesiastics, and triggered a considerable corpus of theological and polemical writings. Additionally, hagiographers, mainly of a monastic background, eulogized contemporary holy men, among whom were leading figures of the hesychast movement such as Athanasios I of Constantinople and Gregory Palamas. The *vitae* of new saints make up *ca*. 20 per cent of the surviving hagiographic texts from late Byzantium, while the other 80 per cent comprises compositions about the saints of old (*metaphraseis* or, as Talbot put it, "old wine in new bottles").[59] Among the Byzantine *pepaideumenoi* who wrote saints' *lives* and, at times, employed them for promoting themselves and their competing political and religious standpoints were the hesychast theologians Palamas and Kokkinos, and the anti-hesychast polymath Nikephoros Gregoras. For instance, Palamas wove hesychastic elements into his *Logos* on St. Peter of Athos (*BHG* 1506) and portrayed Peter as a hesychast saint, while Gregoras couched a veiled critique of the hesychast doctrine in his new *vita* of Empress Theophano (*BHG* 1795).[60]

Philotheos Kokkinos was the most prolific late-Byzantine hagiographer. In addition to numerous compositions about saints of the early Christian era, he also wrote about holy men of his own time: Nikodemos (*BHG* 2307), Sabas (*BHG* 1606), Isidore (*BHG* 962), Germanos (*BHG* 2164), and Palamas (*BHG* 718). These prolix saints' *lives*, hereafter abbreviated as *v.Nik*., *v.Sab*., *v.Isid*., *v.Germ*., and *v.G.Pal*., amount to more than 150,000 words in total, with two of them (*v.Sab*. and *v.G.Pal*.) at around 50,000 words each.

These *vitae* composed by Kokkinos are at the centre of this dissertation, which presents the first systematic attempt to contextualize and analyse them as literary compositions. The analysis of the literary aspects of Kokkinos' *vitae* leads to a better understanding of a major figure of fourteenth-century Byzantium. Additionally, without focusing on hesychasm, a well researched subject, this study also investigates the hesychastic elements Kokkinos couched in his *vitae*, and thus

[58] On this period, see Nicol, *Last Centuries*, and Angelov, *Church and Society*.
[59] Talbot, "Old wine in new bottles," 16; eadem, "Hagiography in late Byzantium," 176.
[60] Mitrea, "Palamas' *Logos* on Saint Peter of Athos," *BMGS* 40 (2016): 243–263; Rigo, "La Vita di Pietro l'Athonita," *RSBN* 32 (1995): 177–190.

offers the first inroads into a thorough survey of hesychastic hagiography. The connection between the hagiographic production and the hesychast movement was underlined by Tachiaos, who also touched upon several characteristics of hesychastic hagiography:

> Les textes hagiographiques sont en vogue, et le patriarche Philothée Kokkinos semble encourager une tendance qui se crée à Byzance à cette époque, de rédiger de textes hagiographiques déchargés de tout élément mythique ou légendaire, inaugurant ainsi une sorte de censure. La plupart de textes hagiographiques du XIV^{e} siècle furent rédigés sous l'influence du mouvement hésychaste. Dans ces textes prédominent plutôt les prérogatives d'une vision intrinsèque et mystique, que les éléments d'une activité de la vie pratique.[61]

This dissertation places Kokkinos' literary and hagiographic activity within the larger cultural context of its production, and shows that his *vitae* of contemporary saints sought to shape and were shaped by the political and theological disputes (such as the hesychast debates) of fourteenth-century Byzantium. In fact, hagiography turned into a powerful and versatile tool in Kokkinos' hands and, therefore, its thorough investigation will not only offer insights into the thought-world of its author, but will also contribute to, and advance the study of, late-Byzantine literature, hagiography, and church history.

Before presenting the research questions, methodology and structure of this dissertation, a few remarks are in order about hesychasm. The term 'hesychasm' (*hesychia*, "spiritual quietude") acquired several meanings.[62] In fourth-century monastic and patristic literature, the word *hesychastes* denoted a hermit or anchorite. Equally, it was a conventional term for the method of monastic prayer (*proseuche*) and contemplation designed to achieve communion with God through interior quietude. From there, hesychasm evolved to denote the contemplative practice centred on the repetition of the so-called "prayer of the heart" or "Jesus prayer" ("Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner"). Late-Byzantine writers, especially of the thirteenth century, attached specific psychosomatic techniques to the prayer, designed to achieve concentration (*prosoche*). In the fourteenth century, this patristic tradition was unified in Gregory Palamas'

[61] Tachiaos, "Le movement hésychaste," *Κληρονομία* 6 (1974): 113–132, at 118–119.
[62] Cf. Strezova, *Hesychasm and Art*, 10–13 (with bibliography).

Trinitarian theology and patristic synthesis, often referred to as "Palamism."[63] This championed the distinction between God's inaccessible essence (*ousia*) and His uncreated, eternal, and accessible divine activities or operations (*energeiai*).[64] Through the latter, God reveals Himself and operates in the world. In other words, although God's essence remains totally unknowable and inaccessible, He reveals Himself to humans through His divine operations. Men can know, and participate in, God thorough His *energeiai*. Upon purifying the passions of the soul through ascetic practice and continuous prayer, one can experience the vision of the uncreated light of the Godhead, like the uncreated light of the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor. Thus, hesychasm advocated a spiritual renewal of society, both monks and laymen, through intensive prayer and an ascetic life. Palamas' hesychast theology was promoted especially by Athonite monks and endorsed by the Orthodox Church at several church councils in Constantinople between 1341 and 1368. Finally, the term hesychasm stands for the fourteenth-century socio-political and religious controversies connected to the introduction of Palamas' theology.[65] As mentioned, hesychasm and the hesychast debates have been extensively explored.[66]

The present dissertation is driven and structured by the following set of research questions: what was the political and socio-cultural context of Kokkinos' life and literary activity? When did Kokkinos write his *vitae* of contemporary holy men, and what is the chronology of the composition of his *vitae*? What is their manuscript tradition and what role did Kokkinos play in the process of copying, reviewing, and publishing his saints' *lives*? Why did he structure them and portray his protagonists the way he did? How do his *vitae* reflect the theological debates of the period? To what extent do his texts serve his needs of self-promotion and self-expression? What are the characteristics of his style and what does it reveal about his intended audience? What explains the prolixity of Kokkinos' *lives* of saints? What selection of miracles does Kokkinos include in his saints' *lives* and to what purpose? How does Kokkinos portray the interactions between his saints and the imperial

[63] Barrois, "Palamism revisited," *SVThQ* 19 (1975): 211–231.
[64] Demetracopoulos, "Palamas transformed," in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History*, 263–372.
[65] See Meyendorff, "Is 'Hesychasm' the right word?" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983): 447–457.
[66] From the extensive scholarship on the subject, see, for instance, Krausmüller, "The rise of hesychasm," 101–126; Rigo's edited volume *Gregorio Palamas e oltre*; Nadal Cañellas, *La résistance d'Akindynos*; Fyrigos, *Dalla controversia palamitica alla polemica esicastica*; Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm*.

figures and what does this reveal about his view on the relationship between the imperial office and ecclesiastical authority?

In order to address these questions, my dissertation takes an interdisciplinary approach combining close reading of texts, manuscript study, literary analysis, history, and theology. The source material of this research consists of Kokkinos' five *lives* of contemporary saints, as edited by Tsames,[67] others of his edited or unedited writings, as well as other sources, such as the *Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople* and the historical accounts of Gregoras and Kantakouzenos. The dissertation is firmly based on the close reading of Kokkinos' *vitae* and is structured by the information they yield.

The dissertation is structured in three parts. The first, *Philotheos Kokkinos and his œuvre,* offers an extensive biographical portrait of Kokkinos, highlighting the socio-political context of his life and activity, introduces and establishes the chronology of his *vitae* of contemporary saints, places these saints' *lives* within Kokkinos' literary œuvre, and discusses their manuscript tradition. A thorough investigation of fourteenth-century codices carrying Kokkinos' hagiographic writings reveals his active involvement in the process of copying, reviewing, and publishing his own works. This section includes the interesting history and unusual fate, as well as a brief codicological and palaeographic analysis, of the "author's edition," manuscript *Marcianus graecus* 582 (hereafter *M**). Throughout this dissertation, I indicate with an asterisk (*) the manuscripts which carry Kokkinos' autograph interventions. Moreover, it offers biographical sketches of Nikodemos, Sabas, Isidore, Germanos, and Palamas, making the distinction between the historical figures of these holy men and their literary representation, as well as highlighting their relationship to their hagiographer.

The second part, *Narratological analysis of Kokkinos'* vitae *of contemporary saints*, constitutes the first comprehensive analysis of Kokkinos' narrative technique. It first discusses the types of hagiographic composition ('hagiographic genre') he employed (*hypomnema, bios kai politeia*, and *logos*), and then offers a detailed narratological analysis of Kokkinos' *vitae* and his use of specific narrative devices. This analysis divides the accounts in the following sections: *prooimia*, childhood and

[67] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* (Tsames, 83–93), *v.Sab*. (Tsames, 161–325), *v.Isid*. (Tsames, 329–423), *v.Germ*. (Tsames, 97–158), and *v.G.Pal*. (Tsames, 427–591).

early life, monastic life, end of life, posthumous account, and final invocation. For this part I will mostly rely on the structuralist analytical toolbox developed and systematized by Gérard Genette. Moreover, Genette's framework is complemented with insights from the works of other literary scholars such as Mieke Bal.[68] The second part concludes with considerations on the characteristics of Kokkinos' literary style and intended audience.

The third part, *Saints and Society*, begins with a detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of the miracle accounts Kokkinos wove into his saints' *lives*. This considers the miracle typology, types of afflictions, methods of healing, and the demographic characteristics of the beneficiaries (such as age, gender, and social status). It points out the social and political function of the miracles, paying careful attention to the effect of the *miracula* both on their beneficiaries and the textual (internal) audience. Moreover, it examines the psychological details embedded in the accounts and Kokkinos' depiction of emotion. Secondly, it presents Kokkinos' view on the relationship between the imperial office and the ecclesiastical authority of the patriarch by analysing how he portrays the emperor(s) in his *vitae*. Moreover, this part addresses the holy men's encounters with the "other" (Muslims and Latins), revealing Kokkinos' nuanced understanding of the threats and opportunities raised by these interactions. Finally, it argues that through his saints' *lives*, Kokkinos presented and proposed his heroes as models of identification and refuge in the troubled social and political context of fourteenth-century Byzantium, promoting a spiritual revival of society.

Finally, the dissertation is equipped with six technical appendices. The first presents the chronology of Kokkinos' life and works; the second offers the narrative structure of his *vitae* of contemporary saints; the third is the critical edition and English translation of the preface (*protheoria*) of Kokkinos' hitherto unedited *Logos* on All Saints (*BHG* 1617g), which arguably represents his hagiographic programme. The fourth appendix is a transcription of two hitherto unedited prayers that Kokkinos delivered in front of the emperors; the fifth presents the content of *M** and Kokkinos' autograph interventions; and the last appendix offers twelve manuscript plates.

[68] Genette, *Narrative Discourse* and *Narrative Discourse Revisited*; Bal, *Narratology.*

PART I: PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS AND HIS ŒUVRE

I.1. A Biographical Portrait of Philotheos Kokkinos

> *Sainthood in itself is not interesting, only the lives of saints are. How does a man renounce himself and take the road to sainthood? But then how does one become a hagiographer? By following in their traces, by wetting the soles of one's feet in their tears!*[69]

In codex 58 of the Olympiotissa monastery at Elassona, dated to the last decades of the fourteenth century,[70] one can find a series of hymnographic and liturgical compositions authored by John Mauropous, Theodore Meliteniotes, Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, and Philotheos Kokkinos. In fact, almost half of the manuscript comprises Kokkinos' hymnographic and liturgical works, such as *troparia*, suppliant *kanones* to Christ and the Theotokos (of the Pege), and *akolouthiai* and *kanones* for the Great Martyrs George and Theodore the Recruit (Teron), Demetrios of Thessalonike, John Chrysostom, the Three Hierarchs, and All Saints.[71]

Kokkinos' hymnographic writings are preceded by a short text eulogizing him. This text consists of the fifth (fragmentary) and sixth odes, a *kontakion*, an *oikos*, and a *synaxarion* note (in the form of a short *vita*), which most probably constituted an *orthros akolouthia*, now lost, that served for Kokkinos' feast day and commemoration. This extant fragmentary *akolouthia* allows us to conclude that at the end of the fourteenth century, between 1380 and 1400, within one or two decades after his demise, Kokkinos was recognized and celebrated as a saint.[72] In two

[69] Cioran, *Tears and Saints*, 3–4.
[70] For a description of the manuscript, see Skoubaras, *Ὀλυμπιώτισσα*, 265–270, with a reproduction of f. 2v at 267. Skoubaras dated this paper codex (ff. 239, 217 x 137) to the sixteenth century. However, upon a thorough palaeographic and codicological investigation, Kotzabassi, "Eine Akoluthie," 300 and n. 5, points out the features of the script, of the paper and its watermarks [Mošin-Traljić 4952 (1364), 6043 (1370–1380)], and predates the manuscript to between 1380 and 1400. According to Kotzabassi, the codex was copied by two scribes: A (ff. 13r–88v) and B (ff. 89r–239v).
[71] For the critical edition of most of these hymnographic works, see Kourtesidou, "Ποιητικὰ ἔργα."
[72] The *akolouthia* was edited by Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 303–310. The content of this *akolouthia*, as well as other evidence pointing to Kokkinos' canonization, will be discussed below.

dodecasyllabic distichs, composed in a chiastic structure and preceding the *synaxarion*, the late fourteenth-century anonymous author of the *akolouthia* writes:

> How could I pass over Philotheos in silence,
> whose words even divine intellects desire.
> Leaving behind earthly thrones,
> Philotheos gained for himself a higher authority (literally, "seat") in heaven.[73]

This *akolouthia* constitutes an important source for the reconstruction of Kokkinos' biography, although it discloses limited chronological and biographical data, usually generic and abridged for the purpose of a liturgical office and celebration. The *synaxarion*, as well as the rest of the *akolouthia*, traces the milestones of Kokkinos' life: place of birth, parents, education, monastic career, activity as metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia and subsequently as patriarch of Constantinople, underlining his decisive role in defending the Orthodox Church against the heresies of Barlaam (Bernardo Massari) from Calabria and Gregory Akindynos.

Part I.1 will offer an extensive biographical portrait of Kokkinos, highlighting the socio-political and cultural context of his life and activity. Biographical details will be drawn from his writings, especially his saints' *lives*, other contemporaneous sources, such as the aforementioned *akolouthia*, and interpreted against the scholarly literature discussed in the Introduction. The biographical portrait will particularly focus on his upbringing and early ecclesiastical career, cursorily treated in scholarship. Additionally, it will introduce Kokkinos' five *vitae* of contemporary saints chronologically, as well as other of his writings. Part I.2 will place these *vitae* within his œuvre and discuss their manuscript tradition, underlining Kokkinos' active role in the process of copying, reviewing, and publishing them. This section includes the interesting history and unusual fate, as well as a brief codicological and palaeographic analysis, of the "author's edition" *M**. Finally, Part I.3 offers short biographical portraits of Kokkinos' heroes, highlighting their relationship to their hagiographer.

[73] Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 305, ll. 40–43: Πῶς ἂν τὸν Φιλόθεον σιγῶν παρέλθω, / οὗ τοὺς λόγους στέργουσι καὶ θεῖοι νόες. / Θρόνους ὁ Φιλόθεος λιπὼν γηΐνους / ἐν οὐρανοῖς εὕρατο μείζω καθέδραν. After Kokkinos' *kanones* and *troparia* dedicated to the Theotokos, the codex carries a *troparion* which extols Kokkinos as "a great shepherd and divine high priest" who glorified the Theotokos in "wise hymns." All translations into English are my own unless otherwise noted.

I.1.1. Origin and education

The information regarding Kokkinos' early life and career is rather scarce. However, some autobiographical data on his childhood can be gathered from his writings, particularly his *vitae* of contemporary saints. Although the extant sources do not mention the exact year of Kokkinos' birth, it can be surmised that he was most probably of the same age as his contemporaries Gregory Palamas, John VI Kantakouzenos, and Iakobos Maroules. The latter was his friend and former classmate, as Kokkinos underlines several times in the *vita* he composed for Iakobos' uncle, Germanos Maroules. Thus, in his prologue to the *v.Germ.*, Kokkinos emphasizes his personal acquaintance and close friendship with Germanos' family and relatives, with some of whom he "undertook [his] studies and the outside *paideia*."[74] As he would later reveal in the *v.Germ.*, he was a school-fellow and good friend of Iakobos, Germanos' nephew. He praises the "noble" Iakobos and sketches a short intellectual and spiritual portrait of him. According to Kokkinos, Iakobos was versed in rhetoric, had medical expertise, assumed the monastic habit in Constantinople after his studies, and soon after went to Mount Athos where he enjoyed the spiritual guidance of his uncle Germanos for sixteen years.[75] Since Germanos died around 1336, Iakobos probably came to Athos around 1320. Given that by that time he had finished his studies, practised medicine, and become a monk in Constantinople, he was most likely in his early twenties when he arrived on Athos. This would place his year of birth in the late 1290s, and most probably between *ca*. 1295 and 1300. Thus, if Kokkinos and Iakobos were roughly of the same age, on account of having been school-fellows, it is possible that Kokkinos' date of birth was slightly earlier than the turn of the fourteenth century (*ca*. 1300).[76] However, as schoolmates in Byzantium were not necessarily of the same age, Iakobos' year of birth cannot necessarily serve as a benchmark for Kokkinos'.

[74] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 1.19–20: καὶ μαθημάτων ἠψάμεθα τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις καὶ παιδείας τῆς ἔξω.
[75] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 34.1, 5–13, 25–26.
[76] Laurent, "Philothée," 1498; Beck, *Kirche*, 724; Janin, "Philotheos," 478; Kourouses, "Φιλόθεος," 1119; Chiovaro, "Philotheus," 324–325; *PLP* 11917; Tinnefeld, "Patriarch Philotheos," 398–404; Solignac, "Philothée," 1389; *Tusc*. 636–637; *ODB* 1662; Todt, "Philotheos," 2104. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 19–20, dates Kokkinos' birth to between 1295 and 1297.

Kokkinos hailed from the Macedonian city of Thessalonike, which he often praises in his writings and especially in his hagiographic works.[77] In his seven *vitae* dedicated to saints who had a connection with Thessalonike (Anysia, Demetrios, Nikodemos, Sabas, Isidore, Germanos, and Palamas), Kokkinos pens extensive panegyrics of his *patris* to be analysed in Part II. For instance, he styles "the distinguished metropolis of the Macedonians, my truly beloved and sweetest soil, the wonderful and great Thessalonike"[78] as an important centre of learning, wisdom and eloquence, which "sometimes overshines other greater and more distinguished cities."[79] He also presents Thessalonike as a city of saints, enjoying a "wealth of virtue and holiness" due to her holy men and women who shone there as "animated icons and silent preaching."[80]

In contrast to the abundant references he makes to his hometown, Kokkinos does not disclose anything about his family. None of his writings offer any details about the social status and education of his parents. His theological adversaries Nikephoros Gregoras[81] and the Thessalonian brothers Demetrios and Prochoros Kydones[82] refer to Kokkinos' alleged Jewish origins. When discussing the capture of Thracian Herakleia by the Genoese in November 1351, at the time when Kokkinos was metropolitan of the city, Gregoras interprets that event as a divine punishment that befell Herakleia because of her "impious shepherd" (*asebes poimen*) and his erroneous teachings. Interestingly, Gregoras makes a *synkrisis* that most probably resonated with his contemporary audience: what Emperor Constantine the Great had once done to the rebellious Jews who made an attempt to rebuild the temple in

[77] For instance, in the *v.Sab*. 3.1–3 he writes: ἡ θαυμαστὴ καὶ μεγάλη Θεσσαλονίκη, ἣν ἔγωγε καὶ πολλαχόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἐπαινεῖν ἔχων, "the wonderful and great Thessalonike, which I have praised for many reasons elsewhere."

[78] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 1.5–7: ἡ περιφανὴς Μακεδόνων μητρόπολις, τὸ φίλον ὄντως ἐμοὶ καὶ ἥδιστον ἔδαφος, ἡ θαυμαστὴ καὶ μεγάλη Θεσσαλονίκη.

[79] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.15–16: καὶ πολλὰς ἑτέρας τῶν πόλεων, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὰς μείζους καὶ περιφανεστέρας ἐντεῦθεν φαιδρύνειν.

[80] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.16–19: Τὸν δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἁγιότητος πλοῦτον λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι διεξιέναι, ἔξεστι δὲ καθάπερ πρὸς εἰκόνας τινὰς ἐμψύχους καὶ σιγῶντα κηρύγματα τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐκλάμψαντας θαυμαστοὺς ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας. See also Kokkinos, *Λόγος εἰς ἁγίαν Ἀνυσίαν* 2, *v.Isid*. 2.

[81] On Gregoras, see van Dieten, *Nikephoros Gregoras*, vol. 1, 1–62; Beyer, "Eine Chronologie," *JÖB* 27 (1978): 127–155; Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, 357–373; Manolova, "Discourses of science," 10–21.

[82] On Demetrios Kydones' life and works, see Ryder, *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones*; Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones. Briefe*, I.1, 4–52; Kianka, "The apology of Demetrius Cydones," *ByzSt* (1980): 57–71. On Prochoros Kydones, see Russell, "Prochoros Cydones," in *Byzantine Orthodoxies*, 75–91; Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones. Briefe*, I.1, 237–244; Mercati, *Notizie*, 40–61.

Jerusalem, "the same thing God brought about here, punishing the impious shepherd of that city [Herakleia]."[83] In early April 1368, towards the end of a long trial for heresy and shortly before the excommunication of his brother, Demetrios Kydones attacked and criticized Kokkinos, at that time patriarch of Constantinople, writing in his *Apology* that:

> It seems that you wanted this long ago, being a Jew from your forebears ('from a distance') and a scion of that impure race, and bearing a grudge against Christ, who you knew was killed by your forefathers – so on the one hand you preferred to advocate for [your Christian] race, but on the other you bristled at those who worship it and [its] laws.[84]

While Gregoras only alludes to Kokkinos' alleged Jewish descent, Kydones states it explicitly and makes an analogy between his trial and Christ's passion. Possibly inspired and informed by Gregoras' comparison, he may have purposely employed this analogy, since he wrote his *Apology* during the Easter period.[85] Mercati credits Kydones' words as reliable, factual biographical information and not a mere rhetorical device. This tradition about Kokkinos' alleged Jewish origins, "albeit hostile and reminiscent of older Christian libels," as Bowman noted, has prevailed in scholarship.[86] However, Gregoras' and Kydones' words must be taken *cum grano salis*. There is no other source mentioning or alluding to Kokkinos' Jewish background. Therefore, one must exercise caution and interpret the extant material in the broader context of the overtly polemical, aggressive and biased accounts stemming from his theological antagonists. Nevertheless, a remote Jewish origin is not completely unlikely, given the considerable Jewish presence in late-Byzantine

[83] Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 26.15 (III.81): ὃ γὰρ ὁ μέγας πάλαι πεποίηκε Κωνσταντῖνος ... τοῦτο πέπραχεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐνταυθοῖ, τὸν ἀσεβῆ ποιμένα τῆς πόλεως ἐλέγχων ἐκείνης. Gregoras' source of information on the Jewish rebellion in Jerusalem during the reign of Constantine the Great may have been John Chrysostom's fifth *Oration* against the Jews 5.11, *PG* 48, 900.

[84] Kydones, *Apologia di Procoro*, ll. 488–491, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, 296–313, at 311: ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικε, πάλαι σὺ τοῦτ' ἐβούλου, πόρρωθεν μὲν Ἰουδαῖος ὢν καὶ τῆς ἐναγοῦς ἐκείνης γενεᾶς κληρονόμος, μνησικακῶν δὲ καὶ σὺ τῷ Χριστῷ, ὃν ᾔδεις ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν προγόνων ἀνῃρημένον, τῷ γένει μὲν ἐβούλου συνηγορεῖν, ἔφριττες δὲ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς νόμους.

[85] Rigo, "Il Monte Athos e la controversia palamitica," 79.

[86] Mercati, *Notizie*, 248; Beck, *Kirche*, 724: "von einer jüdischen Mutter;" Kourouses, "Φιλόθεος," 1119; Chiovaro, "Philotheus," 324; Solignac, "Philothée," 1389. Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, 67–68, and n. 47, expresses his skepticism about Kokkinos' Jewish origins and notes that modern Greek Orthodoxy has chosen to ignore this hypothesis.

Thessalonike.[87] Be that as it may, the *akolouthia* composed soon after his death makes no mention (perhaps a purposeful omission) of his Jewish lineage. It only employs a hagiographic commonplace and mentions that he "was born to virtuous and God-loving parents."[88]

In the twenty-sixth book of his *Romaike Historia*, Gregoras mentions that Philotheos was called "Kokkinos" (literally, "red, scarlet") because of the fiery and fierce aspect of his outward appearance.[89] Throughout his account, Gregoras calls him interchangeably Kokkinos,[90] Philotheos Kokkinos,[91] or simply Philotheos.[92] Similarly, there are no other references in the writings of his contemporaries to indicate that Philotheos' surname was a sobriquet. For instance, Demetrios Kydones calls him Philotheos[93] or Kokkinos,[94] without offering any explanation on the latter, while John VI Kantakouzenos refers to him as Philotheos.[95] Therefore, "Kokkinos" was probably his family name.[96] *PLP* lists eight individuals with this surname of which six are also known by their first name (Adrianos, Theodosios, Ioannikios, Stephanos, Soterichos, and Philotheos).[97] However, his surname "Kokkinos" does not feature in the title of his works as transmitted by most of the manuscripts. For instance, the fourteenth-century *M** and *Vind. theol. gr.* 201*, copied under his close supervision and bearing his autograph interventions (for instance, he copied his own texts, added titles, marginal notes, and corrections), introduce the author in the

[87] See *Jews in Byzantium*; Jacoby, "Foreigners and the urban economy in Thessalonike," *DOP* 57 (2003): 85–132; idem, "Les Juifs de Byzance," in *Οι περιθωριακοί στο Βυζάντιο*, 103–154; Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, 67–73, 287; Matrovski, *A History of the Jews in Macedonia*, 21–36. See also Dölger, "Zur Frage des Jüdischen Anteils," in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume*, 129–133.

[88] Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 305, ll. 48–49: ἐγένετο δὲ γονέων ἐναρέτων τε καὶ θεοφιλῶν. The nineteenth-century Athonite *bios* and *akolouthia* that celebrate Kokkinos contain few biographical details and do not mention anything related to his Jewish background. See Dentakes, *Βίος καὶ ἀκολουθία*, 63–93 (*bios*) and 95–120 (*akolouthia*).

[89] Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 26.14 (III.79).

[90] Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 25.35 (III.62), 26.14 (III.80), 29.50 (III.258).

[91] Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 28.39 (III.201), 29.31, 33, 39, 49, 51 (III.244, 245, 249, 258, 259).

[92] Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 28.43 (III.204), 29.35, 37 (III.247, 248), 36.37 (III.519), 37.7–9 (III.532–533).

[93] Demetrios Kydones, *Letter* 130.20, ed. Loenertz, *Démétrius Cydonès*, 167.

[94] Kydones, *Apologia di Procoro*, l. 540, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, 312.

[95] Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* IV.29, 32, 38–40, 50 (III.215, 239, 275, 281, 288, 291, 363).

[96] Laurent, "Philothée," 1498, does not exclude that "Kokkinos" was a "sobriquet que ses contemporains ont bien pu lui appliquer à cause de la couleur rousse de sa chevelure." Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 21, notes that "Kokkinos" was a cognomen unrelated to Philotheos' family name.

[97] *PLP* 11910–11917.

superscriptions as "(the most holy) lord Philotheos, (patriarch of Constantinople)."[98] On the other hand, there are other codices, such as the fourteenth-century *Voss. misc.* 5, which list his name as Philotheos Kokkinos.[99] Nevertheless, Gregoras' remark may offer some hints as to what Kokkinos may have looked like, that is to say, he may have had red hair or facial redness.

In the *enkomion* dedicated to Phokas, bishop of Sinope, martyred under Emperor Trajan (*r.* 98–117),[100] Kokkinos writes that "in my youth I was deemed worthy of the same name and was called by my beloved parents in like manner as that man [Phokas]."[101] As Kokkinos assumed the monastic name Philotheos at the time of his tonsure, and if the tradition of *metonomasia* was observed,[102] it is possible that his baptismal name also began with "Ph." Thus, it seems likely that "Phokas" was Kokkinos' baptismal name.[103] He makes an implicit reference to this rule of *metonomasia* in the *v.Sab*. and the *v.Germ*., stating the change of the baptismal name of his heroes upon their tonsure.[104]

The young Kokkinos spent his childhood in Thessalonike in the company of friends, such as the brothers Dorotheos and Markos Blates, and Iakobos Maroules.[105] As noted above, he seems to have been acquainted with Germanos Maroules' illustrious family and perhaps even visited or spent time in their house, as evidenced by the detailed description he offers in the *v.Germ*. on the layout and location of Germanos' house.[106] However, it is also possible that he gathered these details from his friend and school-fellow Iakobos, Germanos' nephew.[107] Kokkinos pursued his studies together with Iakobos in the dynamic and thriving cultural centre of Thessalonike, where he underwent years of training in "outside wisdom" and

[98] On Kokkinos' autographs, see Fonkič, "Les autographes;" Mondrain, "La constitution;" and Bianconi, "La controversia palamitica." See *infra* Part I.2, and Appendices 5 and 6.
[99] De Meyïer, *Codices vossiani,* 234–236.
[100] The text was first edited by Oikonomides and subsequently by Katsanes (see *supra* n. 21). See also Van de Vorst, "Phocas," *AB* 30 (1911): 252–295, esp. 265–266, and 270.
[101] Kokkinos, *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς ἅγιον Φωκᾶν* 2.16–18: καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τῆς ὁμωνυμίας ὡσαύτως ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῦ προσρήματος ἠξιῶσθαι παρὰ τῶν φίλων πατέρων ἐν ἀτελεῖ πάνυ τῆς ἡλικίας.
[102] On *metonomasia* in Byzantium, see Talbot and McGrath, "Monastic onomastics," in *Monastères,* 89–118, esp. 96–97, and appendices 2 and 3.
[103] Oikonomides, "Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἱερομάρτυρα Φωκᾶν," 83.
[104] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 7.54; *v.Germ*. 9.45–46.
[105] Throughout his works, Kokkinos mentions several times these "friends from childhood." See Kokkinos, *Λόγος ἱστορικὸς εἰς τὴν παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων γεγονυῖαν πολιορκίαν καὶ ἅλωσιν τῆς Ἡρακλείας* (hereafter *Logos historikos*) 14.203–207.
[106] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 6. See Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 52–53.
[107] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 46.19–26.

acquired *paideia* in the private lodgings of the gentleman scholar and civic rhetor Thomas Magistros.[108] A native of Thessalonike, Magistros taught grammar and rhetoric to the sons of the Thessalonian civil elite, such as Iakobos Maroules, but occasionally also to those with little financial means, seemingly in a "deliberate effort to spread the already dwindling knowledge of classicizing Greek."[109] Born into a family of alleged modest circumstances, Kokkinos seems to have worked for Magistros in order to cover the costs of his studies. This gave his later adversaries the chance to question and deride his erudition and theological training. For instance, in the aforementioned *Apology*, Kydones makes a vitriolic attack on Kokkinos, ridiculing his education and questioning his theological expertise. Kydones ironically writes that:

> You [Kokkinos] were initiated in theology by Magistros, whom you attended as a household servant and served with the earthen pots. From there you have come to us having acquired some smoke instead of theology, and taking hold of the Muse of the man [Magistros], you are boasting so much as if having frequently visited [the Apostles] Paul and Peter, granting to that man [Magistros] a greater gift than the ones he has and which all know about him.[110]

Kydones continues his diatribe underlining that Magistros lacked theological training and therefore could only teach his disciples Attic Greek and rhetoric:

> For he was a man exceedingly acquainted with the Attic language, so that he did not go beyond the [art] of words, but rather he either adorned a festal assembly, or praised a city, or addressed certain people or sang a monody to the dead, but beyond these he surely did not claim [to be well-accomplished in] anything else ... because a disease deprived him of this [his eyesight] since childhood, and due to this weakness he failed to gain many other things.

[108] Bianconi, *Tessalonica nell'età dei Paleologi*; Tinnefeld, "Intellectuals," *DOP* 57 (2003): 153–172; Browning, "Teachers," in *The Byzantines*, 95–116, esp. 105; On Magistros, see Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*; idem, "The twitching shroud," *S&T* 5 (2007): 263–340; "Thomas Magister," in *The Classical Tradition*, 934–935.

[109] Gaul, "Thomas Magister," 935.

[110] Kydones, *Apologia di Procoro*, ll. 204–208, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, 302: σὺ τὴν θεολογίαν ὑπὸ τῷ Μαγίστρῳ μεμυημένος, ᾧπερ οἰκέτης γενόμενος κὰν ταῖς χύτραις διακονῶν, καπνόν τινα κομίζων ἡμῖν ἥκεις ἐκεῖθεν ἀντὶ θεολογίας, καὶ τῆς Μούσης λαβόμενος τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὥσπερ παρὰ Παῦλον ἢ Πέτρον φοιτήσας οὕτω μεγαλαυχῇ, μεῖζόν τι κἀκείνῳ γέρας προσάπτων ὧν τε εἶχε καὶ ἃ περὶ αὐτοῦ πάντες ᾔδεσαν.

> Therefore, how could he impart unto you what he himself did not have?[111]

Kydones emphasises that Kokkinos not only did not learn theology under Magistros, but he also did not grasp Magistros' art of words, and thus failed to follow and imitate his master.[112] Furthermore, Kydones criticizes his lack of eloquence and points out his frequent infelicitous performances in the so-called *theatra*.[113]

> For he [Magistros] spoke Attic and charmed his students with the beauty of his eloquence, while you speak in a poor and unpleasant manner, and always drifting off course, you force the *theatron* to laugh at the silliness of your mind and the nonsense of your words (literally, "the barbarism of your words"), only twaddling like the youths in Aristophanes, which that one addressed making fun of those "babbling further than two miles."[114]

Finally, Kydones contests the sanity of Kokkinos' teachings and harshly accuses him of following Palamas, whom he likens to the Aristophanic Socrates:

> You should have nothing to do with that man [Magistros], but reveal the real mentor of yours [Palamas], that "charlatan" [Aristophanes, *Nephelai* 102, 449], "the astronomical swindler" [*Nephelai* 333], who, "suspending his mind commingling his rarefied thought with its kindred air" [*Nephelai* 229–230], taught you these 'fine' doctrines. For you [learned] from there the adoration of the lights, and the "swarm of gods" [*Nephelai* 297], and the bunch of deities.[115]

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[111] Kydones, *Apologia di Procoro*, ll. 208–216, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, 302–303: ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἀνὴρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς γλώττης καὶ μάλα ἔμπειρος, οὐ μὴν ὥστ' ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὀνομάτων βαδίζειν, ἀλλ' ἢ πανήγυριν κοσμήσας ἢ πόλιν ἐγκωμιάσας ἤ τινας προσειπὼν ἢ νεκρὸν μονῳδήσας ἀπήλλακτο, περαιτέρω δέ τι τούτων οὔτ' αὐτὸς δήπουθεν ἐπηγγείλατο … τοῦτό τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ παιδὸς ἡ νόσος ἀφείλετο, κἀκείνου διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρρωστίαν ὥσπερ καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀπέτυχε. πῶς τοίνυν ὅπερ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔσχε, σοὶ μετεδίδου. Mercati, *Notizie*, 248–249.

[112] Kydones, *Apologia di Procoro*, ll. 217–221, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, 303.

[113] On *theatron* in late Byzantium, see Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 17–53; Marciniak, "Byzantine Theatron," in *Theatron*, 277–285; Bourbouhakis, "Rhetoric and performance," in *The Byzantine World*, 175–187.

[114] Kydones, *Apologia di Procoro*, ll. 221–226, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, 303: ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔλεγεν Ἀττικῶς καὶ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς τῷ κάλλει τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ἐκήλει, σὺ δὲ ταπεινόν τι φθέγγῃ καὶ ἀπηχές, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐκπίπτων γελᾶν ἀναγκάζεις τὸ θέατρον τῷ τε τῆς διανοίας εὐήθει τῷ τε βαρβάρῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων, στωμύλλων μόνον ὥσπερ τὰ παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει μειράκια, ἃ πλεῖν ἢ δύο σταδίων λαλίστερα κωμῳδῶν ἐκεῖνος προσεῖπε. Kydones alludes to Aristophanes, *Batrachoi* 89–95, where the Athenian comic playwright mocks Euripides. Cf. *Batrachoi* 1069–1073, *Hippeis* 1375–1380.

[115] Kydones, *Apologia di Procoro*, ll. 226–231, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, 303: ἐκείνου μὲν οὖν ἀπόσχου μηδέν σοι προσήκοντος ἀνδρός, λέγε δὲ τὸν ἀληθῆ σου διδάσκαλον, ἐκεῖνον 'τὸν ἀλάζονα', τὸν 'μετεωροφένακα', ὃς 'κρεμάσας τὸ νόημα καὶ τὴν φροντίδα, λεπτὴν εἰς τὸν ὅμοιον ἐγκαταμίξας ἀέρα', ὑφηγητὴς ὑμῖν γέγονε τῶν καλῶν τούτων δογμάτων. Ἐκεῖθεν γάρ σοι ἡ τῶν φώτων λατρεία καὶ τὸ τῶν 'θεῶν σμῆνος' καὶ ὁ τῶν θεοτήτων ὁρμαθός. Cf. Demetracopoulos, "The reception of Xenophanes' B34," in *Essays in Renaissance Thought*, 243–445, at 401–403.

Kydones' sharp criticism of Kokkinos must be read in the highly polemical context of the acrimonious hesychast controversy over the transcendence of divine essence and its uncreated operations, the nature of the vision of God and the meaning of participation in the divine. As mentioned, this debate resulted in a series of Constantinopolitan synods (1341, 1347, and 1351) which sanctioned the teachings of Palamas as Orthodox and in line with the patristic thought and tradition, and condemned his detractors, Barlaam, Akindynos, and Gregoras as heretics. The dispute culminated with the synod of April 1368, which canonized Palamas and condemned the anti-hesychast Prochoros Kydones.[116]

In the synodal *tomos* of 1368 which he composed, Kokkinos reproduces a passage from one of the letters—which does not survive—he received from Prochoros Kydones. In his letter, dated to the summer of 1367, Kydones protests against the injustice (*adikia*) and slander (*sykophantia*) he had to endure, underlining that the cause for this lies in the fact that:

> God, wishing to make the great mystery of theology inaccessible (*abaton*) to men, surrounded with a wall this sensible heaven as if by some barrier (*diaphragma*), which tavern-keepers and cooks and actors made the subject of derision, new experts in doctrine (*dogmatistai*) who appeared a short time earlier.

Kokkinos adds that Kydones "no doubt called us in this way, as the truth made clear."[117] Kydones' references point out that in his youth Kokkinos appears to have supported his studies under Magistros by serving as his cook. In the twenty-first book of his *Romaike Historia*, Gregoras writes along the same conspicuously polemical lines. There he underlines that no sound thing could be done by the ignorant men who came to pass their judgment on divine dogmas and who were raised on the same day from the oar and earthen pot to the bishop's throne.[118] Be that as it may, the young Kokkinos pursued and completed his classicizing education in

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[116] On Prochoros' trial and condemnation, see Russell, "Prochoros Cydones," 76–85; on Akindynos, see Nadal Cañellas, "Gregorio Akíndinos," in *La théologie byzantine*, vol. 2, 189–256.

[117] Kokkinos, *Synodal Tomos* of 1368, ll. 126–130, ed. Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 103: τὸ μέγα τῆς θεολογίας μυστήριον ἄβατον ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις βουλόμενος, τὸν αἰσθητὸν τοῦτον οὐρανὸν ὥσπέρ τι διάφραγμα περιετείχισεν ᾧπερ κάπηλοι καὶ μάγειροι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐνέπαιξαν, οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ φανέντες νέοι δογματισταί, τοὺς ἡμετέρους πάντως οὕτω καλῶν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐφανέρωσε.

[118] Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 21.11 (II.1011): ἀμαθέσιν ἀνδράσιν, ἐς κρίσιν θείων ἐληλυθόσι δογμάτων, ἀπὸ κώπης καὶ χύτρας τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀναχθεῖσιν ἐς τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν αὐθημερόν.

Thessalonike under Thomas Magistros, where he must have been an assiduous and apt student, since he acquired a thorough training in classical authors and rhetoric. As will be seen in Part II, this is reflected in his *vitae*, which contain classical references and rhetorical flourishes.

The "outside" *paideia* and his training in Atticizing Greek under Magistros offered Kokkinos "knowledge, power and alliance," "arrows and weapons," as he would later write in the *v.Sab*., the *v.Isid*., and the *v.G.Pal*. These later enabled him to participate in the learned discourse of his time, as well as enter into contentious theological debates with other contemporary *pepaideumenoi*, *inter alia* with the polymath Gregoras and the erudite Kydones brothers.[119] The late fourteenth-century *akolouthia* underlines Kokkinos' training in "outside wisdom" (*thyrathen sophia*) and points out that the learned reader will find his *antirrhetikoi* against Gregoras, the *logoi* against Barlaam and Akindynos, as well as his *enkomia* of holy men, "replete with wisdom and all kind of rhetorical expressions."[120]

I.1.2. Early monastic career

In addition to classical education, the young Kokkinos received training in "our holy education and divine philosophy," as the aforementioned *akolouthia* underlines.[121] He was most probably initiated in theology and developed an inclination for monastic life in the monastic circles of Thessalonike and her hinterland. The *akolouthia* mentions that the young Kokkinos was touched by divine love and decided to become a monk. Thus, he ran away from home, hid in the Chortaïtes monastery, located in the vicinity of Thessalonike, and took monastic vows, all of which are common hagiographic tropes. His parents eventually discovered him and tried to persuade him, to no avail, to return home. Instead, he bid them farewell and

[119] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 5.8–10: συνεργοὺς ἔχειν καὶ ὑπηρέτας πρός γε τὴν τῶν κρειττόνων ἐξέτασιν; *v.Isid*. 5.9–12: ... ἰσχύος καὶ συμμαχίας, ὡς ἂν ὑπηρέτας τε καὶ συνεργοὺς ἐκείνους ἔχωμεν; *v.G.Pal*. 10.1–3: ... τῶν ἐκεῖθεν μετέχειν βελῶν καὶ τῶν ὅπλων. See Browning, "The language of Byzantine literature," in *The "Past" in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, 103–133; Holton and Manolessou, "Medieval and Early Modern Greek," in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, 539–563.

[120] Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 306, ll. 50–57: [...] ὃ δὴ καὶ δεικνύουσιν οἱ πρὸς τὸν φιλόσοφον Γρηγορᾶν ἀντιρρητικοὶ τούτου λόγοι καὶ κατὰ Βαρλαὰμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνου, […] ἱεροὺς ἄνδρας ἐγκωμιάσας καὶ βεβιωκότας κατὰ Θεόν, οὓς ὁ φιλοπόνως ἀναγινώσκων εὑρήσει σοφίας τε πεπληρωμένους καὶ πάσης ἰδέας λόγων ῥητορικῶν.

[121] Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 306, ll. 57–58: τῆς δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερᾶς παιδεύσεως καὶ θείας φιλοσοφίας ἔμπλεως γέγονεν.

set off to Mount Athos where he sought the guidance of spiritual fathers.[122] Kokkinos' alleged tonsure in the Chortaïtes monastery, perhaps upon the completion of his studies in his early twenties, is only mentioned in this *akolouthia*.[123] *Prima facie*, this seems to conflict with what Kokkinos writes in the *v.Sab*. After two decades of travel that led him to the Holy Land and Mount Sinai, Sabas returned around 1328 to Athos and entered the Monastery of Vatopedi. Kokkinos mentions that he himself entered Vatopedi at the same time, after having just (*arti*) left behind worldly turmoils (*kosmikoi thoryboi*), and had Sabas as a spiritual mentor (*hodegos*) for a period of time.[124] If he took monastic vows at Vatopedi, then Kokkinos became a monk most likely in his late twenties or early thirties.[125] However, as this is not made explicit, he might have simply referred to abandoning worldly turmoil outside Athos.[126] Therefore, he could have already been a monk when he joined Vatopedi. However, it is also possible that Kokkinos became a novice at Chortaïtes in his early twenties, and a monk at Vatopedi later on. Be that as it may, it seems that Kokkinos assumed the monastic garment by his late twenties or early thirties.[127] Perhaps due to confusion with another Philotheos (Sinaites), it has sometimes been assumed that Kokkinos became a monk on Mount Sinai. However, as there is no evidence to support this assumption, it has been disregarded in more recent scholarship.[128]

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[122] Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 306, ll. 49–50, 59–67. On Chortaïtes monastery, see Janin, *Grands centres*, 414–415.

[123] Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 49–50.

[124] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 59.1–4; 6.13–16; see also the *v.Sab*. 22.43–45 and the *v.Germ*. 1.20–30.

[125] On the age when Byzantine young men usually became monks, see Talbot, "The adolescent monastic," in *Coming of Age in Byzantium*, 83–97. I am grateful to Dr. Talbot for sharing her contribution with me before its publication. See also Greenfield, "Children in Byzantine monasteries," in *Becoming Byzantine*, 253–282.

[126] In the *v.Germ*. 1.13–16, Kokkinos styles Athos as a harbour of salvation. He portrays Germanos as a product of Athos which showed him forth as a "bright and conspicuous beacon of wisdom and all knowledge to those coming down to that saving harbour [Athos] from this worldly sea and the winds and rough water there" (πυρσὸν ἀνέδειξε περιφανῆ τε καὶ διαέριον σοφίας τε καὶ γνώσεως πάσης τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ κοσμικοῦ τούτου πελάγους καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα πνευμάτων τε καὶ τοῦ κλύδωνος εἰς τὸν σωτήριον ἐκεῖνον κατιοῦσι λιμένα). In the *v.Germ*. 1.20–22, he stresses that he profited from Germanos' spiritual guidance on Athos after he escaped "with difficulty" (*molis*) worldly confusion and joined the holy Athos and its sacred cities [that is, monasteries] of monks (τοὺς κοσμικοὺς μόλις που τότε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκφυγεῖν δυνηθέντες θορύβους καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν Ἄθω καὶ τὰς σεμνὰς τῶν μοναχῶν ἐκείνας πόλεις κατειληφότες).

[127] Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 26–27, argues that Kokkinos became a monk around 1328.

[128] Laurent, "Philothée," 1499; Beck, *Kirche*, 724; Janin, "Philotheos," 478; Kourouses, "Φιλόθεος," 1119; Chiovaro, "Philotheus," 324. Solignac, "Philothée," 1390, questions the assumption that Kokkinos started his monastic life at Sinai and considers that it may be the result of the confusion with Philotheos Sinaites.

Kokkinos most likely lived in and around Thessalonike until 1328 when he joined Vatopedi. Around 1325 he possibly made the acquaintance of Palamas, the future spokesman of hesychasm and metropolitan of Thessalonike, and Isidore Boucheir, the future patriarch of Constantinople, both of whom he would later eulogize. Palamas and Isidore, as well as other Athonite hesychasts, fled Athos due to Turkish raids and took refuge in Thessalonike.[129] As Kokkinos writes in the *v.G.Pal*., Palamas was thirty years old at that time (around 1326), and was ordained priest during his sojourn in Thessalonike, probably by metropolitan Jeremiah.[130] After his ordination, Palamas left Thessalonike and joined a newly founded *skete* on a mountain in the vicinity of Berrhoia, where he and other hesychast monks established "a school (*phrontisterion*) of divine philosophy."[131] Following Gregory Sinaites' advice, Isidore remained in Thessalonike and carried out an urban hesychastic apostolate for around ten years. According to Kokkinos, he was a model (*typos*) of conduct and virtue and imparted spiritual instruction as a guide (*hodegos*) and *didaskalos* to all, men and women, poor and rich.[132] Before departing for Athos around 1328, Kokkinos may have also attended Isidore's hesychast circle.

As a monk at Vatopedi, Kokkinos enjoyed the spiritual supervision of the renowned holy man Sabas the Younger, for whom he would later compose a *vita*. Throughout the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos underlines his strong connection and friendship with Sabas: "when he saw me for the first time, he did not simply look at me, but he immediately opened wide the arms of his love for me, as if a loving father, and henceforth we were one soul and body."[133] Kokkinos also fashions himself as the leader of a group of disciples that was always with Sabas and benefited from his teachings. Although creating a strong connection with the holy man, Kokkinos witnessed only a few events of his life. As he confesses, he received most of the information from one of Sabas' disciples, whom he acknowledges several times in

[129] See Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 24.2–16, *v.Isid*. 23.2–18, 25.28–33, and *v.Germ*. 35.56–60.
[130] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 25; on Jeremiah, see Rautman, "Metropolitan succession," *REB* 46 (1988): 147–159, at 154–155; Dennis, "The late Byzantine metropolitans," *DOP* 57 (2003): 255–264, at 256 and 264; Preiser-Kapeller, *Der Episkopat*, 444–445.
[131] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 26.4–6, 12–13.
[132] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 22.33–41, 23–24; cf. Dennis, "The late Byzantine metropolitans," 164. For an urban hesychast program, see Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 29. On Gregory of Sinai, see Rigo, "Gregorio il Sinaita," in *La théologie byzantine*, vol. 2, 35–130.
[133] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 59.9–11: ὃς ἐκ πρώτης ἰδὼν ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἁπλῶς εἶδεν, ἀλλ' οἱονεί τις φιλόστοργος πατὴρ ὅλας τῆς ἀγάπης ἡμῖν τὰς ἀγκάλας εὐθέως ἀνοίγει κἀντεῦθεν ἦμεν ἀλλήλοις ὁμόψυχοί τε καὶ συμφυεῖς.

v.Sab.[134] He once refers to this disciple as "John," likely not his real name, but a *synkrisis* with John the Evangelist, "the most legitimate of his disciples, who has stood by his teacher in the trials."[135] As mentioned, Kokkinos resided only for a limited period of time at Vatopedi under Sabas' supervision. Without disclosing particular details, he notes that at some point "envy" (*phthonos*) deprived him of attending Sabas until the end.[136]

After leaving Vatopedi, Kokkinos' footsteps can be traced to the Great Lavra of Saint Athanasios, where he arrived in the early 1330s. There he made the acquaintance and benefitted from the spiritual teachings of Germanos Maroules (d. *ca.* 1336), the holy man for whom he would later write a *vita*,[137] and he also benefitted from the teachings and writings of Palamas. Between *ca*. 1331–1337, with a short break around 1335 as abbot of the Esphigmenou monastery, Palamas practised *askesis* at St. Sabas' hermitage, in the vicinity of the Great Lavra.[138] Around 1333, Palamas made his literary debut, which Kokkinos discussed at length in the *vita* he would write for him.[139] Palamas composed two *logoi*: the *Logos* on St. Peter of Athos (*BHG* 1506), a *metaphrasis* of an earlier *vita* (*BHG* 1505), and the *Logos* on the Entrance of the Theotokos into the Temple (*BHG* 1095).[140] Palamas

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[134] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 35.25–31, 52.49–54, 64.48–56, 65, 66. See also the *v.Sab*. 8.10–11. In the *v.Sab*. 65–66, Kokkinos reports an interesting dialogue between Sabas and his disciple in which the holy man explains the vision he had during a meal in the refectory; see *infra* Part II.

[135] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 35.25–28: Ἀλλ' Ἰωάννῃ πάντως ἀποκαλυφθῆναι τὸ μυστήριον ἔδει, τῷ γνησιωτάτῳ τῶν μαθητῶν, ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς τῷ διδασκάλῳ συνδιαμεμενηκότι καὶ ταύτην δεξαμένῳ τῆς προσεδρείας ἀμοιβὴν τὴν ὑπέρτιμον ("but it was necessary that the mistery be revealed by all means to John, the most legitimate of his disciples, who has stood by his teacher in the trials and received this most precious reward of sitting by [him]"). In the *v.Sab*. 35–36, Kokkinos describes Sabas' vision of the Taboric light during the feast of the Transfiguration of Christ (August 6).

[136] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 6.16–17: εἰ καὶ τὸ μέχρι τέλους ἐκείνῳ συνεῖναι—φεῦ τῆς ζημίας—ὁ φθόνος ἀφείλετο. Throughout his *vitae*, Kokkinos employs several times the term *phthonos*: *v.Sab*. 10.4: ὁ γὰρ κάκιστ᾽ ἀπολούμενος φθόνος ἀπῆς; *v.Germ*. 18.20–21, *v.G.Pal*. 58.4. On *phthonos* in Byzantine literature, see Hinterberger, *Phthonos: Missgunst, Neid und Eifersucht*; "*Phthonos*: a pagan relic in Byzantine imperial acclamations?," in *Court Ceremonies*, 51–65; "Emotions in Byzantium," in *A Companion to Byzantium*, 123–134, at 130–131.

[137] Kokkinos, *v.Germ.* 42.23–24; *v.G.Pal*. 112.1–18. In the *v.Germ*. 33.26–38, Kokkinos notes that Sabas had told him about Germanos, whom he praised as a "great citizen" of Athos and a "second Antony," renowned for his *askesis* and wisdom.

[138] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 30–33, 37.18–49, 38, 39.

[139] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 35–37.1–11.

[140] Palamas, *Λόγος εἰς τὸν θαυμαστὸν καὶ ἰσάγγελον βίον τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρου τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει τῷ Ἄθῳ ἀσκήσαντος* 3.16–17, in PS V, 161–91. Sometime between *ca*. 980 and the mid-eleventh century, a certain Athonite monk Nicholas the Athonite composed the *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου*, ed. Lake, *The Early Days of Monasticism*, 18–39. For the critical edition of the *Logos* on the Entrance of the Theotokos, also known as *Homily* 53, see PS VI, 551–585.

wove hesychastic elements into these writings and promoted hesychasm, styling Peter and the Theotokos as models of hesychast life.[141] Palamas would soon develop these elements in his theological and polemical writings, defending hesychasm and the Athonite hesychast practice against the virulent attacks of Barlaam, Akindynos, and Gregoras, throughout the controversy that shortly ensued. Similarly, Kokkinos came to fervently promote hesychasm in his literary corpus, not only in his theological, but also in his hagiographic writings, into which he wove, like Palamas, numerous hesychastic elements. These elements and references to the hesychast debate take up a significant part of Kokkinos' *vitae* and will be analysed in Part II.2.4. Palamas delivered the aforementioned *logoi* at the Great Lavra, most probably on the feast days of St. Peter of Athos and the Theotokos' Entrance into the Temple respectively. If Kokkinos arrived at the Lavra by *ca*. 1333, it is likely that he was part of Palamas' monastic audience, or "holy *theatron*" as Palamas calls it.[142]

At some point Kokkinos became hieromonk. While the *akolouthia* simply mentions this to have occurred on Athos,[143] it is likely that he was ordained a priest at the Lavra, sometimes before 1340. In the summer of 1340 Kokkinos signed the *Hagioreitikos tomos,*[144] the official Athonite document endorsing Palamas' theology, as "I, the least hieromonk Philotheos, agreeing with these I signed."[145] His signature features in the sixth position on the list of signatories, after the *protos* of Athos Isaac, the superior of the Lavra Theodosios, the abbot of the Iberon, the *hegoumenos* of Vatopedi Ioannikios, and the superior of the Hilandariou. Kokkinos would later mention this in the *v.G.Pal*., reporting that he had signed the *tomos* when he was a priest.[146]

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[141] Mitrea, "Palamas' *Logos* on Saint Peter of Athos;" Rigo, "La Vita di Pietro l'Athonita;" idem, "De l'apologie à l'évocation de l'expérience mystique," in *Knotenpunkt Byzanz*, 85–108.
[142] Palamas, *Logos* on St. Peter of Athos, 3.16–18 (PS V, 162): Ἐγὼ δ', ᾧ θέατρον ἱερόν, πρὸ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν καὶ τὴν ἐξ ὑμῶν δι' εὐχῶν τεθάρρηκα βοήθειαν. See also Palamas, *Homily* 53 on the Entrance of the Theotokos 5.59–60 (PS VI, 553): Δεῦρο δή μοι θεία παρεμβολή, θέατρον ἱερόν, χορὸς ἡρμοσμένος οὐρανίῳ Πνεύματι.
[143] Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 306, ll. 67–68.
[144] Palamas, *Ἁγιορειτικὸς τόμος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶς ἡσυχαζόντων* (PS II, 567–578). English translation by Sinkewicz, "Gregory Palamas. *Tomos* of the Holy Mountain," in *La théologie byzantine*, vol. 2, 183–188. On this *tomos*, see, Lialiou, "Ὁ ἁγιορειτικὸς τόμος," *Κληρονομία* 28 (1996): 31–54.
[145] Palamas, *Ἁγιορειτικὸς τόμος* 7.5–6 (PS II, 577): Ὁ ἐλάχιστος ἱερομόναχος Φιλόθεος τὰ αὐτὰ φρονῶν ὑπέγραψα.
[146] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 54.18–20.

It seems that Kokkinos resided intermittently at the Lavra. Around the end of 1340 or the beginning of 1341, he returned to his *patris* where he served as superior of the Philokalles monastery, most probably until the spring of 1342.[147] The *akolouthia* does not mention that he was abbot at Philokalles. During this hegoumenate he wrote the first and the shortest among the five *vitae* of contemporary saints. He dedicated this short *vita* (less than 2700 words), titled *hypomnema*, to Nikodemos the Younger, a native of Berrhoia, who had lived in the same monastery more than three decades before Kokkinos' hegoumenate.[148] Kokkinos delivered this *hypomnema* in front of the monastic community, probably on the feast day of the saint.[149] It seems likely that during this time Kokkinos also composed a short *vita* for St. Anysia of Thessalonike (*BHG* 146), who was martyred under Emperor Maximian around *ca.* 305.[150] This shows Kokkinos' interest in saints and martyrs of the early Christian era, notably those connected to his homeland. Unfortunately, there is no internal evidence on the place and date of its composition. However, as Tsames already pointed out, the syntax and literary style of this *vita* are rather simple in comparison to Kokkinos' later works. Therefore, one could place it among his earliest writings, if not the first. It is plausible that Kokkinos delivered it in Thessalonike, most likely on the feast day of the saint (December 30). If he wrote it while abbot of Philokalles, then he must have delivered it on December 30, 1340 or 1341.[151]

Shorly after the death of Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos, a struggle for the tutelage of the nine-year-old heir John V Palaiologos ensued between the *megas domestikos* John VI Kantakouzenos on the one hand, and the dowager Empress Anna

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[147] On the Philokalles monastery (dedicated to Christ the Saviour), see Janin, *Grands centres*, 400, 418–419; Theocharides, "Η μονὴ Φιλοκάλλη," *Μακεδονικὰ* 21 (1981): 319–350; Tsitouridou, *Manastir Filokal*, 263–268; Magdalino, "Additions and corrections," *REB* 35 (1977): 277–285, at 282; Rautman, "Late Byzantine monasteries," *REB* 49 (1991): 143–169, at 157–158; Hadjitryphonos, "The Church of St. Catherine in Thessalonike," *BZ* 108.2 (2015): 673–714, at 703–704; Tafrali, *Topographie de Thessalonique*, 199; idem, *Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle*, 101, 146. The location of the monastery remains unclear. Theocharides suggested that it was probably located in the eastern part of Thessalonike, in the vicinity of the church known today as the Church of St. Nicholas Orphanos. On the latter, see Janin, *Grands centres*, 400–401.

[148] Kokkinos, *Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ὅσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Νικόδημον τὸν νέον τὸν ἐν τῇ σεβασμίᾳ μονῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ τοῦ Φιλοκάλλους*, ed. Tsames, 83–93. See *infra* Part II.1.1. On Nikodemos, see Chionides, "Ο Βεροιώτης μοναχός," *Μακεδονικά* 22 (1982): 96–111.

[149] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 11–12.

[150] Kokkinos, *Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ὁσιομάρτυρα Ἀνυσίαν τὴν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ*, ed. Tsames, 63–80.

[151] Tsames, "Λόγος στὴν ἁγία Ἀνυσία," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 25 (1980): 65–86, at 65–66. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 244.

of Savoy, John XIV Kalekas, patriarch of Constantinople, and the *megas doux* Alexios Apokaukos on the other.[152] Kokkinos described this civil war as "the shipwreck and utter destruction of the *oikoumene*."[153] In late March 1342, an Athonite embassy (*presbeia*), which included the *protos* of Athos Isaac, the abbot of the Lavra Makarios, the superior of the Philotheou Lazaros, the future Patriarch Kallistos, and Kokkinos' former spiritual father Sabas the Younger, made its way to Constantinople to plead, to no avail, for the end of the civil war that would continue to wage until 1347.[154] Soon after this embassy, the abbot Makarios was appointed metropolitan of Thessalonike.[155] As Kokkinos writes in the *v.G.Pal*., this had been foreseen by Palamas at the Lavra eleven years before, on Maundy Thursday of 1331.[156] In this context, it seems that in the spring of 1342 Kokkinos replaced Makarios as abbot of the Lavra.[157] His tenure ended before June 1345, when sources mention a certain Gregory as *hegoumenos*.[158] Insights into Kokkinos' activities and

[152] On Empress Anna of Savoy, see Origone, *Giovanna di Savoia*. On Kalekas, see Casiday, "John XIV (Kalekas)," in *Le Patriarcat Œcuménique de Constantinople*, 19–35. On Apokaukos, see Makris, "Alexios Apokaukos," in *Geschehenes und Geschriebenes*, 157–179; see also McLaughlin, "An annotated translation," 65–94, and Stathakopoulos' forthcoming article on Apokaukos.

[153] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 69.12–13: τὸ κοινὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ναυάγιον καὶ τὴν πανωλεθρίαν.

[154] Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 185–208. Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 67–69, offers a detailed and interesting account of the Athonite preparations for this embassy to Constantinople. He describes at length the selection of the members of the *presbeia*, the efforts to persuade Sabas the Younger to join the embassy, Sabas' prophecy about its outcome, the boat trip to Constantinople, the meeting with the empress and the senate, and finally Sabas' exhortatory words after the failure of their endeavour.

[155] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2228. Preiser-Kapeller, *Der Episkopat*, 446.

[156] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 34.1–25.

[157] Numerous sources testify to Kokkinos' hegoumenate at the Lavra: Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 306, l. 68: ἔπειτα τὴν προστασίαν τῆς ἱερᾶς Λαύρας παρακληθεὶς ἀνεδέξατο. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* IV.16 (III.107). The fourteenth-century manuscript *Panteleemon* 770 (6277), transmitting his *diataxis* of the Divine Liturgy (ff. 149r–151v), assigns these writings to the period when Kokkinos served as superior of the Lavra, f. 149r: Διάταξις τῆς θείας λειτουργίας, ἐν ᾗ τὰ διακονικά· συντεθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ παναγιωτάτου μου δεσπότου Ἡρακλείας τοῦ κυροῦ Φιλοθέου, ὅτε ἐχρημάτιζεν ἡγούμενος ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ σεβασμίᾳ καὶ εὐαγεῖ μεγάλῃ Λαύρᾳ τοῦ μεγίστου Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἄθωνι, ὅπου καὶ ταύτην συνέθηκεν. See Lambros, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, 430. In a synodal decision of September 1350, issued by Patriarch Kallistos, Kokkinos—at that moment metropolitan of Herakleia—is introduced as "former *hegoumenos*" of the Lavra: τοῦ ἱερωτάτου μητροπολίτου Ἡρακλείας, προέδρου τῶν ὑπερτίμων, ἐξάρχου πάσης Θρᾴκης καὶ Μακεδονίας, προηγουμένου ὄντος τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ ἱερᾶς Λαύρας. See Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2317; *RPK*, vol. 3: no. 178, 20–31, at 22, ll. 33–36.

[158] Lemerle, "Chronologie de Lavra," in *Actes de Lavra*, vol. 4, 2–62, at 30–32, 62. See also Rigo, "Il Monte Athos e la controversia palamitica," 6–7; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 28–29. At the end of his short letter to the Lavriote monk Bessarion, written in the second half of 1345, PS II, 501–504, at 503.4, ll. 20–21, Palamas extends his greetings to the other Lavriote monks and especially to Kokkinos to whom he refers as "hieromonk and former *hegoumenos*:" τῷ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις ὁσιωτάτῳ καὶ προηγουμένῳ κῦρ Φιλοθέῳ μετάνοιαν ποιῶ. On this letter, see Rigo, "Le Mont Athos," 278–280. Palamas also sent a letter to Kokkinos when the latter was still abbot of the Lavra. The letter (PS II, 517–538), dated to Nov.–Dec. 1344, introduces its addressee as "the holiest among hieromonks and my most beloved brother, father and master in the Lord, the one who is truly Philotheos" (τῷ

challenges as abbot of the Lavra may be gathered from the *v.Germ*. There he makes an excursus on the activities and problems faced by Job, Germanos' second spiritual father, as superior of the Lavra (sometime around 1280).[159] Kokkinos offers glimpses into the internal life of the monastery and portrays Job as a model abbot, rigorous and concerned for his flock to abide by traditional monastic rules. However, Job faced the tension between the lifestyle of the Lavriote monks residing inside the Lavra and those living outside. According to Kokkinos, the latter were overseeing the domains and *metochia* owned by the monastery on Athos or farther away and were more preoccupied with worldly possessions than *askesis*. Facing strong opposition and internal division, Job renounced his hegoumenate, left the Lavra, and eventually fled Athos.[160] It is possible that after his tenure as superior of the Lavra, Kokkinos remained in the vicinity of the monastery, where he practised *askesis* and lived as an anchorite, similar to Palamas and Germanos. This is in line with the *akolouthia*, which mentions that upon completing his duties as abbot, he longed for the eremitical life and *hesychia*.[161]

Thus, in his early career, Kokkinos spent a considerable amount of time on Athos, and especially at the Great Lavra, where he arrived in his early thirties and remained, with an intermezzo as *hegoumenos* of Philokalles, until his late forties when he was appointed metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia. In a synodal decision that he issued in February 1367, while patriarch of Constantinople, Kokkinos underlines that he had been a Lavriote hieromonk for a long time and conveys his special devotion for the founder of the Lavra, St. Athanasios. Perhaps as a token of this devotion, he decided to bequeath to the Lavra the *metochion* and *kathisma* of St. Demetrios, founded in the fourteenth century by a certain Demetrios Elaphros and located in the vicinity of the Plateia Gate in Constantinople.[162]

ὁσιωτάτῳ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐν Κυρίῳ φιλτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ δεσπότῃ τῷ ὄντως Φιλοθέῳ).

[159] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 18; see Lemerle, "Chronologie de Lavra," 15–16, 61; Laurent, "La chronologie des higoumènes," *REB* 28 (1970): 97–110, at 98–100; idem, "Quelques observations," 116–117.

[160] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 20–25.

[161] Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 306–307, ll. 68–70.

[162] *Actes de Lavra*, vol. 3, no. 144, at 92–96. On the *metochion* of St. Demetrios in Constantinople, see Janin, *Églises CP*, 90. On Athanasios, see Krausmüller, "The lost first *Life* of Athanasius," in *Founders and Refounders*, 63–86. For an English translation of *vita* B (*BHG* 188), see *Holy Men of Athos*, 128–367.

Already as a hieromonk on Athos and abbot of the Great Lavra, Kokkinos gained a reputation as an ardent proponent of hesychasm and its theologian, Palamas, and as a fierce opponent of the anti-hesychasts. The *akolouthia* stresses that the Athonite monks summoned Kokkinos to defend hesychast theology against the derision and heresy of Barlaam and Akindynos, and that he assumed the defence of Orthodoxy together with Palamas.[163] Sometime before January 1346, Kokkinos wrote two lengthy dogmatic treatises (*logoi dogmatikoi*) on the Taboric light against Akindynos and his supporters.[164] In the synodal *tomos* of 1351, Kokkinos refers to these treatises and underlines that he wrote them on Athos and subsequently, around January 1346, sent them off to Constantinople as the official Athonite view.[165]

While at the Lavra, Kokkinos authored liturgical works, such as a *diataxis* of the Divine Liturgy which also included the service of the deacon.[166] Moreover, he may have composed other hagiographic works. It is possible that his *vita* (*BHG* 659g) of St. Febronia of Nisibis (d. 304), another figure from the distant past, dates from this period. While the text does not offer any information on the date of its composition, its manuscript tradition may offer clues for an approximate dating. The heading of the *vita* in *Voss. misc.* 5, f. 36r, introduces Kokkinos as hieromonk.[167] Therefore, as Tsames noted, it is possible that he composed Febronia's *vita* before his appointment as metropolitan of Herakleia in 1347.[168] On a first reading, it would be tempting to date the *v.Germ*. to the same period, and especially to the years of Kokkinos' hegoumenate at the Great Lavra. Although there are no clear indications

[163] Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 307, ll. 71–83.
[164] Laurent, "Philothée," 1504; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 158–159. These *logoi dogmatikoi* fill around 120 pages in Yaneva's edition *De Domini luce*, 21–142.
[165] *Τόμος συνοδικός*, ed. Karmires, *Δογματικά*, vol. 1, 374–407, at 404; Lauritzen, "Concilium Constantinopolitanum 1351," in *Decreta*, 179–218, at 216; *PG* 151, 717–762, at 757C; cf. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2324 and 2326.
[166] Trempelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι*, 1–16; *PG* 154, 745–766; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 352–355. The manuscript tradition endorses the date and place of their composition. The heading in the earliest codex, *Panteleemon* 770, f. 149r, introduces Kokkinos as *hegoumenos* of the Lavra, while in *Monac. gr.* 345, f. 1r, Kokkinos is presented as hieromonk: Διάταξις ... συντεθεῖσα παρὰ ... Φιλοθέου, ἔτι ὄντος πρεσβυτέρου. See Hardt, *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 3, 345–346.
[167] *Voss. misc.* 5, f. 36r: τοῦ τιμιωτάτου ἐν ἱερομονάχοις κυροῦ Φιλοθέου τοῦ Κοκκίνου βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς ὁσιομάρτυρος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Φευρωνίας· εὐλόγησον πάτερ. See de Meyïer, *Codices vossiani*, 235. The superscriptions in *M** (added by Kokkinos himself) and *Mosq. Bibl. Synod. gr.* 164 (Vlad. 257)* (hereafter *Mosq.* 164*), do not mention Kokkinos' name or his ecclesiastical office: *M**, f. 23v: βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας ὁσιομάρτυρος Φεβρωνίας; *Mosq*. 164*, f. 71v: βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας ὁσιομάρτυρος Φευρωνίας.
[168] Tsames, "Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς Φευρωνίας," 226.

in the *vita* to allow its precise dating, there are several elements in the text that may shed light on the period of its composition.

Throughout the *v.Germ.*, Kokkinos offers insights into the life of Athonite monks, extols monastic ideals, describes internal problems and conflicts within the monastic community of the Lavra, and uses Athonite toponyms. He also refers to several monks he assumes were known to his audience, such as the aforementioned Job, the *hegoumenos* of the Karakallou monastery Hyakinthos Kerameus, or Pezos, whom "you all know."[169] According to Tsames, these elements may suggest that Kokkinos primarily targeted Athonite monks, and especially the Lavriote community.[170] However, a careful reading of the *vita* also shows that Kokkinos offers detailed explanations about the names and the topographical location of some monasteries, which an Athonite audience would most probably find superfluous. For instance, he explains that Karyes is the administrative centre and the residence of the *protos* of the Holy Mountain.[171] If one considers solely the above, then it may be that Kokkinos composed the *v.Germ.* while abbot of the Lavra, less than a decade after Germanos' death. His aim could have been to promote the holy man as a model of monastic conduct and *askesis* for the members of his flock. However, as I will argue below, additional internal evidence points to a later date of composition, more than two decades after Germanos' demise.

I.1.3. Metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia (1347–1353)

The civil war ended in early February 1347, although the reconciliation between the houses of the Palaiologoi and the Kantakouzenoi proved to be temporary. Constantinople had two emperors, John VI Kantakouzenos and his son-in-law John V Palaiologos, but no patriarch, since the patriarchal throne had been left vacant after the condemnation and deposition *in absentia* of Patriarch John XIV Kalekas.[172] The election of a new head of the Church was difficult and protracted mainly due to the

[169] Kokkinos, *v.Germ.* 18.8–10, 36.7, 32.11–12: πάντες ἐκεῖνον ἴστε.
[170] Tsames, "Βίος τοῦ Γερμάνου," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 26 (1981): 105–172, at 105–107.
[171] Kokkinos, *v.Germ.* 19.3–7; 15.12–15.
[172] See the *Συνοδικὸς τόμος* of February 1347, *RPK*, vol. 2: no. 147, 340–383; Karmires, *Δογματικά*, vol. 1, 366–374; Lauritzen, "Concilium Constantinopolitanum 1347," in *Decreta*, 159–170; see also Meyendorff, "Le tome synodal de 1347," *ZRVI* 8 (1963): 209–227; Dennis, "Deposition," *JÖBG* 9 (1960): 51–55; Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2270.

lack of consensus among the electors of the *synodos endemousa*.[173] Although Palamas was one of the candidates, no unanimity could be reached with regard to him.[174] Therefore, the senior emperor John VI Kantakouzenos nominated the renowned holy man Sabas the Younger, who was residing in Constantinople at the Chora Monastery since his arrival with the Athonite embassy in late March 1342. Sabas, however, declined Kantakouzenos' proposal deciding to remain a simple monk. After his unyielding refusal, described by Kokkinos in an extensive account in the *v.Sab*., to be analysed in Part III.2,[175] on May 17, 1347, the synod elected as patriarch the former bishop-elect of Monembasia, Isidore Boucheir.[176]

Isidore was the first in a string of patriarchs who supported and promoted hesychasm. His first action on the patriarchal throne was to ordain hesychast bishops for the vacant sees and replace the anti-hesychast hierarchy. As Kokkinos writes in the *v.Isid*., in a relatively short period of time (May–August 1347) Isidore anointed thirty-two hesychast bishops to strategically important sees.[177] Among others, Isidore recruited the hieromonks Palamas (who had tonsured him on Athos) and Kokkinos, and appointed them as metropolitans of Thessalonike and Herakleia respectively.[178] It is possible that Kokkinos had left Athos already before his consecration and spent some time in the capital.

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[173] On the permanent synod in Byzantium, see Preiser-Kapeller, "Der Mehrheitsbeschluss," in *Genesis und Dynamiken*, 203–227; "Die hauptstädtische Synode," *Historicum* 96 (2008): 20–31.

[174] Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* IV.3 (III.25); Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 15.10, 15.12 (II.786, 793). See the *Tomos* of July 1347, *PG* 150, 877D–885A, at 881BC, where more than 20 bishops, opposing Isidore and Palamas, wrote that: εἰς Παλαμᾶν καὶ Ἰσίδωρον τοὺς ἐκκηρύκτους καὶ ἀποβλήτους τὸ πατριαρχικὸν ἀξίωμα περιίστησι. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2281.

[175] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 75–78. See also the *v.Isid*. 49.21–33. Throughout the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos describes Sabas' refusals of ordination several times.

[176] See Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 50. In the *v.Isid*. 47–48, Kokkinos reports that on the Feast of the Epiphany (January 6, 1347) Isidore had a prophetic vision about Kalekas' condemnation and his own elevation to the patriarchal throne. See also the *v.G.Pal*. 79.5–8; Helfer, "Das Testament," *JÖBG* 17 (1968): 73–84; Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 15.10 (II.786); Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2273. On the ceremony of patriarchal promotions in fourteenth-century Constantinople, see Pseudo-Kodinos, *Περὶ προβλήσεως πατριάρχου*, in *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 250–261. See also Macrides, "The ceremonies," in *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 395–437, at 434–435. The metropolis of Monembasia was one of the most important ecclesiastical centres in the Peloponnesos. On Monembasia, see Kalligas, *Monemvasia*, and "Monemvasia, seventh–fifteenth centuries," in *The Economic History of Byzantium*, vol. 2, 879–897.

[177] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 51.21–32; *v.G.Pal*. 79.5–8; Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* 4.16 (III.104); Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 15.12 (II.793); Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2279. On Isidore's actions as patriarch of Constantinople, see Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2271–2310; *PRK*, vol. 2: nos. 148–175, 384–515. See also Guilland, "Moines de l'Athos patriarches de Constantinople," *ΕΕΒΣ* 32 (1963): 40–59, at 50–59.

[178] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2280.

In the early summer of 1347, Kokkinos, already *un homme d'âge mûr* in his late forties or early fifties, was appointed metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia or, as the *akolouthia* adds, Perinthos, located on the northern shore of the Sea of Marmara (Propontis), approximately fifty-five miles away from Constantinople.[179] As metropolitan of Herakleia, he was the "*proedros* of the *hypertimoi* and exarch of all Thrace and Macedonia."[180] Moreover, he possessed the traditional privilege to consecrate the patriarch of Constantinople.[181] In the *v.Isid*. and the *v.Sab*., as well as in his *Logos historikos* on the fall of Herakleia, Kokkinos reports his attempts to escape this appointment and its "burden" at length, invoking the alleged poor condition of his health.[182] However, as he claims, he was dragged away from his beloved *anachoresis* and ordained by Isidore using deception and force.[183] Writing these texts after his ordination, Kokkinos employs a commonplace widely attested in hagiographic texts, namely the rejection of ordination. This theme is encountered especially in the saints' *lives* of ecclesiastical figures, in which hagiographers underline the reluctance or outright refusal of their heroes to accept ordination at the expense of their *askesis* and *hesychia*. In what may be a narratorial embellishment, Kokkinos portrays himself as initially rejecting the ecclesiastical office out of humility, to some extent mirroring Sabas' rejection. As Rapp pointed out, there were numerous examples where monks' rejection of ecclesiastical office, on account of their humility and fear of losing their spiritual treasures, reflected the very qualities that recommended them for the office.[184] It is likely therefore that Kokkinos was

[179] Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 308, ll. 94–95: καὶ δῆτα τῆς κατὰ Θράκην Ἡρακλείας, ἤτοι Περίνθου, χειροτονεῖται ἐπίσκοπος καὶ τῶν ὑπερτίμων γίνεται πρόεδρος. On Thracian Herakleia, see Külzer, *Ostthrakien* (*TIB* 12), 398–408.

[180] Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, 416 (*notitia* 20.3): ὁ Ἡρακλείας, πρόεδρος τῶν ὑπερτίμων καὶ ἔξαρχος πάσης Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας. The metropolitan see of Herakleia had a considerable number of suffragan bishoprics under its jurisdiction; for instance, John VI Kantakouzenos issued an imperial *prostagma* through which he restored the bishopric of Charioupolis under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Herakleia. Patriarch Isidore endorsed this imperial *prostagma* through a patriarchal *gramma*, dated to August 1347. See Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2283.

[181] Pseudo-Kodinos, *Περὶ προβλήσεως πατριάρχου*, in *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 256: χειροτονεῖται δὲ ὁ πατριάρχης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλείας, ἐπεὶ τῆς Ἡρακλείας ἐπισκοπὴ ἦν τὸ Βυζάντιον. See also Theodore Balsamon's commentary on the third canon of the Council of Constantinople (553), in Ralles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, vol. 2, 174–176; Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*, 418–419, 446.

[182] Kokkinos frequently refers to his poor health condition in his writings. See, for instance, his first exegetic sermon on Psalm 37, *Logos* 1.13.286–293. He also refers to his sickness in his *vitae*: *v.Isid*. 81.13–14; *v.Sab*. 85.4; *Bios kai martyrion* of St. Febronia 48.7–9; *Enkomion* of St. Phokas 6.15–16.

[183] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 52; *v.Sab*. 59.18–42; *Logos historikos* 2.12–16.

[184] Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 141–147.

aware of this association and used it to his benefit, fashioning himself in a similar manner to Sabas and other holy men.

Although the civil war ended in early February 1347, the Constantinopolitan synod faced internal dissension.[185] In July 1347, approximately twenty bishops, among whom were Matthew of Ephesus and other supporters of Kalekas, convened a synod and issued a *tomos* in which they expressed their opposition to the election of Isidore and Palamas, and accused them of heresy.[186] In turn, Isidore convened a counter synod in August and condemned the dissident hierarchs. Kokkinos took part in this latter synod and signed its *tomos* together with Palamas, other metropolitans, and Lazaros, the patriarch of Jerusalem.[187] Thus, Kokkinos most likely reached his metropolitan see after August 1347.

In his *Logos historikos* and the *v.Sab*., he frequently complains about the workload, difficulties and challenges of his tenure as metropolitan, underlining social inequalities and the disobedience and lack of morality among his flock.[188] He even stresses that he had considered resigning from his diocese and returning to his former abode, Athos. However, as he reports, John VI Kantakouzenos and his friends Dorotheos and Markos Blates, made him change his mind.[189] Similar to his alleged rejection of ordination, his words must be taken *cum grano salis* and perhaps as a means of self-promotion and representation. Be that as it may, it seems that at times, and sometime for longer periods, he escaped the "burden" (*ascholia*) of his office and lived in the proximity of Herakleia. Longing for *anachoresis* and *hesychia*, Kokkinos writes that he used to retreat into a grotto overlooking the Sea of Marmara in the vicinity of his metropolis, where at some point a small church had been dedicated to Christ the Saviour. In the *v.Sab*., he offers a detailed description of the place, where Sabas also resided for a period of time before his return to Athos in 1328, and gives a short description of a large-scale icon of Christ located in the church.[190]

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[185] See Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 56.
[186] *PG* 150, 877D–885A. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2281. Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 15.10 (II.786). On Matthew of Ephesus, see Kourouses, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλᾶς εἶτα Ματθαῖος μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου*.
[187] For the edition of this *tomos*, see Uspenskij, *Istoriia Athona*, vol. 3, 728–737; Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2289.
[188] Kokkinos, *Logos historikos* 2.16–26; 3.28–29; *v.Sab*. 59.18–42; 84.12–14.
[189] Kokkinos, *Logos historikos* 12.171–182; 13.198–202; 14.213–230; 15.237–240.
[190] Kokkinos, *Logos historikos* 3–4.27–47; *v.Sab*. 53.34–56.

Kokkinos also spent considerable time in Constantinople. He left Herakleia and went to the capital around Easter of 1350, shortly after Isidore had resigned (February 1350) due to the health problems which led to his death in the autumn of the same year.[191] Kokkinos' arrival in Constantinople at that moment was most probably not fortuitous. He would later apologetically explain in his *Logos historikos* that his departure from his metropolis was divinely prompted.[192] Moreover, as he stresses in the *v.Isid.*, he considered himself Isidore's rightful heir to the patriarchal throne and, therefore, he may have entertained hopes to become patriarch after Isidore's resignation.[193] However, on June 10 (1350), he took part in the Constantinopolitan synod, which appointed the Athonite hesychast hieromonk Kallistos as the new ecumenical patriarch.[194] Kokkinos' own rise to the patriarchal throne would only occur more than three years later.

It seems that Kokkinos remained in the capital for another couple of years after Kallistos' ordination, residing in one of the Constantinopolitan monasteries, perhaps at St. Mamas or St. Phokas.[195] During this time he was a fervent advocate of hesychasm and was active in the Byzantine political and theological scene. For instance, in March–April 1352 he travelled to Didymoteichon together with the metropolitan Metrophanes of Melnik in an unsuccessful mission to reconcile John V Palaiologos and Matthew Kantakouzenos.[196] However, another string of anti-hesychasts came to the fore, although Palamas' Orthodoxy had already been commended, while Barlaam and Akindynos (both deceased in 1348) had been

[191] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 73, describes Isidore's sickness and its symptoms which most probably indicate that the patriarch suffered of bowel cancer. See Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 18.1 (II. 870–871).
[192] Kokkinos, *Logos historikos* 9.109–137.
[193] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 53.1–7.
[194] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2311, *PRK*, vol. 3: no. 176, 16–17; Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* IV.16 (III.105–107). On Kallistos' activity as patriarch during his first patriarchate, see Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2312–2346, *PRK*, vol. 3: nos. 177–186, 16–85. On the nomination, election, and first actions of Patriarch Kallistos, see Estangüi Gómez, "Le séjour de Jean VI Kantakouzènos à Thessalonique," in *Thessalonique au temps des Zélotes*, 55–88, at 59–73.
[195] See Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* IV.16 (III.107). On the monastery of St. Mamas, see Janin, *Églises CP*, 314–319. On the monastery of St. Phokas in Constantinople, located on the northern shore of the Golden Horn, see Janin, *Églises CP*, 498–499. See also Oikonomides, "Ἅγιος Φωκᾶς ὁ Σινωπεύς," *Ἀρχ.Ποντ.* 17 (1952): 184–219, esp. 209–214. In the *v.G.Pal*. 7.10–15, Kokkinos reports that Palamas' family used to sail with a light boat across the Golden Horn for their customary visit to a hesychast monk living at "the monastery of the divine Phokas," located in Galata (Pera). Moreover, it is possible that at this monastery Kokkinos delivered his *enkomion* of St. Phokas, bishop-martyr of Sinope (*BHG* 1537d). Cf. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 35–36, 269.
[196] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2335; Failler, *Apologia*, 25, ll. 3–40. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* IV.32 (III.239).

condemned in a number of Constantinopolitan synods between 1341 and 1347. Among these anti-hesychasts were Theodore Dexios,[197] Matthew of Ephesus, and Gregoras. As Nicol phrased it, "Barlaam of Calabria and his acolyte Gregory Akindynos were both dead. But their ghosts stalked the church and many still believed that they had been nearer the truths of Orthodoxy than the Palamite innovators and heretics."[198] They faced the opposition of theologians who actively defended hesychasm, such as Palamas, David Disypatos,[199] Joseph Kalothetos,[200] and Kokkinos. As mentioned, Kokkinos had already promoted hesychast theology as a hieromonk on Athos and championed it by all the means at his disposal. He exploited the authority of his ecclesiastical office, both as metropolitan and subsequently patriarch, to orchestrate the final breakthrough of hesychast theology and canonize its theologian, Palamas. Moreover, he fervently promoted hesychasm through his *vitae* of contemporary saints, as will be discussed in Part II.

Kokkinos played a prominent and active role in the council convened and presided over by Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos together with Patriarch Kallistos between late May and July 1351. The synod, possibly depicted in a miniature on f. 5v of *Paris. gr.* 1242,[201] gathered in the *Alexiakos triklinos* of the Blachernai Palace, whose walls seem to have been decorated with frescoes of the ecumenical synods of the Church, to which Kokkinos refers in the *v.G.Pal.*[202] This council reaffirmed the decisions of the previous hesychast synods and vindicated Palamas' theology. Kokkinos prepared the synodal *tomos*[203] together with Neilos (Nicholas) Kabasilas

[197] See Polemis, *Theodori Dexii opera*.
[198] Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor*, 111.
[199] See *Λόγος κατὰ Βαρλαὰμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνου*, ed. Tsames.
[200] The monk Joseph Kalothetos was a friend and supporter of Palamas. He wrote several treatises against Akindynos and Kalekas. For his writings, see Tsames, *Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου συγγράμματα*. See also the recent article by Rigo, "Autografi, manoscritti e nuove opere di Giuseppe Kalothetos," *Revue d' histoire des texts* 12 (2017): 107–139. I am grateful to Prof. Rigo for sending me this article. Kalothetos was also a hagiographer who dedicated an *enkomion* (*BHG* 194c) to Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople in which he underlined Athanasios' role as a forerunner of hesychasm. See Tsames, *Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου*, 427–431, and 453–502.
[201] See Drpić, "*Parisinus graecus* 1242 revisited," *DOP* 62 (2008): 217–247; Guran, "Les miniatures du codex *Parisinus graecus* 1242," in *L'empereur hagiographe*, 73–121; Spatharakis, *The Portrait*, 129–137.
[202] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 92.29–32. On the Blachernai Palace, see Macrides, "The citadel," in *Cities and Citadels*, 277–304, and "The palace of the ceremonies," in *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 367–378.
[203] Karmires, *Δογματικά*, vol. 1, 374–407; Lauritzen, "Concilium Constantinopolitanum 1351," in *Decreta*, 179–218; cf. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2324 and 2326. See also Kokkinos' *protheoria* to his *antirrhetikoi* against Gregoras, ll. 31–32: διά τε τὸν ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνον Τόμον, ὃν μετὰ τῆς συνόδου συνεγραψάμεθα. Kokkinos, *Logos historikos* 13.191–193: Μικρὸν δέ τι προσδιατρίψας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ

and subsequently read it during a ceremony held in Hagia Sophia on the feast day of the Dormition of the Theotokos (August 15, 1351).[204] A set of six *anathemata* and six acclamations was also inserted in the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*.[205]

While in Constantinople, Kokkinos received the news of the sack of his metropolis by the Genoese on October 25, 1351, in the context of their conflict with the Venetians.[206] Albeit not an eyewitness, Kokkinos vividly described the fall (*halosis*) and "utter destruction" (*panolethria*) of Herakleia in his *Logos historikos*.[207] He wrote this work in the second half of 1352, shortly after his return to Herakleia, and probably delivered it during the feast of St. Demetrios on October 26, 1352.[208] Kokkinos fashions himself as actively engaged in the release of the prisoners by seeking financial support in Constantinople[209] and visiting the Genoese fortress in Galata to negotiate the ransom of the captives.[210] Moreover, he was involved in the reconstruction of the city after the peace of May 1352, and persuaded Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos to grant Herakleia freedom from taxation. Kokkinos' efforts to release the prisoners from the captivity (*aichmalosia*) of the "Latins" are praised at length in the *akolouthia*.[211]

During the six-year tenure as metropolitan of Herakleia, a considerable part of which he spent outside his see, Kokkinos was a prolific writer. Despite his complaints of an eventful and demanding mandate,[212] he authored several exegetical homilies, dogmatic and polemical treatises, as well as hagiographic compositions. It

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καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀρχιερέων συνόδῳ, συγγραφῆς χάριν καὶ βεβαιώσεως τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβείας ὅρου καὶ σαφηνείας τινῶν […]. Kokkinos signed the *tomos* in the fourth position, after Emperors John VI and John V, and Patriarch Kallistos: "Philotheos, the humble metropolitan of Herakleia, *proedros* of the *hypertimoi* and exarch of all Thrace and Macedonia."

[204] Kokkinos read the *tomos* together with George Galesiotes (a patriarchal official and scribe between *ca*. 1325 and 1357, cf. *infra*) and a certain "wise" Maximos. See Kokkinos, *Antirrhetikos* 1.304–308: Τρεῖς δ' ἦμεν οἱ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀνεγνωκότες ἐκεῖνον, Γαλησιώτης, φημί, καὶ Μάξιμος ὁ σοφὸς καὶ τρίτος ἐπ' ἐκείνοις καὶ τελευταῖος ὁ Ἡρακλείας, ὃς δὴ καὶ προτραπεὶς καὶ διδασκαλικόν τινα βραχὺν περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἀπὸ στόματος ἐξέδωκε μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν λόγον. For a comprehensive account of Neilos (Nicholas) Kabasilas' life and works, see Kislas, *Nil Cabasilas*, 41–87. I am grateful to Dr. Marie-Hélène Congourdeau for this reference.

[205] Gouillard, "Synodikon," 80–91. On the *synodikon* and the hesychast controversy, at 239–251.

[206] Kokkinos, *Logos historikos* 30.547–555; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 235–236.

[207] Kokkinos, *Logos historikos* (Pseutonkas, 235–264). On this *logos*, see Hinterberger, "Ὁ Λόγος ἱστορικός," in *L'écriture de la mémoire*, 331–351.

[208] Kokkinos, *Logos historikos* 38, 44, 45.853–886. Cf. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 358–362.

[209] In a lengthy *prooimion* to his first homily on Luke 13:10–17 (*Logos* 9, 1–10), Kokkinos expresses his gratitude to the citizens of Constantinople for their financial support to ransom the prisoners.

[210] Kokkinos, *Logos historikos* 30, 31.556–583.

[211] Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 308–309, ll. 97–106.

[212] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.12–14, 17–18.

seems that in the first part of his tenure, before his departure to Constantinople, he wrote three exegetic sermons (*logoi*) on Proverbs 9:1 ("Wisdom has built her house").[213] Moreover, he wrote the *tomos* of the synod of 1351 which condemned Gregoras. Following his condemnation, the latter undertook writing *antirrhetikoi* or diatribes against this *tomos*. In response, Kokkinos defended the *tomos* and published three *antirrhetikoi* (two discourses and an epilogue) around 1351–1353.[214] Later, at the request of John VI Kantakouzenos, Kokkinos wrote another twelve *antirrhetikoi* against Gregoras.[215] It is also likely that he wrote the 14 *kephalaia* against the heresy of Akindynos and Barlaam around the same time, perhaps before the synod of 1351.[216] Moreover, in the aftermath of the sack of Herakleia, Kokkinos sent a letter to comfort his "spiritual children" scattered throughout Thrace and Makedonia, and later composed the *Logos historikos* on these events.[217]

In addition to these writings, he also wrote saints' *lives*. Shortly after Sabas' demise around 1348, Kokkinos started writing the life and conduct (*bios kai politeia*) of his former spiritual father. Internal evidence suggests that he composed the *v.Sab.* while he held the office of metropolitan. For instance, he notes that Sabas visited "our Herakleia" en route to Constantinople, and lived in the vicinity of the city.[218] This phrase indicates that Kokkinos was most likely the metropolitan of the city at the time of writing. Moreover, there is additional evidence that Kokkinos composed the *v.Sab.* in the first part of his tenure. He reports that he was writing this *vita* during a period of (relative) concord in the empire, most likely referring to the years following the end of the civil war.[219] Moreover, he makes no mention of either Gregoras or the synod of 1351.[220] Furthermore, his harsh criticism of "this (*tautesi*) present universal disorder and confusion," the revolt of the Zealots in Thessalonike

[213] Kokkinos, *Εἰς τὸ ῥῆτον τῶν παροιμίων «ἡ σοφία ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον καὶ ὑπήρεισε στύλους ἑπτά»*, ed. Pseutonkas, 69–151; see *infra* Part I.2.2.
[214] Kokkinos, *Antirrhetikoi* 13–15.
[215] Kokkinos, *Antirrhetikoi* 1–12. See *Antirrhetikos* 1, ll. 33–39.
[216] *Κεφάλαια τῆς αἱρέσεως Ἀκινδύνου καὶ Βαρλαὰμ καὶ τῶν ὁμοφρόνων ἐκείνοις*. It is also possible that he wrote them before 1347, around the period when he composed the two *logoi dogmatikoi* on the Taboric light. For the manuscripts transmitting this unedited work, see *infra* Part I.2.1.
[217] On the letter and the *Logos historikos* and their manuscripts, see *infra* Part I.2.2.
[218] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 53.28–29: Εἶτα μεταβὰς ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Θρᾴκην, τῆς ἡμετέρας ταύτης Ἡρακλείας.
[219] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 69.5–6: τὴν νῦν ὁρωμένην τῆς βασιλείας ὁμοφροσύνην.
[220] Cf. Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 72, where Kokkinos makes a relatively extensive excursus on the hesychast synods of 1341 and 1347, and harshly criticizes Barlaam, Akindynos, and Patriarch Kalekas.

(1342–1350),[221] and their leader Andrew Palaiologos, both at the beginning and at the end of the *v.Sab*., suggests that the civil unrest in his *patris* was ongoing at the moment of writing the *v.Sab*.[222] It is therefore likely that 1348 (the date of Sabas' death) was the *terminus post quem* for its composition, while the *terminus ante quem* was Kokkinos' arrival in Constantinople around Easter 1350.[223] In spite of an alleged busy schedule, Kokkinos seems to have written the *v.Sab*., the second longest of his *vitae* (after the *v.G.Pal*.) and arguably his masterpiece, within two years of Sabas' demise.[224] Therefore, this may be the shortest time it took him to dedicate a *vita* since that respective holy man's death. As he mentions at the end of the *v.Sab.*, he was assisted by his scribe (*hypographeus*) who probably copied the text of the *vita*.[225] Finally, it seems likely that during his stay in Constantinople, Kokkinos delivered several homilies, such as the two exegetic sermons (*logoi*) on Psalm 37.[226] However, it is also possible that he delivered them later, during or after his first patriarchate.[227]

I.1.4. Tenures as patriarch of Constantinople (1353–1354/5, 1364–1376)

Lasting for six years, Kokkinos' tenure as metropolitan of Herakleia was followed by his election as patriarch, which marked the apex of his ecclesiastical career. Since this period of his life and career has received the most scholarly attention, his activity as patriarch will not be discussed in detail.[228] In the context of the rekindled conflict between John VI and John V over the imperial succession and coronation of Matthew Kantakouzenos, the patriarchal throne remained vacant. Patriarch Kallistos, a supporter of the Palaiologoi, staunchly refused to crown Matthew co-emperor and left the patriarchate to retire to a Constantinopolitan monastery from where he subsequently departed to Tenedos.[229]

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[221] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.26–27: τῆς παρούσης ταυτησὶ κοσμικῆς ἀταξίας καὶ τῆς συγχύσεως. On the sources documenting the Zealot revolt in Thessalonike, see Congourdeau, *Les Zélotes*, at 86–91 a French translation of Kokkinos' passages on the Zealots' uprising. See also *Thessalonique au temps des Zélotes*, and Malatras, "Ο μύθος των Ζηλωτών," *Βυζαντιακά* 30 (2012/13): 229–242.
[222] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.26–53; 70.16–94; 71.
[223] Cf. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 250–252.
[224] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.7–9, 22–25.
[225] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.29–31: ὁ δὲ τῶν λόγων μοι τούτων ὑπογραφεύς.
[226] Kokkinos, *Logoi* 1–2 (Pseutonkas, 23–67).
[227] Cf. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 311–312.
[228] For instance, Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 45–154, discusses at length Kokkinos' activity as patriarch during his two tenures. See Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, I.2, 398–404.
[229] On Kallistos' deposition, see Failler, *Apologia*. This text was written *ca*. early 1355 by one or more members of the synod that deposed Kallistos in August 1353; cf. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2345 and

Thus, a synod was convened in mid-August 1353 and deposed Kallistos *in absentia*. The decision was signed by twenty bishops.[230] Shortly after, the *synodos endemousa* elected the new patriarch of Constantinople from three short-listed candidates: Philotheos Kokkinos, Makarios Chrysokephalos, metropolitan of Philadelphia, and, according to Kantakouzenos, the layman Nicholas Kabasilas.[231] The patriarchal throne was given to Kokkinos, at that time in his mid-fifties.[232]

The canonicity and legitimacy of the synodal election notwithstanding, repeatedly asserted in the *Apologia* and Kantakouzenos' *Memoirs*, Kokkinos' rise to power (and, implicitly, Kallistos' fall) seems to have been inextricably linked to John VI's political manœuvres and politics. Moreover, Kokkinos may have pleased the emperor's ears with his extensive, almost hagiographic portrayal in the *v.Sab*. as a guardian of Orthodoxy and a model emperor who had a monastic vocation and call for sainthood (cf. Part III.2). As already discussed, it seems that Kokkinos finished the *v.Sab*. around 1350, most likely composing it for an urban learned audience, probably the Constantinopolitan (and Thessalonian) elite and the members of the imperial court, including Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos. Furthermore, Kokkinos' involvement in the political and religious affairs of the empire during his sojourn in

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2373. The *Apologia* offers a valuable insight into the atmosphere and the dynamics within the Constantinopolitan synod during the mid-fourteenth century when there seems to have been dissent and conflict among the members of the hierarchy. In fact, the ecclesiastical divide was intextricably linked to the political crisis of the period. The text was transmitted by the fourteenth-century codex unicus *Mosq.* 349*, ff. 183r–211v. Most of the texts carried by this manuscript were authored by Kokkinos, which suggests that the *Apologia* and its author(s) were closely related to his influence and entourage. Further on Kallistos' deposition, see Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* IV.35–36 (III.257–259). Kantakouzenos' *Memoirs* and especially the *Apologia*, 27–41, underline that Kallistos opposed the decision of the emperor and the senate, refused to convene a synod to address the issue of Matthew's coronation, and left the Church without leadership (*prostasia*), and therefore deprived it of its sinodality, which contravened the canons of the Church. Despite numerous interventions, including Kokkinos', Kallistos remained steadfast in his opposition. Therefore, after having first "stripped himself of the patriarchal power," Kallistos was deposed by the synod (*Apologia*, 31.141–143: καὶ ἑαυτὸν πρῶτον ἐγύμνωσε τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς πατριαρχικῆς καὶ ἡμᾶς, τὴν σύνοδον λέγω, κατέλυσε πᾶσαν καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀλλήλων διαστήσας κατὰ ταὐτό). The *Apologia*, 35.183–186, stresses that the prerogative to elect new emperors belongs to the emperor, senate, and army, while the patriarch, the synod, and the church have only an advisory role.

[230] Failler, *Apologia*, 39.279–280. The author(s) of the *Apologia* contended to underline the legitimacy and the canonical validity of Kallistos' deposition and Kokkinos' election. See *Apologia*, 51–69.

[231] Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* IV.37 (III.275): Νικόλαον τὸν Καβάσιλαν, ὄντα ἔτι ἰδιώτην, most likely refers to Neilos (Nicholas) Kabasilas, who has been somewhat eclipsed by, and often confused in scholarship with, his nephew and pupil, Nicholas Chamaetos Kabasilas. On the former, see Kislas, *Nil Cabasilas*, 41–87; Dennis, "Late Byzantine metropolitans," 256–257; on the latter, see Spiteris and Conticello, "Nicola Cabasilas Chamaetos," in *La théologie byzantine*, vol. 2, 315–395, who identify the layman candidate with Nicholas Chamaetos Kabasilas (p. 319); cf. also *PLP* 30539.

[232] Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 28.39 (III.201); Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 309, ll. 107–110; Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2347; Failler, *Apologia*, 139–146.

the capital as metropolitan of Herakleia recommended him for the patriarchal throne. As patriarch, Kokkinos performed the coronation of Matthew Kantakouzenos in February 1354 in the Church of the Theotokos at Blachernai.[233] At this point, the relations between Kallistos and Kokkinos seem to have become contentious.[234]

Although his first tenure spanned less than a year and a half (between autumn 1353 and winter 1354/5),[235] Kokkinos was actively engaged in the ecclesiastical and political scene both in and beyond the empire, as evidenced by the *Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople*.[236] Moreover, he continued his literary activity. It seems that during this time Kokkinos composed two homilies in which he offered a detailed biblical exegesis (almost 10,000 words) of the scriptural passage read on the Sunday of the healing of the crippled woman (Luke 13:10–17).[237] Internal evidence and the manuscripts transmitting them (*M** and *Iberon* 590) offer clues about the date of their composition and delivery. The codices carrying the sermons bear a short liturgical note in the margin, added when the manuscripts were copied, indicating when the pericope of Luke 13:10–17 was read in the church during the liturgical year. For instance, in *M**, above the superscription in the left upper margin of f. 285v the scribe added a note that reads, "the Gospel according to Luke, [read on] the tenth Sunday."[238] As is well known, selected Gospel passages were arranged in Byzantine lectionaries in the order in which they were read and used in church services throughout the liturgical year, with its movable and immovable cycles.[239] The movable cycle was governed by the date of Easter and therefore its Gospel readings began with Easter Sunday and ended with the celebration of Christ's Passion. Pericopes from John extended from Easter to Pentecost, those from Matthew were read from Pentecost to around mid-September, the Luke readings from mid-

[233] On the coronation protocol of an emperor in late Byzantium, see *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 210–243, and Macrides, "The ceremonies," in *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 414–429.
[234] Congourdeau, "Deux patriarches," 37–53.
[235] Failler, *Apologia*, 108–109.
[236] For Kokkinos' activity during the first tenure as patriarch, see Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2348–2372; *PRK*, vol. 3: nos. 188–210, 88–197.
[237] Kokkinos, *Logoi* 9–10 (Pseutonkas, 201–233).
[238] *M**, f. 285v: † τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου, κυριακὴ Ι′.
[239] According to Aland's list, there are around 2,200 Greek Gospel lectionaries that have survived. On Byzantine lectionaries, see Burns, "The lectionary," *StP* 15 (1984): 516–520; Taft, "Lectionary," *ODB* 1201; Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary*, 1–12; Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary*, 15–51. On the Byzantine church chalendar, see Beck, *Kirche*, 249, 253–262; Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures*, vol. 3, 67–72.

September to the beginning of Lent, and Mark during the Lenten period. Therefore, according to the movable cycle, the first Sunday of Luke (5:1–11) corresponds to the eighteenth Sunday after Pentecost.[240] Moreover, according to the 'Lukan jump,' the readings from Luke begin on the Monday following the Sunday after the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14), regardless of what Sunday of the Gospel had been read until that point.[241] Thus, taking into consideration the above, it seems likely that Kokkinos delivered his sermons on the crippled woman in late November (perhaps November 24) or early December 1353.[242]

Kokkinos delivered these homilies in Hagia Sophia, as indicated by their heading, "in the Great Church."[243] In a long *prooimion* of *ca*. 1900 words, Kokkinos expresses his gratitude (*eucharistia*) and praises the citizens of Constantinople for their nobility of character, love and compassion (*kalokagathia*, *agape*, *philanthropia*) manifest in their recent support for ransoming the people of Herakleia from the Genoese captivity (Oct. 1351–May 1352).[244] Addressing his congregation gathered in Hagia Sophia, including other members of the clergy,[245] Kokkinos refers to his promotion from the metropolitan see to the "highest authority and office," the patriarchal throne.[246] Kokkinos seasons his sermons, centered on a biblical passage, with numerous scriptural passages, and occasionally quotations from Gregory Nazianzen's *Orations* (*Or*. 41.3, *Or*. 45.13), which he also uses extensively in his *vitae* of contemporary saints. This may suggest that he designed his homilies for a larger and more diverse audience, comprising people of different social and literary backgrounds. However, this does not necessarily entail that a less educated audience

[240] Gregory, *Textkritik*, vol. 1, 353–357; Metzger, *The Saturday and Sunday Lessons from Luke*, 10, 15. Mateos, *Le Typicon*, vol. 2, 161–163.

[241] This liturgical regulation is due to the fact that the Church celebrates the Conception of John the Baptist on September 23, an event recounted only by the Gospel according to Luke.

[242] According to Grumel, *La Chronologie*, 310, in 1353 Easter was celebrated on March 24, and therefore Pentecost on May 12. Furthermore, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14) seems to have been celebrated on a Saturday. Thus, the Monday following the Sunday after the Exaltation, that is September 15, began the first week of Luke. Therefore, the first Sunday of Luke was on September 22, while the tenth Sunday of Luke corresponded to November 24.

[243] *M**, f. 285v: *Ὁμιλία πρώτη τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς συγκυπτούσης, καθ' ἣν ἠρξάμεθα λέγειν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ.*

[244] Kokkinos, *Logos* 9, 1–10. Based on this *prooimion*, which suggests a temporal proximity between the fall of Herakleia and the moment when Kokkinos delivered the homilies, Niggl, "Prolegomena," 75, dated the sermons to 1351/2. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 316–318, dates them to early December 1353.

[245] Kokkinos, *Logos* 9, 9.145: ὦ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ φίλοι ποιμένες.

[246] Kokkinos, *Logos* 9, 8.131–144. [...] ἐπὶ τῆς ὑψηλοτάτης ταύτης καθέδρας. Cf. *Logos* 9, 9.150–152; 10.164–172.

could not understand, or at least not fully, the texts replete with classical references and allusions. Finally, in addition to the sermons on the crippled woman, during his first tenure as patriarch, Kokkinos may have also written and delivered other exegetic homilies, such as those on Psalm 37.[247] These homilies contain numerous biblical (especially the Psalms), as well as several patristic quotations (in particular Gregory Nazianzen, *Or*. 40.5). Moreover, they also feature classical allusions and similes, such as David as "the spiritual Orpheus," and "the mythical Itys."[248]

Kokkinos' first patriarchate lasted less than a year and a half. In late November 1354, John V entered Constantinople and forced his father-in-law to abdicate.[249] In early December 1354, John VI divested himself of the imperial power, assumed the monastic habit under the name of Joasaph and retired to the monastery of St. George at Mangana in Constantinople.[250] Consequently, following John VI's abdication and John V's rise to power, Kokkinos was deposed and Kallistos reinstated.[251] The latter returned from Tenedos at the end of January 1355 and

[247] Kokkinos, *Logoi* 1–2 (Pseutonkas, 23–67).
[248] Kokkinos, *Logos* 2, 1.2–4. These homilies were possibly composed at the request of Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos. See *infra* Part I.2.2.
[249] Failler, *Apologia*, 103–108.
[250] Janin, *Églises CP*, 70–76.
[251] In one of his extensive diatribes against Kokkinos (inc. Ὁ Θεὸς οἶδε, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, 313–338, at 333, ll. 670–687), Demetrios Kydones reports that a synodal decision not only condemned, but also excommunicated and stripped Kokkinos of his priesthood (τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀφαιρεθείς). However, as indicated above, Kydones' account, composed *ca*. 1371, not long after the synodal condemnation (April 1368) and untimely death of his brother Prochoros (d. *ca*. 1369), must be interpreted *cum grano salis* since it constitutes an overtly polemical and aggressive attack undermining Kokkinos' authority. On this text and the relationship between Kydones and Kokkinos in the late 1360s, see Ryder, *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones*, 46, 232–239. Similarly, in his *Romaike Historia* 29.39 (III.250), which predates Kydones' diatribe, Gregoras explicitly underlines that Kallistos deprived Kokkinos of his priestly office, as well as of the hope of regaining it: καὶ καθαιρεῖ μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς ἱερωσύνης ὁμοῦ τῇ τῆς ἀξίας ἐλπίδι, ἐπιτίθησιν δὲ καὶ ἀφορισθεὶς ὑπ' ἐκείνου πρὶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφορισμὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, μοιχόν τε ἀποκαλῶν καὶ λῃστὴν καὶ ἅρπαγα τῆς μηδαμῇ προσηκούσης ἀξίας αὐτῷ. As mentioned, one must exercise caution given that this evidence comes from Kokkinos' antagonists. However, scholarship (for instance, Beyer's *PLP* entry on Kokkinos and Preiser-Kapeller, *Der Episkopat*, 143) has taken this information at face value. Unfortunately, the synodal decision (*gramma*) to which both Gregoras and Kydones refer to has not survived in the *Patriarchal Register*. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2374 and 2463 (a synodal letter, *gramma*, from late 1364 revoking Kokkinos' condemnation by Kallistos). Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2374, suggests that the absence of the document may be the result of censorship allegedly undertaken during Kokkinos' second patriarchate: "Etant donné l'état actuel du registre, on peut imaginer que l'annullation de l'acte de Calliste contre Philothée (N. 2463) a entraîné non seulement sa cancellation mais son enlèvement radical du volume du registre." Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* IV.38, 50 (III.275, 363), only remarks that Patriarch Kokkinos was deposed and that he willingly (*hekonti*) retired in order to avoid dissension (*dichostasia*) in the Church. In the *v.Isid*., composed after 1355 (that is, after his deposition), Kokkinos dedicates a whole chapter (*v.Isid*. 53) in which he first points out that Isidore reckoned him as his rightful heir (*diadochos*) to the patriarchal throne, and then he criticizes at length the "present" (*nyn*) *status quo* in the patriarchate where ecclesiastical leaders, likened to "ravenous and rapacious

resumed his patriarchal office until his death in the summer of 1363.[252] For the next decade, between the end of 1354 and autumn 1364, Kokkinos seems to have remained in the capital, from where he may have occasionally travelled to Athos.[253] He mainly resided at the monastery of Christ Akataleptos, as he notes in the synodal *tomos* of 1368, as well as evidenced by other sources, such as the *akolouthia*.[254]

During this period of enforced leisure, the ex-patriarch dedicated himself especially to composing homiletic, hymnographic, and hagiographic works. Internal evidence suggests that shortly after his deposition, he started writing the "life and conduct and *enkomion*" of Kallistos' predecessor, the late Patriarch Isidore Boucheir, whom he strove to portray as a model hierarch.[255] The date and place of its composition can be approximated on the basis of internal evidence.[256] In chapter 53 of the *v.Isid.*, Kokkinos stresses that before his demise, Isidore called him his heir (*diadochos*) to the patriarchal throne. Kokkinos interprets this as "a clear prediction and prophecy of the great man [Isidore]."[257] This suggests that at the moment of

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beasts," conceal the truth and employ political force in order to deprive one of his priesthood and authority. Kokkinos' critique most likely targeted Kallistos and other bishops who deposed him. However, it is not clear whether Kokkinos speaks about his own deprivation of priesthood, or rather alludes to Gregoras' above-mentioned allegation. Cf. Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 53.18–20: […] καὶ ταῖς ψηφῖσι καὶ ταῖς πλαξὶν ἢ καὶ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τυχὸν καὶ τῷ τρίβωνι κατά τινας τῶν ἀμαθῶν φιλοσόφων τὴν ἱερωσύνην καὶ τὴν μεγάλην προεδρίαν ὁρίζοντες. See also Kokkinos, *Logos* 8, 17.385: ὁ μακρὸν ἤδη χρόνον σιγῶν ἱερεύς. Be that as it may, Kokkinos became later a canonically sound candidate appointed for a second tenure as patriarch of Constantinople.

[252] For Kallistos' activity during his second patriarchate, see Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2374–2460; *PRK*, vol. 3: nos. 211–254, 196–483.

[253] Laurent, "Philothée," 1499, noted that after his deposition, Kokkinos resumed his metropolitan see of Herakleia. This assumption has been perpetuated in scholarship. For instance, Beyer's *PLP* entry claims that in "1357/8 war wohl wieder Metropolit von Herakleia;" cf. Niggl, "Prolegomena," 2; Solignac, "Philothée," 1390; Preiser-Kapeller, *Der Episkopat*, 143. However, there is no source to support this assumption, as already pointed out by Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, I.2, 399 and 403, n. 23. It seems that during this period Metrophanes (*PLP* 18059) was the metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia; cf. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2381, 2392, 2462, 2576. See further Rigo, "La canonizzazione," 163–164.

[254] Kokkinos, *Synodal Tomos* of 1368, ll. 755–756, ed. Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 126: Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τοῦ Ἀκαταλήπτου καθήμενος καὶ ἰδιάζων […]. Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 309, ll. 110–112. See further Demetrios Kydones' diatribe against Kokkinos, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, 318, l. 174–319, ll. 185, 203–208; Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* IV.50 (III.363): καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ᾗ κατῴκει μονῇ γινόμενος. Interestingly, during his second patriarchate, Kokkinos convened a synodal meeting at the monastery of Christ Akataleptos in November 1367; cf. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2534. See also Rigo, "La canonizzazione," 163–164. On the monastery of Christ Akataleptos, see Janin, *Églises CP*, 504–506.

[255] Tsames, "Βίος Ἰσιδώρου," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 25 (1980): 90–91; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 272–273.

[256] Kokkinos wrote the *v.Isid*. in Constantinople which he calls "this (*tautesi*) one, the leader of all cities" (*v.Isid*. 2.20: μιᾶς ταυτησί, τῆς τῶν πόλεων ἁπασῶν γε προκαθημένης).

[257] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 53.2–5, 7–8: [...] ἡμᾶς εἰς διαδόχους ἐψηφίζου σαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σῶν θρόνων […] Τοῦτο δ' ἡμεῖς καὶ πρόρρησιν ἐναργῆ φαμεν τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ προφητείαν.

writing, Kokkinos had already been on the patriarchal throne and sought to assert his legitimacy. Moreover, in the same chapter, he harshly criticizes those who recently stripped him of his patriarchal office (*proedria*).[258] This indicates that he was not patriarch anymore when composing the *v.Isid*. and that his deposition was fairly recent. Although it may be possible that Kokkinos started working on the *v.Isid*. shortly after Isidore's death in autumn 1350, the year 1355 is a more likely *terminus post quem*. Towards the end of the *v.Isid*., Kokkinos seems to speak about his trials and sufferings when writing that "my fate and that of the common Church [are] in the harshest tempest and storm, and I do not know whither and how they will end."[259] This suggests that he had not yet been reappointed patriarch by the time he completed the *v.Isid*. Therefore, the year 1364 could be the *terminus ante quem*. Moreover, when speaking about Isidore's tonsure by Palamas, Kokkinos gives no indication that the latter had already died.[260] Therefore, the *terminus ante quem* for the *v.Isid*. can be moved forward, before Palamas' death in 1357/9.[261] Thus, similar to the *v.Sab*., which was composed shortly after Sabas' death, Kokkinos wrote the *v.Isid*. less than a decade after Isidore's demise.

Moreover, as discussed, it may be possible that in the late 1350s Kokkinos also wrote the *v.Germ*. For instance, Tsentikopoulos argues that the style of the *vita* suggests a temporal distance between the time of the events recounted and that of writing.[262] In chapter 33 of the *v.Germ*. there is a heretofore unnoticed piece of information which may indicate the *terminus post quem*. There, Kokkinos recounts that while he was still at Vatopedi, Sabas told him about Germanos and praised him as a "great citizen" of Athos and "second Antony," famous for his *askesis* and wisdom. In this passage, Kokkinos calls his former spiritual father "wondrous among the saints."[263] These words most probably indicate that Sabas had already died when the *v.Germ*. was written, making the year of his death (1348) the *terminus post quem* for the *v.Germ*.

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[258] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 53.9–16.
[259] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 79.12–14: ἐν χειμῶνι δὲ μεγίστῳ καὶ κλύδωνι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπῃ καὶ ὅπως γε τελευτήσοντα.
[260] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 25.6–8.
[261] On the date of Palamas' death, see Rigo, "La canonizzazione," 159, n. 9.
[262] Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 280.
[263] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 33.26–28: Ὁ δ' ἐν ἁγίοις θαυμαστός [...].

However, the *terminus post quem* could be established even later. Moreover, Kokkinos uses frequent classical allusions, for instance to Daedalus' wings and Pelops' ivory arm, which may suggest that he targeted an educated audience.[264] Towards the end of the *v.Germ.*, Kokkinos mentions that he and Iakobos Maroules endured "not the mythical Lemnian, but rather the evils of Byzantium."[265] This may point to the misfortunes Kokkinos faced after his deposition from the patriarchal throne, or possibly, as Rigo recently noted, to Kokkinos' "abandon forcé" of the hegoumenate of the Great Lavra.[266] If the former is the case, the *terminus post quem* for the *v.Germ*. would be 1355. With regard to a *terminus ante quem*, Kokkinos must have finished the *v.Germ.* before writing the *v.G.Pal*., most of which he likely finished by 1363, as will be discussed below. At the end of the *v.G.Pal.*, Kokkinos mentions that he had already composed the *vitae* of Sabas and Germanos: "The wonderful and preeminent pair of those wonderful fathers, the noble Sabas and Germanos, the holy adornments of the holy Athos, whose godlike life and conduct we have already published in two accounts (*logoi*)."[267] Thus, Kokkinos dedicated a *vita* to his former spiritual father more than two decades after the latter's demise. However, the evidence previously discussed could also suggest that Kokkinos first composed the *v.Germ*. during his hegoumenate at the Great Lavra and revised it significantly years later, after his deposition as patriarch.

Although stripped of his ecclesiastical authority, he sought to advance the cause of hesychasm through his entire literary activity. Shortly after his death on November 14, 1357/9, Palamas was venerated as a saint. He was buried in Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike and his cult spread, especially in the city, at the Great Lavra on Athos, in Kastoria and Berrhoia, as well as in Constantinople at the monastery of Christ Akataleptos where, as seen, Kokkinos resided between 1355 and 1364. As he later reported in the synodal *tomos* of 1368, through which he put the stamp of patriarchal approval on Palamas' sanctity and theology, Kokkinos reckoned Palamas among the saints and celebrated him in "a bright and great feast," most likely on

[264] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 24.12–16.
[265] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 43.26–28: […] οὐ τῶν θρυλλουμένων Λημνίων, ἀλλὰ τῶν Βυζαντίων μᾶλλον κακῶν σὺν ἡμῖν καὶ αὐτὸς πειρώμενος ἀμωσγέπως.
[266] Rigo, "Le Mont Athos," 275.
[267] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 112.1–4: Ἡ δὲ θαυμαστὴ τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἐκείνων πατέρων καὶ κορυφαία δυάς, Σάβας τε καὶ Γερμανὸς οἱ γενναῖοι, τὰ τοῦ σεπτοῦ Ἄθω σεπτὰ καλλωπίσματα, ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἤδη τὸν θεοειδῆ βίον τε καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐν δυσὶ λόγοις φθάσαντος ἐκδεδώκαμεν.

November 14, at the monastery of Akataleptos together with the *melodoi* of the Great Church and numerous members of the clergy.[268] Moreover, he fuelled Palamas' cult by composing writings in his honour. Thus, in the early 1360s Kokkinos wrote *kanones*, hymns and an office (*akolouthia*)[269] in which he praised Palamas as "a miracle-worker, pillar, luminary, and trumpet of Orthodoxy," and styled him as a "new theologian," associating him with John Chrysostom (celebrated on November 13).[270] Furthermore, Kokkinos not only promoted Palamas' memory and cult, but also his œuvre, as he seems to have gathered and organized the corpus of Palamas' writings.[271] Additionally, it seems likely that during this period he also wrote the *v.G.Pal.*, the last and the longest of his *vitae* (more than 50,000 words).[272] Towards the end of the *v.G.Pal.*, before describing his hero's death and posthumous miracles,

[268] Kokkinos, *Synodal Tomos* of 1368, ll. 755–782, ed. Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 126–127: […] ἐγὼ ἐν μοναστηρίῳ τοῦ Ἀκαταλήπτου καθήμενος καὶ ἰδιάζων, περιφανῆ τινα καὶ μεγάλην ἑορτὴν ἐπετέλουν τῷ ἁγίῳ τούτῳ, καὶ τοὺς τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας ταύτης μελῳδοὺς ἔχων μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν τοῦ κλήρου. […] πολλοὺς ἑορτάζειν τούτῳ περιφανῶς ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ, καὶ ναὸν ἀνεγεῖραί τινας ἐπὶ τῷ τούτου ὀνόματι ἐν τῇ Καστορίᾳ, καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ πολλοὺς ἑορτὰς ἐκτελεῖν πανδήμους αὐτῷ. Macrides, "Saints and sainthood," 85, aptly pointed out that the *tomos* of 1368 was a "means of widening the area of a saint's veneration, of promoting veneration beyond its original local community limits. It is not so much a question of 'official' versus 'popular' veneration as it is one of 'local' versus 'Constantinopolitan' recognition." Tzigaridas, "Εἰκονιστικές μαρτυρίες," in *Πρακτικά ΓΙΙ*, 263–294.

[269] Kokkinos, *Synodal Tomos* of 1368, ll. 732–733, ed. Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 126: Καὶ μαρτυροῦσι τῷ λόγῳ τὰ ἐμὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐγκώμια, διά τε κανόνων καὶ ὕμνων ἐμοὶ πονηθέντα. For an edition of the *akolouthia*, see Boloudakes, *Ἀκολουθία*, 73–136. As Rigo, "La canonizzazione," 170, n. 61, has pointed out, Boloudakes' edition must be consulted with caution and perhaps collated with other manuscripts which he did not use for his edition, such as the fourteenth-century *Vind. theol. gr*. 201, ff. 61r–69v, once in Kokkinos' possession and partly copied and annotated by him; for instance, in this codex he copied his letter to Petriotes (ff. 70r–87r). On this codex, see *infra* Part I.2.

[270] Cf. Boloudakes, *Ἀκολουθία*, 90, 121. See Rigo, "Palamas 'nouveau Chrysostome'," *Irénikon* 80 (2007): 547–562. One of the fourteenth-century manuscripts transmitting the *akolouthia* in honour of Palamas, the *Atheniensis, EBE* 2008, ff. 117r–128v, a *menaion* for November and December copied between 1360 and 1370, associates the celebration of the two saints. On this manuscript, see Politis, Politis, *Κατάλογος*, vol. 1, 74–75. The codex seems to have been in the possession of Dionysios III, metropolitan of Thessalonike (1666–1671). See also Boloudakes, *Ἀκολουθία*, 50–51.

[271] Mondrain and Rigo, "La collection des œuvres complètes de Palamas," in *Proceedings*, vol. 3, 386. A collection of Palamas' writings has survived in the manuscripts *Coislin*. 97 (Palamas' homilies, the *Logos* on St. Peter of Athos, the Discourse to the nun Xene, and the *Letter* to his church describing his Ottoman captivity), 98 (Palamas' polemic works and Kokkinos' *v.G.Pal.*), 99 and 100 (Palamas' polemic works). These codices were once in the possession of the Great Lavra. On these manuscripts, see Devreesse, *Catalogue*, 83–88. *Coislin*. 97 was copied by the scribe Manuel Tzykandiles, whose prolific activity and production include manuscripts (or parts of them) transmitting the writings of John VI Kantakouzenos (*Paris. gr*. 1241, *Vat.* gr. 673, 674), the brothers Kydones, Palamas (*Vat. gr.* 1711), and Kokkinos (*Paris. gr*. 421, *Mosq.* 164*). He also copied the famous manuscript *Paris. gr.* 135, an illuminated codex of the *Book of Job*. On Tzykandiles, see *RGK* I.255, II.351, III.419; Mondrain, "L'ancien empereur," 249–299; Alcalay, "Le *Parisinus graecus* 135," *Byzantion* 78 (2008): 404–480; Fonkič, "Nouveaux autographes de Démétrius Cydonès," *TM* 14 (2002): 243–250.

[272] Kokkinos, *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Γρηγόριον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θεσσαλονίκης*, ed. Tsames, 427–591.

Kokkinos mentions that Palamas wrote four *logoi* against Gregoras "at the invitation of the man who now [*nyn*] rules the universal church,"[273] possibly referring to Patriarch Kallistos. Hence, if Kokkinos wrote the sections of the *v.G.Pal*. in the order they appear in the form that has survived, this may suggest that he finished it, or the largest part of it, before 1363. It is also possible that he revised it later, and surely finished the *vita* by late February–early March 1368, since he does not mention the synodal decision officially instituting Palamas' feast day and annual celebration at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.[274] Thus, similar to the *v.Sab*. and the *v.Isid*., Kokkinos composed the *v.G.Pal*. less than a decade after the demise of the holy man.

Kokkinos also dedicated his pen to exegetic homilies between 1355 and 1364. He authored three sermons (*logoi*) on the beatitudes (Matthew 5:3–12),[275] which he dedicated to Empress Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina, the wife of John V and daughter of John VI.[276] Internal evidence suggests that Kokkinos delivered these homilies in the late 1350s.[277] For instance, in the epilogue, he praises Helena as a "truly wonderful and intelligent empress" and wishes for her to inherit the Heavenly Kingdom "together with [your] wonderful, benevolent, and wise husband and emperor, with [your] beloved children and emperors, and these young and wonderful offspring."[278] He seems to refer to Helena's and John V's sons Andronikos IV and Manuel II, born in April 1348 and June 1350 respectively, and Theodore I and Michael, born in the second half of the 1350s. If Theodore I and Michael were still in their infancy at the moment of writing, this would place the composition of these sermons in the late 1350s. Moreover, it seems that Kokkinos wrote them when John V was the sole emperor, that is, after late 1357 when Matthew Kantakouzenos

[273] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 114.1–10: θαυμαστῶς καὶ ἀξίως ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν περὶ θεότητος αὐτοῦ λόγων ἐξεδόθη τῷ μεγάλῳ τῷδε βιβλίον ἐν τέσσαρσι λόγοις ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς καθόλου νῦν ἐκκλησίας κρατοῦντος ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα παρακληθέντι. Here I use Talbot's English translation in *Miracle Tales*, 321.
[274] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2540. Macrides, "Saints and sainthood," 85, noted that "[t]he insertion of Palamas' name and feast day into the calendar of Hagia Sophia was a means of giving recognition to the doctrines he espoused."
[275] Kokkinos, *Logoi* 6–8.
[276] For a short biography of Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina, see Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, 135–138; Angelou, *Manuel Palaiologos*, 39–40. On her patronage in the second half of fourteenth century and a short discussion of her support for hesychasm, see Leonte, "A late Byzantine patroness," in *Female Founders*, 345–353.
[277] Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 314–316.
[278] Kokkinos, *Logos* 8, 17.379–381: θαυμασία τῷ ὄντι καὶ συνετὴ βασιλίς, ἅμα τῷ θαυμαστῷ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ καὶ σοφῷ ὁμοζύγῳ καὶ βασιλεῖ, σὺν τοῖς φιλτάτοις παισί τε καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς νεογνοῖς καὶ θαυμαστοῖς τουτοισὶ βλαστήμασι.

renounced his imperial title.[279] Furthermore, in the same epilogue, he writes that: "I [present] these to you, the best of empresses, I who have been a silent priest for a long time already. If this is appropriate and right I cannot say now."[280] However, yielding to her requests, he continues, he does not completely refrain from speaking, but speaks the word of God by the mouth of paper and ink (cf. 2 John 1:12), for "the word of God cannot be chained" (2 Timothy 2:9).[281] Kokkinos seems to report that although some time had elapsed since his deposition, he was still under some sort of ecclesiastical injunction that restrained him from preaching. Thus, one may surmise that he wrote these homilies and sent them to the empress at her request. However, this premise seems to conflict with the evidence found in the *prooimion* of each sermon where Kokkinos uses temporal markers, such as "today," which rather suggest that he delivered them on three different (perhaps consecutive) days.[282]

Be that as it may, it is rather interesting to notice how Kokkinos constructed his texts. It seems that he carefully designed his sermons not only to offer a fairly detailed biblical and patristic exegesis of the beatitudes, but also (and perhaps especially, given his reported situation) to appeal to the educated ears of the empress for personal gain. Throughout the text he praises Helena as "the most intelligent, wonderful, and Christ-loving empress."[283] Although he employs only one classical allusion, to Niobe, Kokkinos includes numerous biblical and patristic quotations, especially from the Cappadocian fathers, and embellishes his texts with rhetorical questions and figures of speech (*polysyndeton* and *polyptoton*).[284] Additionally, when he interprets the sixth beatitude, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God"

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[279] Cf. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2403 and 2462.

[280] Kokkinos, *Logos* 8, 17.385–387: Ταῦτά σοι, βασιλίδων ἀρίστη, ὁ μακρὸν ἤδη χρόνον σιγῶν ἱερεύς. Εἰ μὲν καλῶς τε καὶ δικαίως οὐκ ἔχω νῦν λέγειν.

[281] Kokkinos, *Logos* 8, 17.388–392: τοῖς βουλομένοις παραχωρῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ παντελῶς σιωπῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον διὰ χάρτου λαλῶν τέως καὶ μέλανος ... ἐπεὶ καὶ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Παῦλον "ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ δέδεται."

[282] Kokkinos, *Logos* 6, 1.14–15: Ἐπεὶ τοιγαροῦν σὺ τοῦτο πέφηνας ἡμῖν σήμερον ἄντικρυς. *Logos* 7, 1.19–22: Δεῦρο τοιγαροῦν καὶ αὖθις, βασιλίδων ἀρίστη … νοητῶς καὶ σήμερον ἄνελθε πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸ θεῖον ὄρος. *Logos* 8, 1.22–24: […] σοι πρὸς τέλος ἄγομεν σήμερον, τρίτον ἤδη μετὰ χεῖρας ταῦτα λαμβάνοντες καὶ τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖον τὰ βασιλικὰ τῇ βασιλίδι προσφέροντες.

[283] Kokkinos, *Logos* 6, 8.159: Εἶδες τῆς δωρεᾶς τὸ κατάλληλον; 6, 1.1–2: ὦ συνετωτάτη καὶ θαυμαστὴ βασιλίς; 6, 12.244: θαυμασία καὶ φιλόχριστε βασιλίς. *Logos* 7, 1.8: ὦ φιλόχριστε βασιλίς; 7, 9.165: φιλόχριστε δέσποινα. *Logos* 8, 1.2: ὑψηλοτάτη βασιλίς.

[284] Kokkinos, *Logos* 6, 8.182–191; 6, 12.259–261: Οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἥλιος καὶ φῶς καὶ πηγὴ καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀνάστασις καὶ ὁδὸς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα καλούμενος. *Logos* 6, 1.2–5: Τοὺς **βασιλικοὺς** τῶν λόγων, ὦ συνετωτάτη καὶ θαυμαστὴ **βασιλίς**, τοῖς **βασιλεῦσι** δεῖν οἶμαι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσφέρεσθαι. **Βασιλικοὺς** δὲ λόγους ἐγώ φημι μάλιστα οὐχ οὓς λογοποιοί τε καὶ ῥήτορες πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν τοῖς **βασιλεῦσιν** (my emphasis). *Logos* 6, 12.261–262: τοῖς τοιούτοις ὀνομάζων ὀνόμασιν.

(Matthew 5:8), Kokkinos inserts elements of hesychast theology (as he does at length in the *vitae*) and stresses that through the grace of the Holy Spirit, men can see the glory of God (*theoptia*, *theophaneia*) as the Apostles did on Tabor. In order to strengthen this, he adduces biblical (Stephen the Protomartyr) and patristic arguments (Gregory of Nyssa, Basil of Caesarea, Athanasios of Alexandria, and Dionysios the Areopagite).[285] All these point out not only the education of the empress, but also her theological interests. In fact, Helena Kantakouzene was a refined writer herself, whose literary achievements were praised by contemporary men of letters.[286] Moreover, she entertained a close connection and friendship with several of these Byzantine literati, including Demetrios Kydones, who often sought her support and patronage. With regards to her theological interests and standpoint, it seems that she followed closely in the footsteps of her father and embraced and promoted hesychast theology. Thus, Kokkinos most likely dedicated these sermons to Helena Kantakouzene as an acknowledgment of her support for hesychasm, but also as an incentive for her to continue to promote it, since hesychast theology was still fiercely contested.[287] However, as noted above, one of the main reasons behind Kokkinos' compositions seems to have been rather personal, namely to attract (or perhaps maintain) her imperial patronage and political support. Kokkinos' reported misfortunes came to an end in 1364, when he was already in his late sixties.

After Kallistos' death during an imperial embassy to Serres in August 1363, the patriarchal throne remained vacant. After a series of meetings between Kokkinos and John V,[288] the latter, together with the permanent synod, reappointed Kokkinos

[285] Kokkinos, *Logos* 7, 16–19.

[286] For instance, in one of his letters to Helena Kantakouzene (*Letter* 389, dated to 1352), Demetrios Kydones, at that time John VI's *mesazon*, commends the fine writing style and "Attic grace" of her eulogies (*epinikioi logoi*) in which she honoured the military success of her father John VI. See Kianka, "The letters of Demetrios Kydones to empress Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina," *DOP* 46 (1992): 155–164, at 155–156: "Noble words have been presented to a noble father by a noble daughter … delighting all who know how to judge the elegance of words … May the emperor … enjoy the pleasure in two ways, by both the greatness of his deeds and by his noble daughter's fashioning a crown of words for him." Gregoras also praises her refined education in one of his letters; cf. Leonte, "Helena Kantakouzene," 347.

[287] Cf. Leonte, "Helena Kantakouzene," 348.

[288] According to Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* IV.50 (III.363), John V and Kokkinos met at least two times, at the palace and the Akataleptos monastery respectively. In one of his letters addressed to Kokkinos in 1368 (*Letter* 129.17–22, ed. Loenertz, *Correspondance*, 164–166, at 165; cf. Mercati, *Notizie*, 293, ll. 14–19), Demetrios Kydones reminded the patriarch that he had taken an oath before his re-election according to which he had agreed not to "harass" those unwilling to accept Palamas' theology and the *tomoi* of the hesychast councils (1341, 1347, and 1351).

as patriarch in the autumn of 1364.[289] Thus, he resumed his patriarchal office for another twelve years, pledging his loyalty to John V and his son Andronikos IV.[290] Through an active ecclesiastical policy, as recorded by the *Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople*,[291] Kokkinos strove to maintain, negotiate, and consolidate the authority, jurisdiction, and liaisons of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate within the Orthodox commonwealth.[292] He often intervened, or "seems to have enjoyed a free hand," as Meyendorff put it, in the political and ecclesiastical affairs of the Muscovite Rus'.[293] Furthermore, although not a Latinophile, he favoured the prospects of an ecumenical council at Constantinople to attempt an official union between the Churches.[294]

In his second patriarchate, marked by the personal conversion of John V to Latin faith in 1369, Kokkinos continued his efforts to promote hesychasm.[295] For instance, he sent an official letter to the Lavriote monks, granting them permission to venerate Palamas as a saint.[296] Moreover, between late February and March 4, 1368, he issued the synodal decision mentioned above, which officially instituted the feast day and annual commemoration of Palamas at the Great Church in Constantinople.[297] Finally, Kokkinos' efforts as "l'exécuteur testamentaire du palamisme," as Gouillard put it,[298] reached a climax in April 1368 when the Constantinopolitan synod canonized Palamas, thus endorsing his theology, and condemned the anti-hesychast

[289] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2461. According to a Byzantine *Short chronicle*, Kokkinos regained the patriarchal throne on October 11. *Kleinchroniken* 9.17 (I.94, II.293): ἔτει ͵ςωοβ΄, ὀκτωβρίῳ ια΄, ἀνέβην πάλιν Θεόφιλος πατριάρχης. See Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 309–310, ll. 112–114.
[290] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2462; Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, I.2, 399, 403 n. 25.
[291] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2463–2681a; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 69–154.
[292] Beck, *Kirche*, 35; Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 108–118, underlines the claims to universality of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate.
[293] Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, esp. 85–107, 173–199, at 177. See further Tinnefeld, "Byzantinisch-russische Kirchenpolitik," *BZ* 67 (1974): 359–384; Tachiaos, *Ἐπιδράσεις*, 91–102.
[294] Meyendorff, "Projets de concile œcuménique," *DOP* 14 (1960): 147–177; Kianka, "Byzantine-Papal diplomacy," *The International History Review* 7 (1985): 175–213, esp. 175–194; Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2526.
[295] The *akolouthia* (Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 310, ll. 114–127) does not extol any other activities of Kokkinos during his second patriarchate, but his efforts to defend Orthodoxy and hesychast theology. It stresses that with the "sling of his words" and writings he "bridled, muzzled and put to shame," as well as "expelled and drove away" as "rapacious beasts" those who belittle "the essential and natural (proper to essence) and divine *energeia* of the supremely divine and supra-essential Trinity" and "the divinity manifested to the Apostles through light."
[296] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2471.
[297] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2540. Macrides, "Saints and sainthood," 84–85; Tsames, "Παλαμᾶς καὶ ἡ ἐποχή του," in *Πρακτικά ΓΠ*, 53–69; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 287.
[298] Gouillard, "Synodikon," 249.

Prochoros Kydones.[299] As mentioned, Kokkinos wrote the synodal *tomos*.[300] This synodal decision provides information on the dynamics of Palamas' canonization.[301] Kokkinos writes that:

> I consider that holy and divinely inspired man a saint, I mean the holy Gregory, and in nothing inferior to those great teachers and divinely inspired fathers of the Church, because of his wonderful and angel-like conduct and his great spiritual contests which he fought against the passions and the demons ... and further because of those [contests] he nobly fought for the holy Church of Christ, enforcing her, as her leader, with writings, treatises and discourses and with everything in his power.[302]

Kokkinos presents himself as Palamas' hymnographer and hagiographer, stressing his own literary homage to Palamas. Interestingly, in fewer than thirty words, he underlines three times that it was he who wrote encomiastic canons, hymns and the *v.G.Pal*.: "*my enkomia* to him, which were composed diligently by *me* in canons and hymns, and his life composed by *me* in the category of *enkomia*."[303] Kokkinos continues: "and above all I am fully assured about this and I love and honour him as saint because of his miracles which he wrought after his departure from here to God, showing his own tomb a spring of miracles."[304] As mentioned, during his second tenure as patriarch, Kokkinos may have put the finishing touches on the *v.G.Pal*. The *vita* incorporates numerous accounts of miracles effected by Palamas during his lifetime and posthumously, which take up around one fifth of the *vita* and will be analysed in Part III.1. As reported in the synodal *tomos* of 1368, both Kokkinos and Patriarch Kallistos had inquired into Palamas' *thaumata*. The latter wrote to the

[299] Cf. Mergiali, *Γράφοντας ιστορία με τους αγίους*, 125–149.
[300] Kokkinos, *Τόμος κατὰ τοῦ μοναχοῦ Προχόρου τοῦ Κυδώνη*, ed. Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 99–134; on authorship and date, see Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 70–71.
[301] On the procedure of canonization in the Palaiologan period, see Macrides, "Saints and sainthood," 83–86; see also Talbot, *Faith Healing*, 21–30.
[302] Kokkinos, *Synodal Tomos* of 1368, ll. 724–732, Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 125–126: τὸν ἅγιον ἐκεῖνον ἐγὼ καὶ θεοφόρον ἄνδρα, τὸν ἱερὸν λέγω Γρηγόριον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας τῆς θαυμαστῆς ἐκείνης καὶ ἰσαγγέλου, καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἀγώνων, οὓς ἠγωνίσατο κατά τε τῶν παθῶν καὶ τῶν δαιμόνων … ἔτι τε καὶ ἀφ᾽ ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας γενναίως ἠγωνίσατο, καὶ ταύτης προέστη, καὶ συγγράμμασι καὶ λόγοις καὶ διαλέξεσι καὶ παντὶ τῷ δυναμένῳ στηρίξας αὐτήν, ἅγιον ἔχω τοῦτον, καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἐκείνων διδασκάλων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῶν θεοφόρων πατέρων κατ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐλλείποντα.
[303] Kokkinos, *Synodal Tomos* of 1368, ll. 732–734, ed. Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 126: τὰ **ἐμὰ** πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐγκώμια, διά τε κανόνων καὶ ὕμνων **ἐμοὶ** πονηθέντα, καὶ ὁ παρ᾽ **ἐμοῦ** συγγραφεὺς βίος ἐκείνου ἐν ἐγκωμίων μέρει (my emphasis).
[304] Kokkinos, *Synodal Tomos* of 1368, ll. 734–737, ed. Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 126: Μάλιστα δὲ ἀκριβῶς πεπληροφόρημαι τοῦτο καὶ στέργω καὶ τιμῶ τοῦτον ὡς ἅγιον ἀπὸ τῶν θαυμάτων αὐτοῦ, ἃ μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκδημίαν εἰργάσατο, ἰαμάτων πηγὴν τὸν ἴδιον ἀναδείξας τάφον.

suffragan bishops and Church officials of Thessalonike asking for signed testimonies about Palamas' miracles. The results of their investigation, carried out with the knowledge and by decree of the dowager Empress Anna of Savoy, at that time residing in Thessalonike, were sent to Kallistos.[305] Similarly, Kokkinos requested information on Palamas' miracles from the *megas oikonomos* of the metropolis of Thessalonike, who sent him sworn testimonies from the beneficiaries of Palamas' miraculous powers. Kokkinos wove a selection of these miracle accounts into the narrative of the *v.G.Pal.*—especially in the final section—to the best of his ability, as he writes towards the end of the *vita*.[306]

I.1.5. Last years of life, liturgical celebration and sanctification

Kokkinos' second patriarchate came to an end after approximately twelve years in office. In mid-August 1376 John V was forced to abdicate following the *coup* of his son, Andronikos IV, who held the Byzantine sceptre until July 1379 when his father overthrew him. After Andronikos IV's rebellion, Kokkinos was deposed,[307] possibly because of his refusal to perform the coronation of the usurper, and replaced with Makarios, who was appointed patriarch around June 1377.[308] Kokkinos retired to a Constantinopolitan monastery (perhaps Akataleptos), while the new patriarch erased his name from the diptychs.[309] Kokkinos seems to have died sometime between 1377 and 1378. This is suggested by the *vita* of metropolitan Peter,[310] composed in 1381–

[305] Kokkinos, *Synodal Tomos* of 1368, ll. 737–755, ed. Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 126.

[306] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 134.1–8. Extracting from the *v.G.Pal.* almost all the miracles effected by Palamas during his lifetime and posthumously, Talbot has recently reconstructed and translated into English what would have been the original 'dossier,' or at least most of it. See Talbot, Fitzgerald Johnson, *Miracle Tales*, xviii–xxiv, 300–405. For an analysis of Palamas' *miracula* described by Kokkinos, see Talbot, "Miracles of Palamas." For my analysis of this dossier, see *infra* Part III.1.

[307] Laurent, "Philothée," 1503, Beck, *Kirche*, 724, and Chiovaro, "Philotheus," erroneously noted that Kokkinos resigned from his patriarchal office because of his old age and poor health. He was certainly old and most likely faced health problems, but neither of these causes led him to renounce his office. It was rather a forced resignation following Andronikos IV's *coup*.

[308] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2682. On Makarios' activity as patriarch, see Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2683–2693.

[309] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2683. *Kleinchroniken* 9.33 (I.96, II.314–315): ἔτει ,ϛωπε΄ ἔπαυσαν τὸ μνημόσυνον Φιλοθέου τοῦ πατριάρχου.

[310] For a short discussion and a Greek translation of Cyprian's accoun, see Tachiaos, *Ἐπιδράσεις*, 111–113. See also Getcha, *La réforme liturgique du métropolite Cyprien de Kiev*, 84–92. Cyprian reports that in June 1378 he returned to Constantinople where he found the patriarchal palace full of confusion, namely after Makarios' appointment. He also mentions that Kokkinos was deposed by the emperor (Andronikos IV) and afterwards confined in a monastery where he died one year later. However, it is not clear whether the *terminus post quem* was Kokkinos' deposition or Cyprian's visit to Constantinople. If the former, Kokkinos' death might have occurred sometime between 1377 and

1382 by Cyprian, a close associate (*oikeios kalogeros*) of Kokkinos, who appointed him metropolitan of Kiev, Little Rus, and Lithuania in 1375.[311] The *akolouthia* mentions that Kokkinos died and was later celebrated on the twenty-second day of an unspecified month.[312]

As mentioned at the beginning of this biographical portrait, shortly after his demise, Kokkinos was recognized and celebrated as a saint by the Orthodox Church. In the aforementioned *vita* of Peter, Cyprian refers to Kokkinos as "this patriarch, the saint, great and wonderful both in word and deed."[313] Moreover, in the last decades of the fourteenth century, most probably during the patriarchate of Neilos Kerameus (1380–1388),[314] and perhaps in hesychast circles, an *akolouthia* was composed to honour and commemorate Kokkinos.[315] This *akolouthia*, transmitted (only in fragments) by manuscript 58 of the Olympiotissa monastery at Elassona, was the work of an anonymous author who seems to have been acquainted with hesychast theology, vocabulary, and writings, as well as with Kokkinos' life and works.[316] As seen, the *akolouthia* speaks briefly about Kokkinos' *patris* and parents (ll. 45–49), education (ll. 49–59), monastic vocation at the monastery of Chortaïtes and then on Athos (ll. 59–67), ordination, hegoumenate at the Great Lavra (ll. 67–68), *anachoresis* and desire for *hesychia* (ll. 68–70), defence of hesychasm together with Palamas (ll. 71–92), tenure as metropolitan of Herakleia, ransom of his flock from "Latin" captivity (ll. 93–106), first patriarchate (ll. 107–110), respite at Akataleptos (ll. 110–112), and second patriarchate (ll. 112–127). Without disclosing particulars on Kokkinos' patriarchates, the anonymous author stresses his significant role in defending Orthodoxy and refuting heretics through his writings. The *akolouthia* extols Kokkinos as an "invincible champion of the devout," "fierce guardian of the

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1378, and if the latter, he must have died around mid 1379. Cyprian does not say whether Kokkinos was still alive or if he met him during his stay in Constantinople. Therefore, one could surmise that Kokkinos had already died by June 1378.

311 Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2655, 2665. On Cyprian's life and œuvre, see Getcha, *La réforme liturgique du métropolite Cyprien de Kiev*, 37–122, and 48–58 on his connection with Kokkinos.

312 Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 305, l. 44: Εἰκάδη δευτερίῃ βῆ πόλον Φιλόθεος.

313 Tachiaos, *Ἐπιδράσεις*, 112: τοῦτον δὲ τὸν πατριάρχην, τὸν ἅγιον, τὸν λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ μέγαν καὶ θαυμάσιον.

314 Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2697–2843. Neilos Kerameus, a native of Thessalonike, was a fervent supporter of hesychasm and Palamas, whom he praised in an *enkomion* (*BHG* 719), *PG* 151, 655–768. He revoked several decisions of his predecessor Makarios, who had cancelled those of Kokkinos. See Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2700 and 2705.

315 Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 299–303 (introduction), 303–310 (edition).

316 Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 303.

orthodox, sharp persecutor of impiety and ill-repute, and unshaken pillar of the church," "luminary of Christ's Church," as well as "guardian of orphans, patron of widows and poor, consolation of the afflicted."[317]

In addition to liturgical and hagiographic texts, Kokkinos was also honoured in iconography. In the early fifteenth century, within three decades of his demise, Thessalonian painters depicted him as a hierarch in a fresco portrait located in the bema of the main church of the Serbian monastery of Resava (Manasija).[318] It seems likely that the artists relied on earlier iconographic representations that are not extant today.[319] Moreover, a series of late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century portraits of Kokkinos, which represent him either as a monk or as hierarch, was identified by Tsames in the iconographic program of several *sketai* and monasteries on Mount Athos (Philotheou, Gregoriou, the Great Lavra, the Holy Trinity in Kavsokalyvia) and in Bulgaria (Rila), as well as in a historiated initial ("O") and a decorative band in two Athonite manuscripts of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[320]

Finally, Kokkinos was eulogized in another anonymous *bios* and *akolouthia* composed in the early nineteenth century by an Athonite monk, perhaps at the Athonite monastery of Philotheou. These texts have been transmitted in the codices *Panteleemon* 759 (6266), ff. 101–128 (*bios*) and *Agios Paulos* 26 (153), ff. 162–180 (*bios* and *akolouthia*).[321] These *bios* and *akolouthia* offer interesting insights into the reception of Kokkinos' memory and works, as they reflect the interest of an educated Athonite monk to rekindle his commemoration. As mentioned, the author was not aware of the late-fourteenth century *akolouthia*, but used other sources, such as the *v.Sab*., Kantakouzenos' *Memoirs*, Dositheos II Notaras' *Tomos agapes*, and the

[317] Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 303, l. 1: εὐ]σεβῶν ἀκαταγώνιστος πρόμαχος; 304, ll. 24–26: τῶν ὀρθοδόξων θερμὸς προστάτης, δυσσεβείας τε καὶ κακοδόξων ὀξὺς διώκτης καὶ ... τῆς ἐκκλησίας στῦλος ἀκράδαντος; 305, ll. 45–46: ὁ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας φωστήρ; 303, ll. 6–7: Προστάτης ... ὀρφανῶν, χηρῶν καὶ πενήτων χορηγός, τῶν θλιβομένων παράκλησις.
[318] Tsames, "Εἰκονογραφικὲς μαρτυρίες," 38–39, 43; Mergiali, *Γράφοντας ιστορία με τους αγίους*, 130.
[319] Tsames, "Εἰκονογραφικὲς μαρτυρίες," 39; Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 300.
[320] *Esphigmenou* 107 (2120), p. 1 and *Agia Anna* 85, p. 13. The former carries the *v.G.Pal*. translated into 'demotic' Greek and was copied by a certain monk Raphael who completed it in November 1782. The first "O" of the text is a historiated letter which depicts Kokkinos with a nimbus where the scribe wrote: Ὁ ἅγιος Φιλόθεος πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Tsames, "Εἰκονογραφικὲς μαρτυρίες," 39–41, with photographic reproductions at 44–51; Lambros, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, 183.
[321] Lambros, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, 24; vol. 2, 427–428; Dentakes, *Βίος καὶ ἀκολουθία*, 28–30.

Ecclesiastical History of Meletios, metropolitan of Athens.[322] At the end of the *bios*, the author refers to several of Kokkinos' writings: the *antirrhetikoi* against Gregoras, *akolouthiai* for St. Demetrios of Thessalonike, and Palamas, the *v.Sab*., canons for the Theotokos, and poems.[323] According to the *bios*, Kokkinos died at an old age and was interred at the Akataleptos monastery where his relics reportedly effected numerous healing miracles.[324] Unlike the fourteenth-century liturgical office, the later *akolouthia* places Kokkinos' feast day and celebration on October 11 and on the fifth Sunday of Lent.[325]

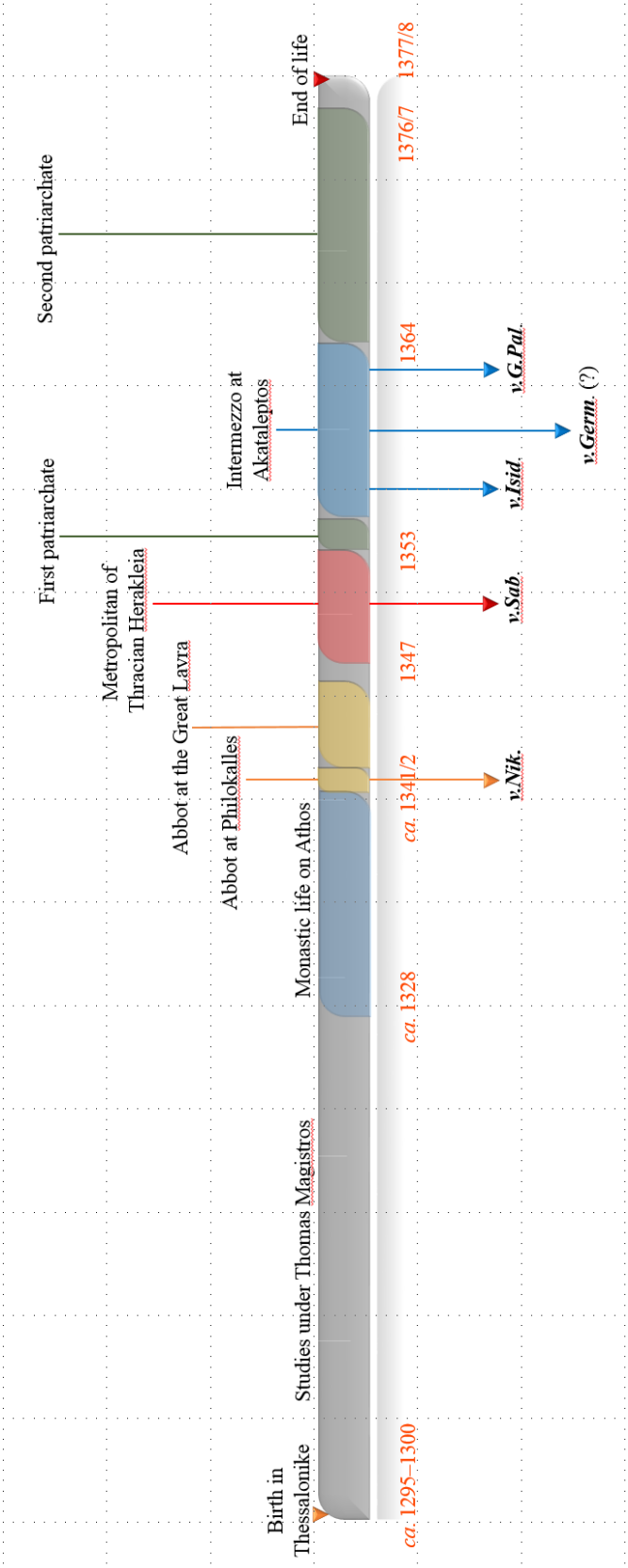
Today the Greek Orthodox Church celebrates Kokkinos as a saint on October 11. In the new metropolitan church of Thessalonike dedicated to Palamas, the fresco portraits of Kokkinos are associated and depicted together with those of Gregory Palamas, the saint he eulogized and canonized. In the side chapel housing Palamas' relics, Kokkinos is portrayed on the right wall from the entrance, facing and guarding, as it were, Palamas' reliquary. The frescoes in the chapel were reportedly commissioned by the late Professor Tsames, the editor of Kokkinos' *vitae* of the Thessalonian saints. Additionally, full size fresco portraits of Palamas and Kokkinos decorate the north-eastern pillar in front of the sanctuary screen.

Drawing on Kokkinos' writings and other contemporaneous textual sources, as well as scholarly literature, Part I.1 fleshed out Kokkinos' ecclesiastical career and literary activity, against the socio-political and cultural context of fourteenth-century Byzantium. It focused especially on his early life by discussing the date and place of his birth, family background, name, education, monastic vocation and life on Athos, hegoumenate at Philokalles and the Great Lavra, office as metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia, tenures as patriarch, and his ten-year hiatus at the monastery of Akataleptos. Moreover, it contextualized and introduced Kokkinos' five *vitae* of contemporary saints, as well as other writings. Following a thorough analysis, which corroborated internal evidence and previous scholarship, I have established a tentative chronology of the composition of his *vitae*. It emerged that Kokkinos wrote

[322] Meletios, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία*. In *Τόμος ἀγάπης*, 1–239, Dositheos published the *editio princeps* of Kokkinos' *antirrhetikoi* against Gregoras. On Dositheos, see Todt, "Dositheos II. von Jerusalem," in *La théologie byzantine*, vol. 2, 659–711.
[323] Dentakes, *Βίος καὶ ἀκολουθία*, 90–93.
[324] Dentakes, *Βίος καὶ ἀκολουθία*, 93.
[325] Dentakes, *Βίος καὶ ἀκολουθία*, 95. The date October 11 was likely taken from the Byzantine *Short chronicle* which places Kokkinos' return to the patriarchal throne on this date (see *supra* n. 289).

them over the course of more than two decades, from the early 1340s to the early 1360s, most probably in the following sequence: *v.Nik.*, *v.Sab*., *v.Isid*., *v.Germ*., and *v.G.Pal*., and as shown in Fig. 1. His most prolific period was his enforced leisure at Akataleptos between his tenures as patriarch, when he likely composed three of the *vitae* (*v.Isid*., *v.Germ*., and *v.G.Pal.*). Finally, Part I.1 discussed Kokkinos' last years and posthumous sanctification. After a long life of around eight decades, with a distinguished ecclesiastical career and literary œuvre, Kokkinos came to follow closely in the footsteps of the saints he eulogized and promoted, and was venerated as a saint in the Orthodox Church soon after his death.

Fig. 1. Chronology of Kokkinos' life and composition of his *vitae*



I.2. The Literary Œuvre of Philotheos Kokkinos

> *No one should dismiss my work offhand, judging it not worthy of the effort, since my purpose is a spiritual one, training and encouraging lovers of virtue to emulate him.*[326]

Kokkinos' distinguished ecclesiastical career presented in the previous section was matched by a rich and diverse literary œuvre. A quick look at the statistics offered by the *TLG* shows that Kokkinos ranks high among his contemporaries in terms of the length of his writings. With a total of almost 450k words, Kokkinos ranks after Palamas (*ca.* 700k), Gregoras (*ca.* 575k), and John VI Kantakouzenos (*ca.* 500k). However, one must take into account the caveat that *TLG* does not feature the entire literary corpus of these authors. Although the ranking might change by factoring in these additional texts, Kokkinos would most likely remain in the top five most prolific late-Byzantine men of letters.

Kokkinos composed numerous writings, ranging from dogmatic to homiletic, liturgical, hymnographic and especially hagiographic compositions. In the following, I will offer an overview of his writings, some of which have been already introduced in Part I.1, and discuss their manuscript tradition, especially for his *vitae* of contemporary saints. Moreover, I will highlight Kokkinos' involvement in the process of copying, reviewing, and publishing his works. As mentioned in the Introduction, the manuscripts bearing his autograph interventions are marked with an asterisk (*). Examples of his autograph annotations are also presented in the footnotes. This section will end with the analysis of codex *M** which, I argue, constitutes an "author's edition."

[326] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 1.6–9: Μηδεὶς οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ παρόντι προσπέμψαιτο, ὡς μὴ σπουδῆς ἄξιον εἶναι τοῦτο κρίνας, ἐπεί τοί γε ὁ σκοπὸς ἄρα πνευματικός, πρὸς μίμησιν τὴν ὁμοίαν ὑπαλείφων καὶ οἱονεὶ διεγείρων τοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐραστάς. English translation by Talbot, "Nikodemos," 224.

I.2.1. Dogmatic works

One of the active supporters of hesychasm, Kokkinos composed numerous and extensive dogmatic and apologetic treatises in response to anti-hesychast writings.[327] Among his first dogmatic works, if not the first, were two *logoi dogmatikoi* on the Tabor light, written against Akindynos. He wrote them on Mount Athos between 1345 and the beginning of 1346, most likely at Palamas' request.[328] According to the superscription in *M**, Kokkinos completed these *logoi* before January 1346 when "the Athonites"—most likely the monks of the Great Lavra—sent them off to Constantinople as response to Akindynos' anti-hesychast writings.[329] Internal evidence also points out that he finished them before 1347. Thus, at the beginning of each *logos*, Kokkinos refers to Palamas as "Gregory, the priest of God" and not as metropolitan of Thessalonike.[330] These *logoi*, preceded by a short *protheoria*, have survived in a series of fourteenth-century codices, some of which were copied under Kokkinos' supervision and closely reviewed by him: *M**;[331] *Monac. gr.* 508*;[332] *Par. gr*. 1276*;[333] *Angel. gr.* 66;[334] and *Mosq.* 164;*[335]

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[327] Niggl, "Prolegomena," 4–45; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 157–241; Kaïmakes, "Δογματικό του έργο," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 26 (1981): 371–388, erroneously included Palamas' *Hagioreitikos tomos* among Kokkinos' dogmatic works.

[328] Cf. Palamas' letter to Kokkinos (Nov.–Dec. 1344), PS II, 517–538; Rigo, "Le Mont Athos," 281.

[329] *M**, f. 139r: *λόγοι δογματικοὶ πρός τε τὸν Ἀκίνδυνον καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ συγγραφέντες διὰ τοῦ κυροῦ Φιλοθέου καὶ ἀποσταλέντες παρὰ τῶν ἁγιορειτῶν εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν κατὰ μῆνα Ἰαννουάριν τῆς ιδ΄ ἰνδικτιῶνος, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀκινδύνου κινήσαντος ἐκείνους διὰ τῶν οἰκείων συγγραμμάτων*: "*Logoi dogmatikoi* against Akindynos and his adherents composed by lord Philotheos and sent off to Constantinople by the Athonites in the month of January of the 14th indiction [1346], after Akindynos had set them in motion through his own writings." In the synodal *tomos* of 1351, Kokkinos refers to these *logoi*. He writes that although the Athonite monks were not able to attend the synod of 1351, they sent instead "two virtuous and educated hieromonks and a petition to our mighty and holy *autokrator* and emperor (John VI Kantakouzenos), which makes clear that they also sent off to the synod their own opinion in writing. Therefore, the dispatched hieromonks stood up and gave the synod the *logoi*, as common [accepted opinion] of the entire Holy Mountain, [*logoi*], which the most esteemed metropolitan of Herakleia, lord Philotheos, had composed while still living with them there." Karmires, *Δογματικά*, vol. 1, 404; Lauritzen, "Concilium Constantinopolitanum 1351," 216: δύο τῶν ἱερομονάχων ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λόγῳ σεμνυνομένους πέμπουσι καὶ ἀναφορὰν πρὸς τὸν κραταιὸν καὶ ἅγιον ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ βασιλέα, παραδηλοῦσαν ὅτι καὶ ἔγγραφον τὴν οἰκείαν γνώμην τῇ συνόδῳ ἀπέστειλαν. Ἀνέστησαν οὖν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἱερομόναχοι καὶ ἀπέδωκαν τῇ συνόδῳ λόγους, ὡς κοινοὺς τοῦ ἁγίου Ὄρους παντός, οὓς συνεγράψατο ἐκεῖ ἔτι παραμένων μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ ἱερώτατος μητροπολίτης Ἡρακλείας κύριος Φιλόθεος.

[330] Kokkinos, *Λόγοι δογματικοί*, ed. Yaneva, 27.6, 98.18–19: ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερεὺς Γρηγόριος.

[331] Ff. 138r–178v; on *M** and its content, see *infra* and Appendix 5.

[332] This codex, copied in the third quarter of the 14th c., constitutes a collection of Kokkinos' 'early' dogmatic writings, composed between 1345–1351, which played an important role in the hesychast debates: the synodal *tomos* of 1351 (ff. 5r–52v), the *logoi dogmatikoi* against Akindynos (ff. 53r–130v), and the *confessions* of Orthodox faith of Palamas (ff. 131r–133) and Kokkinos (ff. 133r–145v). Unfortunately I did not have the chance to consult the codex *in situ*. Throughout the manuscript, Fonkič, "Les autographes," 80–85, Mondrain, "La constitution," 23, eadem, "L'ancien empereur,"

Mosq. 349*;[336] and *Mosq*. 290.[337] As already mentioned, the *editio princeps* of these *logoi* was recently published by Yaneva together with a Bulgarian translation.

280, 284, have identified Kokkinos' autograph interventions and "retouches" on his works. This manuscript, an "author's edition," was the product of Kokkinos' collaboration with several scribes, including the so-called "anonymus Aristotelicus," whom Mondrain, "L'ancien empereur," 288–290, identified with the erudite deacon Malachias, a scribe from Kokkinos' close entourage. See eadem, "Traces et mémoires," in *Scientia in margine*, 1–25, at 22–25; Bianconi, "La biblioteca di Cora," *S&T* 3 (2005): 391–438, at 400–403. For instance, in *Monac. gr.* 508*, Malachias copied the main text of the *tomos* of 1351 (ff. 5r–50v). Once the texts were copied, Kokkinos proofread them, added titles, marginal notes, and corrections. He especially perused the *tomos* and the *logoi dogmatikoi*. For a comprehensive list of his autograph interventions, see Fonkič, "Les autographes," 80–84. The codex was in Kokkinos' possession, as indicated by a note of possession (f. 168r: Φιλοθέου πατριάρχου ἡ βίβλος) and it seems likely that at some point it was also part of Kantakouzenos' personal library; cf. Mondrain, "L'ancien empereur," 284.

[333] The Paris manuscript only transmits the second *logos dogmatikos* (ff. 1r–31v). In addition to other writings by Kokkinos, such as the letter to Petriotes (ff. 32r–48v) and a "treatise" on circumcision (ff. 49r–64r), the codex carries Gregoras' *Romaike Historia* (28–29, 31–33.1-18) (ff. 104r–177r), Nicholas Chamaetos Kabasilas' *homilies* (fragmentary) on the Annunciation (ff. 177r–182v) and the birth of the Theotokos (ff. 183r–188v), as well as Niketas Myrsiniotes' *homily* on the Parable of the Dinner. Parts of Gregoras' *Historia* were copied by Gregoras himself (ff. 104r–124v, 126r–128r, 155v) and by the anti-hesychast Isaac Argyros (ff. 132r–155v l. 21, 156); cf. Mondrain, "Les écritures," *RSBN* 44 (2007): 157–196, at 168; Pérez Martín, "El 'estilo Hodegos'," *S&T* 6 (2008): 389–458, at 447, n. 211. On Argyros' "library" and scribal activity, see Mercati, *Notizie*, 229–242, and Bianconi, "La controversia palamitica," 355–365. The first 64 folios of the codex transmit Kokkinos' writings which he perused and annotated. Some of his autograph interventions (especially marginal notes) on the *logos dogmatikos* are found on f. 1r (he adds εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν to the title of his *logos*), f. 3r (correction *in rasura*), f. 5v (τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου), f. 6r (τοῦ Νύσσης, τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου), f. 7v (τοῦ Παλαμᾶ), f. 9v (word order), f. 15r (addition of text: ὁ μέγας φησὶ), f. 15v (Ἀνδρέου), f. 22v (Δαμασκηνοῦ), f. 24r (Νείλου), f. 24v (Διονυσίου), f. 25r (~~Διονυσίου~~ Ἀνδρέου), f. 27r (Δαμασκηνοῦ). On this codex, see Mondrain, "L'ancien empereur," 276–277.

[334] *Angel. gr*. 66 gathers hesychast writings authored by Joseph Kalothetos (ff. 1r–229v) and Kokkinos (ff. 230r–412v). In addition to his *logoi dogmatikoi* (ff. 230r–306r), the manuscript transmits his *confession* of faith (ff. 306v–319r), and the exegetic sermons on Prov. 9:1 (ff. 319r–381r) and on the beatitudes (ff. 381r–412v). On this codex, see most recently Rigo, "Autografi, manoscritti e nuove opere di Giuseppe Kalothetos," 117–119.

[335] The manuscript gathers Kokkinos' hagiographic and dogmatic writings. The first part carries his unedited *logoi* on the Holy Apostles (ff. 1r–37r) and on All Saints (ff. 37r–71v), and the *vitae* of Febronia (ff. 71v–97), Anysia of Thessalonike (ff. 97–109), Phokas (ff. 109–122), Sabas the Younger (ff. 122v–246v), and Onouphrios (ff. 249–273), while the second transmits his *logoi dogmatikoi* (ff. 274–335v) and the unedited 14 *kephalaia* against the heresy of Akindynos and Barlaam. The main scribe of this codex was Manuel Tzykandyles (*RGK* I.255, II.351, III.419), one of the most known and prolific late-Byzantine scribes. He copied manuscripts for Kokkinos and John VI Kantakouzenos. On Tzykandyles' scribal activity, see Mondrain, "L'ancien empereur," 250–264 and passim. Throughout *Mosq*. 164* Kokkinos added marginal notes and corrections (ff. 37, 48v, 54v, 59v, 131, 336v); see *infra* and Fonkič, "Les autographes," 87; "Gli autografi," 251–252.

[336] In addition to the *logoi dogmatikoi* (ff. 107–170), the manuscript transmits Kokkinos' unedited *logos* on All Saints (ff. 68r–104r, without the *protheoria* and the beginning of the text, *ca*. 85 words) and three exegetic sermons on Prov. 9:1 (ff. 212–264). For the production of this codex Kokkinos collaborated with different scribes among whom was Malachias. Kokkinos' annotations are found throughout the manuscript; see Fonkič, "Les autographes," 87, "Gli autografi," 252; Mondrain, "L'ancien empereur," 280. On this codex, see also Failler, *Apologia*, 9–15. The manuscript belonged to Vatopedi from where Arseniy Sukhanov purchased and brought it to Russia in 1654, together with other *ca*. 500 Athonite manuscripts; see Fonkič, "Sukhanov," 68–104, at 94.

[337] *Mosq.* 290 (Vlad. 236), once in the posession of Iberon Monastery, was copied in the second half of the fourteenth century by Tzykandyles and Ioasaph of the Hodegos Monastery (*RGK* I.208, *RGK*

Unfortunately, this edition is based only on two codices, *M** and *Angel. gr.* 66.[338] Well versed in theology and the Church fathers, Kokkinos devotes these *logoi* to three main subjects: the light revealed on Mount Tabor at Christ's Transfiguration, stressing its uncreated nature; the distinction between God's essence and His uncreated divine *energeiai*; and the divine revelations. Throughout the *logoi*, Kokkinos adduces numerous biblical and patristic arguments, especially from the Cappadocians, Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, Maximos the Confessor, John of Damascus, and Gregory Palamas.

The synodal *tomos* of 1351 is another important dogmatic work which Kokkinos wrote together with Neilos (Nicholas) Kabasilas.[339] The *tomos* presents with clarity the tenets of hesychast theology: there is a distinction between divine essence (*ousia*) and its uncreated operations (*energeiai*) (ll. 519–784); *energeia* is uncreated (ll. 785–820); this distinction does not involve composition in God (ll. 821–862); the term "divinity" (*theotes*) also applies to *energeia*, since the Church fathers used this term or "God" (*theos*) to refer to *energeia* (ll. 863–962); divine essence transcends its *energeia* (ll. 963–1034); participation (*metoche*) is in the *energeia* of God (*kata ten energeian*) and not in His essence (ll. 1035–1228).

This fundamental text for hesychasm and Orthodox theology in general has proved popular.[340] The *tomos* survived in numerous fourteenth-century manuscripts, including *Monac. gr.* 508*, where Kokkinos reviewed and annotated the text (ff. 5r–52v) and copied the names and signatures of the participants to the synod (ff. 50r–52v); *Paris. gr.* 421 (ff. 1r–22v), a collection of Kokkinos' dogmatic and hagiographic works;[341] *Monac. gr.* 155 (ff. 1r–16v), a codex which carries on the last quire a fragment of the *v.Sab.* (ff. 199r–206v); Basel, University Library N.I.6.16, a

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II.287, *RGK* III.344). It carries Kokkinos' first *logos dogmatikos* (ff. 44–74) and works of Nicholas Chamaetos Kabasilas. On Ioasaph, see Pérez Martín, "El 'estilo Hodegos'."

[338] Yaneva, *De Domini luce*, 21–23 (*protheoria*), 26–97 (*logos* 1), 98–142 (*logos* 2).

[339] *Τόμος συνοδικός, ἐκτεθεὶς παρὰ τῆς θείας καὶ ἱερᾶς συνόδου τῆς συγκροτηθείσης κατὰ τῶν φρονούντων τὰ Βαρλαάμ τε καὶ Ἀκινδύνου, ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων βασιλέων ἡμῶν Καντακουζηνοῦ καὶ Παλαιολόγου*, ed. Karmires, *Δογματικά*, vol. 1, 374–407; Lauritzen, "Concilium Constantinopolitanum 1351," 179–218.

[340] The text of the *tomos* of 1351 does not feature in the *Patriarchal Register* as transmitted in *Vind. hist. gr.* 47. This is also the case for the synodal *tomos* of 1368. See Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2324; cf. Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 55.

[341] In addition to the *tomos* of 1351, the codex carries Kokkinos' 15 *antirrhetikoi* against Gregoras (ff. 27r–313v) and the *v.G.Pal.* (ff. 314r–386r). Tzykandyles copied the *antirrhetikoi* 11–15. On this codex, see *infra*.

fragment of the last part of the *tomos* copied by the patriarchal notary George Galesiotes;[342] *Vat. gr.* 705*, "uno strumento di lotta del partito palamitico" copied in the 1360s in Kokkinos' hesychast circles, carrying the *tomos* of 1351 (ff. 139r–186v) and an extensive patristic *florilegium* on divine essence and *energeiai* (ff. 1r–133v);[343] *Dionysiou* 147 (3681), ff. 280v–315v;[344] Patmos, St. John Monastery, ms. 366, ff. 353–368; and *Vind. theol. gr.* 210, ff. 318v–353v.[345] The *tomos* of 1351 was first edited at the end of the seventeenth century (Combefis, 1672, Dositheos II Notaras, 1698), and critically reedited by Uspenskij (1892), Karmires (1968[2]), and Lauritzen (2016).[346]

Shortly after the synod of 1351, Kokkinos wrote a *confession* of Orthodox faith,[347] which has survived in the fourteenth-century *M**, ff. 179r–185v, *Monac. gr.* 508*, ff. 133r–145v, *Mosq.* 164*, ff. 351–363, *Angel. gr.* 66, ff. 306v–319r, *Lavras* Ω 120 (1932), ff. 35r–55v, and the fifteenth-century *Lavras* Λ 135 (1626), ff. 153r–160.[348] Kokkinos' *confession* was edited by Arampatzis.[349]

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[342] See Harlfinger, "Autographa," in *Geschichte und Kultur*, 43–50, at 49–50 (and plate 22); Dölger, "*Tomos* des Jahres 1351," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 72 (1952): 205–221. On Galesiotes, see *RGK* I.57, II.77, III.97; Pérez Martín, "El *Vaticanus gr*. 112," *Scriptorium* 49.1 (1995): 42–59.

[343] See Bianconi, "La controversia palamitica," 366–370, at 366. The *florilegium* (arranged in 16 sections) is also extant in the fourteenth-century manuscripts *Marc. gr.* 163, copied by Tzykandyles, *Vatopedi* 262 (see *infra*), *Mosq.* 206 (Vlad. 337), and the fifteenth and sixteenth-century codices *Paris. gr.* 970, *Paris. gr.* 1238, Athens EBE 2583, and *Monac. gr.* 285 (*ca*. 1535). On this *florilegium*, see Markesinis, "Un florilège," in *Philohistôr*, 469–493; Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 57. Apart from the *tomos* and the *florilegium*, *Vat. gr.* 705* transmits Kokkinos' unedited 14 *kephalaia* against Akindynos and Barlaam (ff. 134r–138v, 187r–194v, l. 6). Kokkinos' autograph annotations are found on ff. 42v and 65r. On f. 42v, he comments on a passage from Gregory of Nyssa's *Against Eunomius* 2.1.150 on the difference between divine essence and *energeia*, and on f. 65r, he adds three more lines of text to a passage from a *homily* on the Annunciation of the Theotokos written by Athanasios of Alexandria.

[344] This manuscript contains the works of Neilos Kabasilas (ff. 1–247) and a collection of documents related to the hesychast debate (similarly to *Vatopedi* 262): Palamas' *Hagioreitikos tomos* (ff. 248r–252r), the synodal *tomos* of 1341 (ff. 252v–263r), the synodal *tomos* of 1347 (ff. 263r–272v), the rapport of the metropolitans to Empress Anna (of Savoy) (ff. 273r–274v), the *prostagma* of John VI Kantakouzenos (ff. 274v–276r), the letter of submission of metropolitan Matthew of Ephesus (ff. 276v–277r), and Palamas' *confession* of faith (ff. 277r–280r). See Rigo, "Il *Prostagma*," 50 (2013): 741–762, at 748, 751–752; idem, "Il *Rapporto* dei metropoliti," 328–329.

[345] The codex from Vienna is a collection of Nicholas Chamaetos Kabasilas' works. In addition to these manuscripts, the *tomos* of 1351 also survived in *Coislin*. 101 (ff. 266r–283v), *Vat. gr*. 1149 (cf. Niggl, "Prolegomena," 40), and *Vat. lat*. 4789 (fragments on a guard leaf). See further Meyendorff, *Introduction*, 406–407; Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2324; Harlfinger, "Autographa," 49–50.

[346] Uspenskij, *Istoriia Athona*, vol. 3, 741–780; Karmires, *Δογματικά*, vol. 1, 374–406; Lauritzen, "Concilium Constantinopolitanum 1351," 179–218.

[347] *Ὁμολογία τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, ἐκτεθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ μητροπολίτου Ἡρακλείας Φιλοθέου*. At the end of the *confession* in *Monac. gr.* 508*, f. 145, and *M**, f. 185v, the scribe Malachias wrote: ἐγράφη κατὰ μῆνα ὀκτώβριον τῆς ε΄ ἰνδικτιῶνος [τοῦ ͵ϛῳξ΄ ἔτους – only in *Monac. gr.* 508*], namely 1351/2.

[348] The *confession* is also extant in the eighteenth-century *Lavras* K 128 (1415); cf. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 182–184.

The 15 *antirrhetikoi* against Gregoras represent Kokkinos' lengthiest and most comprehensive dogmatic work (almost 190k words). As mentioned in Part I.1, Kokkinos published three *antirrhetikoi* around 1351–1353, in response to Gregoras' diatribes against the synodal *tomos* of 1351.[350] For instance, the latter accused Kokkinos of having failed to adduce sufficient patristic evidence in support of the hesychast tenets presented in the *tomos*.[351] Kokkinos wrote the other 12 *antirrhetikoi* slightly later (some after Gregoras' death around 1360), at the request of John VI Kantakouzenos.[352] Although Kaïmakes' edition presents them as a unitary work, they initially formed two distinct parts, the last three *antirrhetikoi* (nos. 13–15) in Kaïmakes' edition predating the other. This distinction is endorsed by the manuscript tradition.[353] Three fourteenth-century codices transmit only the last (chronologically first) three *antirrhetikoi* (nos. 13–15): *Vind. theol. gr.* 201*, ff. 88r–166r,[354] *Iberon* 590 (4710), ff. 274v–320,[355] and *Ambros*. D 029 sup. (Martini-Bassi 224), ff. 93–155.[356] During the second patriarchate, Kokkinos unified and rearranged all his 15 *antirrhetikoi* in the order they have been transmitted by *Paris. gr.* 421, ff. 27r–313v,

[349] Arampatzis, "Ὁμολογία," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ. Τμῆμα θεολογίας. Νέα σειρά* 10 (2000): 1–33, at 15–33.
[350] Kokkinos, *Logoi antirrhetikoi* 13–15 (Kaïmakes, 517–595).
[351] To the best of my knowledge, Gregoras' *antirrhetikoi* against the *tomos* of 1351 have not been edited. This work survived in the fifteenth-century codex unicus *Laur. Plut.* 56.14 (ff. 1r–162r), which also carries his *Romaike Historia* (fragmentary). See Paparozzi, "Appunti per lo studio degli inediti *Antirrhetici posteriores* di Niceforo Gregoras," *Atti della Academia nazionale dei Lincei* 28 (1973): 921–951; idem, "Nota sul perduto codice escorialense degli *Antirrhetici posteriores* di Niceforo Gregoras,"*Aevum* 48 (1974): 371–376.
[352] Kokkinos, *Logoi antirrhetikoi* 1–12 (Kaïmakes, 25–515); see their *introduction* (*protheoria*) (Kaïmakes, 19–20), and *antirrhetikos* 1, ll. 33–40; see also Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 185–188; Laurent, "Philothée," 1503–1504; Lukhovitskij, "Historical memory," 211–212.
[353] See the *protheoria* to the *logoi antirrhetikoi* 13–15 (Kaïmakes, 517).
[354] Most of this codex, once in Kokkinos' possession, carries his works: the *enkomion* of St. Demetrios the Myroblytos (*BHG* 547d) (ff. 1r–20v, with *lacunae*), three exegetic sermons on the beatitudes (ff. 21r–60v), the *akolouthia* for Palamas (ff. 61r–69v), his letter to Petriotes (ff. 70r–87r), and the *antirrhetikoi*. It also contains works by Gregory of Sinai (ff. 167r–174v) and Theophanes of Nicaea (ff. 175r–197r). The manuscript bears numerous autograph interventions by Kokkinos. For instance, he added the heading to his *enkomion* of St. Demetrios (which he titled *homilia*) (f. 1r) and corrected the text (ff. 11rv, 12v, 16v, 17r, 20r). He also wrote the titles of his sermons (ff. 21r, 32v, 47v), correcting and adding text (ff. 22v, 38r, 49v). Moreover, he wrote the headings of the *akolouthia* (ff. 61r, 65r), added an extensive liturgical note (ff. 62v–63r), and copied the *exaposteilaria* (f. 69v). Furthermore, he copied the whole text of his letter to Petriotes (ff. 70r–87r); cf. Fonkič, "Les autographes," 87, "Gli autografi," 251; Mondrain, "La constitution," 23–25.
[355] This codex also carries the *v.Germ*. and the *v.Isid*. (ff. 165r–195v, 196r–263).
[356] The manuscript transmits Gregoras' *Florentios* (ff. 1r–47) and Kokkinos' three exegetic sermons on the beatitudes (ff. 47–93).

Vat. gr. 1149, ff. 1r–431,[357] the fifteenth-century *Coislin.* 101, ff. 5–237,[358] and the sixteenth-century *Paris. gr.* 1244, ff. 1r–354v, Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Laud. gr.* 72, ff. 1r–251, and *Monac. gr.* 57, ff. 1r–342r.[359] The *editio princeps* of the *antirrhetikoi* appeared in the *Tomos agapes*, published by Dositheos of Jerusalem at Iași in 1698, and their critical edition was prepared in 1983 by Kaïmakes.[360]

As already noted, Kokkinos composed the *tomos* of the Constantinopolitan synod of 1368.[361] The text survived in the fourteenth-century *Vatopedi* 262 and the sixteenth-century *Hieros. Sanctae Crucis* 22. The Athonite manuscript was copied around 1370 by the patriarchal notary John Holobolos[362] and constitutes a collection of pro-hesychast texts (similar to *Dionysiou* 147). In addition to the *tomos* of 1368 (ff. 205r–214r), it carries Palamas' *Hagioreitikos tomos* (ff. 127r–131r) and the synodal *tomoi* of 1341, 1347, and 1351 (ff. 131v–142r, 142r–151v, 159r–193v). It also transmits a patristic *florilegium* on divine essence and *energeiai* (ff. 1r –89v, 95v–108v), like that in *Vat. gr.* 705*, and Kokkinos' 14 *kephalaia* (ff. 109r–121r).[363] If the first codex carries the whole text of the *tomos*, the second transmits only a short fragment (ff. 465r–467r).[364] The *tomos* was edited by Rigo.[365]

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[357] Like *Paris. gr.* 421, the first folios of this Vatican manuscript carry the *tomos* of 1351. See Cardinali, *Inventari*, 112, 206–207, 302; cf. Niggl, "Prolegomena," 11, n. 6; Mercati, *Notizie*, 243, n. 3, 244.

[358] This is a dogmatic collection of Kokkinos. Besides the *antirrhetikoi*, it carries the letter to Petriotes (ff. 237–243), the 14 *kephalaia* (ff. 249–257) against the heresy of Akindynos and Barlaam, and the *tomos* of 1351 (ff. 266–283v). Moreover, it transmits the synodal *tomos* of 1341 (ff. 258–264). Most of the manuscript was copied in 1445 by the *megas ekklesiarches* Sylvester Syropoulos (*RGK* II.490, III.574).

[359] In addition to these codices, fragments of Kokkinos' *antirrhetikoi* are found in the fourteenth-century *Vind. theol. gr.* 210, ff. 356v–358v (*antirrhetikoi* 5.1227–1336, 4.213–218), a codex which also carries the *tomos* of 1351 (ff. 318v–353v); the sixteenth-century *Iberon* 388 (4508), ff. 730 (a fragment from the *antirrhetikos* 5). Cf. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 184–185. It seems that they are also extant in the fourteenth-century *Petropol. gr.* 244, a codex which was partially copied by Malachias; see Fonkič, "Les autographes," 85, "Gli autografi," 247–248; Mondrain, "L'ancien empereur," 280.

[360] *Τόμος ἀγάπης*,1–239, text reproduced in *PG* 151, 773–1186. Kaïmakes, *Δογματικὰ ἔργα*, 25–595.

[361] *Vatopedi* 262, f. 205r: *Ὁ προβὰς ἱερὸς τόμος κατὰ τοῦ μοναχοῦ Προχόρου τοῦ Κυδώνη*.

[362] On Holobolos, see Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 76–77 (and plates 1, 4); Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 2649, 2559, 2560, 2572. In 1369, according to his note on f. 311r, Holobolos copied the codex *Lavras* K 112 (1399) carrying Constantine Armenopoulos' *Hexabiblos* and Kokkinos' refutations of Armenopoulos' *anathemata*.

[363] For a description of the codex, see Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 55–57.

[364] Kokkinos, *Synodal Tomos* of 1368, ll. 715–785 (Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 125–127). The codex was copied around 1563 by the hieromonk Nikodemos of St. Anastasia Pharmakolytria Monastery in Chalkidike (founded in 1520), as indicated in his colophon (f. 467rv). The manuscript is dedicated to Palamas' writings and memory and transmits his homilies (nos. 1–41) (ff. 1r–301v), Kokkinos' *v.G.Pal.* (ff. 302r–436v), Neilos Kerameus' *enkomion* of Palamas (*BHG* 719) (ff. 437r–464v), and a fragment of the *tomos* of 1368 where Kokkinos reports about the hymns, canons, and the

Other dogmatic works are the 14 *kephalaia* against the heresy of Akindynos and Barlaam[366] and his letter to Petriotes on divine nature and its *energeiai*.[367] The *kephalaia* have survived in numerous fourteenth-century codices, including *M**, ff. 327r–335r, *Vat. gr.* 705*, ff. 134r–138v, 187r–194v, l. 6, *Mosq.* 164*, ff. 335v–350, *Monac. gr.* 510, ff. 141r–145v, *Lavras* I 122 (1206), ff. 57–77, and *Gregoriou* 39 (586), ff. 281v–292v.[368] The letter to Petriotes has survived in *Paris. gr.* 1276*, ff. 32r–48v, *Vind. theol. gr.* 201*, ff. 70r–87r, and *Coislin.* 101, ff. 237–243. Kokkinos perused and annotated the letter in the Paris codex,[369] and copied it himself in the Vienna manuscript. Neither of these texts have been edited.[370]

I.2.2. Homiletic and epistolary works

Among Kokkinos' surviving homiletic compositions are three exegetic sermons (*logoi*) on Proverbs 9:1 ("Wisdom has built her house"), two on Psalm 37, three on the beatitudes (Matthew 5:3–12),[371] and two homilies on the Sunday of the crippled woman (Luke 13:10–17). He wrote the sermons on Proverbs 9:1 most likely while metropolitan of Herakleia, seemingly for a certain bishop Ignatios (perhaps Ignatios

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life (*bios*) composed for Palamas, his inquiry into the saints' miracles, and Palamas' celebration at Hagia Sophia. Further on this codex, see Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 60–62. St. Anastasia Monastery also housed the fourteenth-century *Paris. gr.* 1185 A, a codex which carries Kokkinos' *enkomion* of St. Phokas (*BHG* 1537d), as well as the well-known *Paris. gr.* 1242, copied by Ioasaph of the Hodegos Monastery, transmitting Kantakouzenos' theological works. See Darrouzès, "Les manuscrits du monastère Sainte-Anastasie Pharmacolytria de Chalcidique," *REB* 12 (1954): 45–57, esp. 51–52, and 55.

[365] Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 99–134. As mentioned, the *tomos* was first published in *Tomos agapes*, 93*–114*, and subsequently reproduced in *PG* 151, 693–716. Cf. Dentakes, "Ἑπτὰ συμβολικὰ κείμενα," *ΕΕΘΣΠΑ* 22 (1975): 755–783.

[366] *Κεφάλαια τῆς αἱρέσεως Ἀκινδύνου καὶ Βαρλαὰμ καὶ τῶν ὁμοφρόνων ἐκείνοις*.

[367] *Τῷ Πετριώτῃ, ὅτι ὥσπερ εἷς Θεὸς ἡ Ἁγία Τριάς, οὕτω καὶ μιά θεότης, καὶ περὶ θείας ἐνεργείας* (heading wrote by Kokkinos in *Vind. theol. gr.* 201*, f. 70r). Inc.: Χθὲς καὶ πρότριτά μοί τις τῶν συνήθων. Cf. Beck, *Kirche*, 725.

[368] The *kephalaia* also survive in the fifteenth-century *Monac. gr.* 505, ff. 1r–11v, *Vat. gr.* 573, ff. 3v–10v, *Cosilin.* 101, ff. 249–257, Olympiotissa monastery at Elassona, ms. 65, ff. 126–145, Patmos, St. John Monastery, ms. 328, item 3, and the sixteenth-century *Vat. gr.* 1707, ff. 616v–631, and *Monac. gr.* 27, ff. 492r–499v. Niggl, "Prolegomena," 28–29, and Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 238–239.

[369] For instance, on f. 32r he wrote τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατριάρχου above the heading of the letter. He also added missing text on f. 38r († ὦ φίλοι καὶ ἀνυπόκριτος) and marginal notes on f. 41r (τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου), f. 41v (τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἐκ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος), f. 45v (τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ, τοῦ Ἀνδρέου), and f. 47r (τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου, τοῦ Νύσσης).

[370] I am currently working towards preparing a critical edition of his letter to Petriotes.

[371] Kokkinos himself wrote their heading in *Vind. theol. gr*. 201*, f. 21r: *Τῇ εὐσεβεστάτῃ αὐγούστῃ καὶ θαυμαστῇ βασιλίδι τῶν Ῥωμαίων κυρίᾳ Ἑλένῃ, Φιλόθεος πατριάρχης περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ μακαρισμῶν*.

of Panion).[372] They are transmitted by the fourteenth-century *M**, ff. 255v–285r, *Mosq.* 349*, ff. 212–264, *Iberon* 590, ff. 48v–100, *Angel. gr.* 66, ff. 319r–381r, and the seventeenth-century *Panteleemon* 741 (6248), ff. 184–230.[373] The sermons on Psalm 37 were composed at the request of someone Kokkinos calls "my dear friend,"[374] possibly John VI Kantakouzenos.[375] Internal evidence points out that Kokkinos delivered them on two consecutive days.[376] They are transmitted by *M**, ff. 354r–390v and *Iberon* 590, ff. 123r–153v.

As discussed in Part 1.1, in the late 1350s, Kokkinos composed three sermons on the beatitudes for Kantakouzenos' daughter, Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina. These sermons survived in the fourteenth-century *Vind. theol. gr.* 201*, ff. 21r–60v,[377] *Iberon* 590, ff. 19v–48v, *Ambros*. D 029 sup., ff. 47–93, and *Angel*. *gr*. 66, ff. 381r–412v.[378] Finally, Kokkinos delivered the homilies on the crippled woman in Hagia Sophia, most likely in late November or early December 1353. Similarly to his sermons on Psalm 37, these homilies are only extant in *M**, ff. 285v–298r and *Iberon* 590, ff. 100r–122v. Moreover, these manuscripts are also the sole witnesses of his *Logos historikos* on the fall of Herakleia, which he composed and perhaps delivered in Herakleia in the second half of 1352.[379] Following the capture of his metropolis by the Genoese in October 1351, Kokkinos sent a letter (titled *homilia* in *M**) from Constantinople to comfort his flock in Herakleia. This letter has survived in the fourteenth-century *M**, ff. 322r–327r, where Kokkinos perused it and added at least one correction *in rasura*,[380] and *Coislin*. 286, ff. 199r–201v.[381] Kokkinos also

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[372] Kokkinos, *Logos* 3.1: Σὺ μέν, ἱερὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε καὶ θείων κοινωνὲ μυστηρίων. Their superscription in *Iberon* 590, f. 48v reads τῷ συνεπισκόπῳ Ἰγνατίῳ Φιλόθεος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος. On Ignatios of Panion, see *PLP* 8013, 8014; cf. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 313–314.
[373] Lambros, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, 423.
[374] Kokkinos, *Logos* 1.1: ὦ φιλότης, *Logos* 2.1: ὦ φίλος.
[375] Kokkinos, *Logos* 1.6, 14, 23–24: τοὺς περὶ μετανοίας ἡμῖν ὑπέγραψε λόγους … **ὡς ἐκέλευσας** … **χάριτάς σοι προσοφείλειν** ὁμολογῶν τοῦ σκοποῦ τουτουὶ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιτάγματος (my emphasis); cf. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 312.
[376] Kokkinos, *Logos* 2.8–9: Δεῦρο τοιγαροῦν ἐπανίωμεν πρὸς τὰ πρότερα καὶ αὖθις τῷ λόγῳ. Ἐκεῖ καὶ γὰρ κατελίπομεν αὐτὸν χθές.
[377] Kokkinos wrote their titles (ff. 21r, 32v, 47v), and corrected their text (ff. 22v, 38r, 49v).
[378] These sermons also survive in the sixteenth-century Meteora, Monastery of Transfiguration, ms. 407 and the seventeenth-century *Iberon* 586 (4706) (fragmentary). Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 315.
[379] *M**, ff. 307r–321v, *Iberon* 590, ff. 153v–164v.
[380] *M**, f. 322r: *Ἐπιστολὴ ἤτοι ὁμιλία πρὸς τοὺς Ἡρακλειώτας διασπαρέντας μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ φρουρίοις τοῖς κατὰ Θράκην καὶ Μακεδονίαν, ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως γραφεῖσα καὶ ἀποσταλεῖσα*. The text was published by Triantaphylles–Grappoutos, *Συλλογή*, vol. 1, 35–46. One of Kokkinos' autograph interventions is found on f. 324r.
[381] Piganiol, "Un nouveau témoin de Philothée Kokkinos," *RHT* 9 (1979): 279–280.

composed an extensive homily (around 9000 words) on the feast day of the Dormition of the Theotokos (*BHG* 1102c), which he delivered, according to Pseutonkas, during the first years of his second patriarchate.[382] The homily is transmitted by *Mosq.* 164*, ff. 386–408, the fifteenth-century *Lavras* H 207 (862), ff. 264v–294, and the sixteenth-century Lesbos, Leimonos Monastery, ms. 86, ff. 281–300.[383] With the exception of the letter to the Herakleians, the above-mentioned works were edited by Pseutonkas.[384]

Kokkinos also wrote a short refutation letter (*anatrope*) addressed to the *nomophylax* and *katholikos krites* Constantine Armenopoulos in which he reacted against the latter's view on the relations between secular and ecclesiastical authority. In one of the appendices (the so-called *epimetra*) to his codification of secular law known as *Hexabiblos* (completed in Thessalonike around 1345 and republished sometime before 1351), Armenopoulos inserted three synodal *tomoi* (from 1026, 1171, and 1272) which advocated for the excommunication of those rallying against the imperial power. It is this practice that Kokkinos refutes in his letter. The text has survived in numerous codices, most often accompanying Armenopoulos' *Hexabiblos* and its appendices.[385]

Some of Kokkinos' compositions were prompted by the requests of others. This seems to have been the case of a short "rule" on how a monk must live in his cell.[386] This "rule" is transmitted in the fifteenth-century *Vat. gr*. 663, ff. 223r–230r, and the sixteenth-century Bodleian, Auct. T.4.04 (Misc. 242), ff. 398r–405v. The

[382] Pseutonkas, "Εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν," 7.
[383] Tsames, "Τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα," 14–15; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 305–306; Pseutonkas, "Εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν," 89–90.
[384] Pseutonkas, *Λόγοι καὶ ὁμιλίες*, 69–151 (on Prov. 9:1), 23–67 (on Ps. 37), 155–198 (on the beatitudes), 201–233 (on the crippled woman), 235–264 (*logos historikos*); idem, "Εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν," 91–120. The *Logos historikos*, the sermons on the crippled woman and the first sermon on Prov. 9:1 were first edited by Triantaphylles–Grappoutos, *Συλλογή*, vol. 1, 1–33, 63–97, 123–143. Dyovouniotes, "Τρεῖς λόγοι ἀνέκδοτοι," *Θεολογία* 9 (1931): 17–26, at 18–26, edited the first sermon on the beatitudes on the basis of *Vind. theol. gr.* 201* (referred to as *Vind. theol. gr.* 265). In addition to these homiletic works, numerous manuscripts transmit two extensive homiletic collections (around 180 homilies) on Sunday gospels under Kokkinos' name. See Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, I.3, 520–631; cf. Niggl, "Prolegomena," 64–69; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 318–321, 323–324.
[385] Kokkinos' refutation was published by Heimbach, *Hexabiblos*, 822–826; *PG* 154, 821–826. See Mercati, *Notizie*, 251–252; Niggl, "Prolegomena," 113–114; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 362–365; see also Angelov, "Donation of Constantine," in *Church and Society*, 91–157, esp. 100–101.
[386] *Πρός τινα τῶν σπουδαίων ἀδελφῶν αἰτήσαντα πῶς δεῖ διάγειν ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ*. Inc.: Αἰσχρὸν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2678; Niggl, "Prolegomena," 70; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 365.

editio princeps was published in 2014 by Parpulov.[387] Prior to this edition, the text was translated into Italian and Spanish by Rigo and Vega.[388] Kokkinos also wrote at the request of others a "treatise" on circumcision (*peritome*) in which Kokkinos addresses the *megaloi domestikoi*, answering their questions about the ancient practice of circumcision.[389] This hitherto unedited text is transmitted in *Paris. gr*. 1276*, ff. 49r–64r, *Iberon* 590, ff. 263v–274, and *Coislin*. 101, ff. 243v–249.

I.2.3. Liturgical and hymnographic works

Kokkinos was also a prolific hymnographer who authored liturgical rubrics, *diataxeis*, *akolouthiai*, *kanones*, *troparia*, hymns, and prayers. As already mentioned, during his hegoumenate at the Great Lavra, Kokkinos wrote a *diataxis* of the Divine Liturgy which also included the service of the deacon.[390] These liturgical rubrics, especially the former, were later translated into Old Church Slavonic and enjoyed a rich manuscript diffusion.[391] As Taft noted, they became "quasi-official during his patriarchate" and remained "the basis of the official rubrics to this day."[392] Among the earliest codices carrying them are *Panteleemon* 770, ff. 149r–151, *Lavras Ω* 31 (1841), ff. 240–253, and *Monac. gr*. 345, ff. 1r–40v.[393]

In the early 1360s, while at the Akataleptos monastery, Kokkinos wrote hymnographic and liturgical compositions in honour of Palamas. The *akolouthia* is extant in numerous codices of which the earliest and most important witness is *Vind. theol. gr*. 201*, ff. 61r–69v. In this manuscript, Kokkinos himself wrote the headings

[387] Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters*, 303–308 ("Appendix E5: Letter of Patriarch Philotheus Coccinus").
[388] Kokkinos, "Ad un monaco zelante," trans. Rigo in *L' amore della quiete,* 175–180 = "A un monje celante," trans. Rigo and Vega in *Silencio y quietud*, 159–163.
[389] *Τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις καὶ περιφανεστάτοις μεγάλοις δομεστίκοις περὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς περιτομῆς ἐρωτήσασιν*. Inc.: Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς ᾤμην ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς ἀποδημίας.
[390] *Διάταξις τῆς ἱεροδιακονίας ἤγουν πῶς ὑπηρετεῖ ὁ διάκονος μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως ἔν τε τῷ μεγάλῳ ἑσπερινῷ, τῷ ὄρθρῳ τε καὶ τῇ λειτουργίᾳ*; *Διάταξις τῆς θείας λειτουργίας*. See Trempelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι*, 1–16; Goar, *Euchologion*, 1–8, 47–69; *PG* 154, 745–766; Phountoules, "Διάταξις," in *Πρακτικά ΦΚ*, 101–114.
[391] See Matejic and Thomas, *Hilandar Research Library*.
[392] Taft, *The Diptychs*, 109, n. 59. Further on Kokkinos' *diataxis*, see idem, "Mount Athos," *DOP* 42 (1988): 179–194, at 191–194; *The Great Entrance*, xxxvi–xxxvii; Rentel, "Patriarchal *diataxis* of Dimitrios Gemistos," *OCP* 71 (2005): 363–385.
[393] For a comprehensive list of codices transmitting these texts, see Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 351–355 and the Pinakes database; cf. Niggl, "Prolegomena," 106–109.

(ff. 61r, 65r)[394] and an extensive liturgical note on ff. 62v–63r, added rubrics (ff. 65v, 66–69r), corrected the text (ff. 67, 68r, 69r), and copied the *exaposteilaria* (f. 69v).[395] The *akolouthia* was first edited by Boloudakes, who did not use the Vienna codex and mixed the succession and order of the hymns,[396] and reedited by Kourtesidou.[397] Kokkinos also dedicated an *akolouthia* and a *kanon* to All Saints, both extant in *M**, ff. 349r–352r; Meteora, Monastery of Transfiguration, ms. 21, ff. 367v–370v; and *Vatopedi* 762, ff. 334r–341.[398] Additionally, he composed *kanones* for saints such as Nicholas (of Myra),[399] Demetrios of Thessalonike,[400] John Chrysostom,[401] George,[402] and the Three Hierarchs.[403] Moreover, he wrote suppliant *kanones*, *troparia*, hymns, and prayers to Christ and the Theotokos for different needs and occasions (for times of drought, plague, earthquake, and against enemies).[404] Furthermore, upon his ordination as metropolitan of Herakleia, Kokkinos addressed two prayers to the emperors (John VI and John V).[405] A transcription of these hitherto unedited prayers is presented in Appendix 4. The texts are transcribed based on the manuscripts *Mosq.* 349*, f. 57 and early-fifteenth century Sofia, *D. gr*. 89, ff. 56r–60r.

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[394] *Vind. theol. gr*. 201*, f. 61r: εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Γρηγόριον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θεσσαλονίκης τὸν θαυματουργόν; f. 65r: † ἀκολουθία εἰς τὸν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Γρηγόριον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θεσσαλονίκης τὸν θαυματουργόν †.

[395] For a comprehensive list of codices carrying the *akolouthia*, see Boloudakes, *Ἀκολουθία*, 49–55; cf. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 325–326.

[396] Cf. Rigo, "La canonizzazione," 170, n. 61.

[397] Boloudakes, *Ἀκολουθία*, 73–136; Kourtesidou, "Ποιητικὰ ἔργα," 1–52. On Kokkinos' *kanones* for Palamas, see Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 331–332.

[398] The *akolouthia* is also carried by *Mosq.* 349*, ff. 19–21, and Meteora, Barlaam Monastery, mss. 38 and 56. The texts were edited by Kourtesidou, "Ποιητικὰ ἔργα," 53–73.

[399] The *kanon* is extant in *Mosq.* 349*, ff. 23–27, Istanbul, *Patriarchike Bibliotheke, Hagia Trias* 107 (item 9), and the sixteenth-century *Vat. gr*. 1531, ff. 47v–60v. The critical edition was published by Kourtesidou, "Ποιητικὰ ἔργα," 74–106.

[400] To the best of my knowledge, there is only one codex transmitting it, namely *M**, ff. 352v–353r. Its critical edition was prepared by Kourtesidou, "Ποιητικὰ ἔργα," 107–113.

[401] See Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 330. Text edited by Kourtesidou, "Ποιητικὰ ἔργα," 114–141.

[402] This *kanon* has survived in the fifteenth-century *Vind. theol. gr*. 187, ff. 1r–2v. The text was edited by Kourtesidou, "Ποιητικὰ ἔργα," 142–148.

[403] The text is extant in *Mosq.* 349*, ff. 21–23 and *Angel. gr*. 60, ff. 2r–5r. Kokkinos also wrote *kanones* for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross; cf. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 331.

[404] Kourtesidou, "Ποιητικὰ ἔργα," 149–287, edited some of them; cf. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 332–349. Several *troparia* are also extant in *Mosq.* 429 (Vlad. 303), ff. 62–66, an illuminated codex of the Akathistos Hymn copied by Ioasaph of the Hodegos Monastery. Proxorov, "The illuminated *Akathistos*," *DOP* 26 (1972): 239–252, at 245–252, suggested that this codex was commisioned by Kokkinos, hypothesis dismissed by Pérez Martín, "The Escorial Akathistos," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 52 (2011): 227–262.

[405] *Εὐχὴ ἣν μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν εἶπεν εἰς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἄρτι πρώτως κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων συνήθειαν εἰσελθών* ("Prayer which he addressed to the emperors after his ordination, after he had just made for the first time his entrance in the manner of the archpriests"), and *Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα* ("Prayer to the emperor"); see Appendix 4.

I.2.4. *Metaphraseis*

In line with contemporary trends, Kokkinos wrote new versions (*metaphraseis*) of *lives* of holy men and women from the early Christian era. He eulogized the saintly martyrs and patrons of his *patris* of Thessalonike, Anysia and Demetrios the Myroblytos, as well as Febronia, Phokas, bishop of Sinope, Onouphrios, Theodore Teron, the Three Hierarchs, the Twelve Apostles, and All Saints.[406]

Kokkinos eulogized St. Anysia (d. 304) in a *vita* (*BHG* 146) (around 4400 words) which he delivered most likely in Thessalonike on her feast day (December 30), perhaps in the early 1340s when he served as superior of the Philokalles. Kokkinos titled this hagiographic composition as a *logos*, as indicated by its heading copied by himself in *M**.[407] This *logos* has survived in a number of fourteenth and fifteenth-century manuscripts: *M**, ff. 42r–51r, where, as mentioned, Kokkinos wrote its title (f. 42r), perused and corrected the text (ff. 45r, 45v);[408] *Mosq.* 164*, ff. 97–109; Istanbul, *Patriarchike Bibliotheke*, *Panaghia* 1, ff. 416r–423v; *Vat. gr*. 567, ff. 115v–127; Athens, EBE, mss. 2118, ff. 158–178, and 2639, ff. 433–450v.[409] The critical edition was published by Tsames.[410]

Kokkinos praised St. Demetrios (d. 304) in an *enkomion* (*BHG* 547d) (*ca*. 8300 words), which he most likely delivered on the feast day of the saint (October 26).[411] Laourdas dated the text to Kokkinos' second patriarchate. Pointing out Kokkinos' extensive treatment of the procession (*ekporeusis*) of the Holy Spirit (chs. 13–17), Tsentikopoulos proposed the period around 1367 when the prospect of an official union between Churches was considered.[412] The *enkomion* is carried by the fourteenth-century *Vind. theol. gr.* 201*, ff. 1r–20v (with *lacunae*), *Vind. jur. gr*. 12,

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[406] Cf. Tsames, "Τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα," 14–21.

[407] *M**, f. 42r: τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Φιλοθέου λόγος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ὁσιομάρτυρα Ἀνυσίαν τὴν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ.

[408] See Appendix 5.

[409] The *logos* is also transmitted in the seventeenth-century *Dionysiou* 173 (3707), ff. 482v–495v; see Tsames, "Λόγος στὴν ἁγία Ἀνυσία," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 25 (1980): 67–69, and "Τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα," 15–16.

[410] Tsames, "Λόγος στὴν ἁγία Ἀνυσία," 70–86, reprinted without introduction in Tsames, *Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἅγιοι*, 63–80. The text was first edited by Triantaphylles–Grappoutos, *Συλλογή*, vol. 1, 99–114.

[411] Kokkinos, *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς ἅγιον Δημήτριον* 1.1–2: Δημήτριος ἡμῖν τοῦ τε συλλόγου καὶ τῶν λόγων ἀφορμὴ πρόκειται **σήμερον** (my emphasis).

[412] Laourdas, "Εγκώμια εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Δημήτριον," *ΕΕΒΣ* 24 (1954): 275–290, at 285; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 299. It would be interesting to investigate how Kokkinos fashions St. Demetrios as a fourth-century saint rejecting the Latin theology on the procession of the Holy Spirit.

ff. 293r–317v,[413] and *Vat. gr.* 809, ff. 187v–210v.[414] In the first codex, Kokkinos himself wrote the title identifying his text as *homilia* (f. 1r), and added several corrections (ff. 11rv, 12v, 16v, 17r, 20r). The heading in the second manuscript also introduces the text as *homilia*, while the Vatican codex identifies it as an *enkomion*. The text was edited by Laourdas, and subsequently by Tsames.[415]

Saint Febronia of Nisibis (d. 304) is another fourth-century martyr eulogized by Kokkinos. He composed an extensive account (40 pages in the edition) of her *bios kai martyrion* (*BHG* 659g), most likely while at the Lavra (before 1347). This work has survived in the fourteenth-century *M**, ff. 23v–42r, *Mosq.* 164*, ff. 71v–97, and *Voss. misc.* 5, ff. 36r–51v (with *lacunae*).[416] In all these codices the text is identified as a *bios kai martyrion*. In fact, Kokkinos himself wrote the heading in *M** (f. 23v), and inspected the whole *vita*, adding several corrections (ff. 30r, 31v).[417] One of Kokkinos' sources of information on the saint was most probably the *Synaxarion of the Great Church of Constantinople*, which features an entry on St. Febronia on June 25.[418] The text was edited in 1987 by Tsames.[419] The editor pointed out Kokkinos' reflections on the contemporary situation characterized by political instability, similarly to the period of the persecutions. Therefore, it was most likely not by chance that he eulogized a series of figures who lived during that period.[420]

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[413] This manuscript also carries Armenopoulos' *Hexabiblos* with its appendices (*epimetra*) (ff. 1r–185r) and Thomas Magistros' *Logos enkomiastikos* on Gregory Nazianzen (ff. 221r–292v).

[414] The Vatican codex, copied by the patriarchal notary George Galesiotes together with other scribes in the last quarter of the fourteenth-century, also transmits Kokkinos' *Logos* on All Saints (ff. 139v–187r) and his *enkomion* of the Three Hierarchs (ff. 100r–138v). The *enkomion* of St. Demetrios is also extant in the sixteenth-century *Iberon* 435 (4555), ff. 65r–85v, and Athos, Skete of St. Anne, Kyriakou 68, ff. 261–312; see Tsames, "Τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα," 16.

[415] Laourdas (n. 19); Tsames, "Ἐγκώμιο στὸν Δημήτριο," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 26 (1981): 51–83, edition at 55–82, reprinted without introduction in Tsames, *Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἅγιοι*, 33–60.

[416] Interestingly, the third item in the Leiden composite manuscript, namely Febronia's *vita*, has a *mise-en-page* similar to *M** (2 columns, 31 lines). On the codices, see Tsames, "Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας Φευρωνίας," 228–229.

[417] *M**, f. 23v: *βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας ὁσιομάρτυρος Φεβρωνίας*. *Mosq.* 164*, f. 71v: *βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας ὁσιομάρτυρος Φευρωνίας*. *Voss. misc.* 5, f. 36r: *τοῦ τιμιωτάτου ἐν ἱερομονάχοις κυροῦ Φιλοθέου τοῦ Κοκκίνου βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς ὁσιομάρτυρος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Φευρωνίας*. The last codex dates the *vita* before Kokkinos' appointment as metropolitan. For a selection of Kokkinos' autograph interventions on St. Febronia's *vita* in *M**, see Appendix 5.

[418] *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, 769–772. To the best of my knowledge, there are seven known Greek *vitae* and *passiones* of the saint (*BHG* 659–659h); moreover, there are Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, and Armenian versions of her life. On the *Synaxarion*, see Luzzi, "Synaxaria," in Efthymiadis, *Companion* II, 197–208.

[419] Tsames, "Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς Φευρωνίας," 231–270.

[420] Tsames, "Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς Φευρωνίας," 225–226; cf. idem, "Τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα."

Saint Phokas, the bishop-martyr of Sinope, also enjoyed Kokkinos' attention. One of the reasons behind this choice of subject may have also been that, prior to the monastic tonsure, Kokkinos was named Phokas, as already discussed in Part I.1.[421] The *enkomion* dedicated to Phokas (*BHG* 1537d) (*ca*. 5500 words) has been transmitted in the fourteenth-century *M**, ff. 298r–306r, *Mosq.* 164*, ff. 109–122v, Istanbul, *Patriarchike Bibliotheke*, *Panaghia* 1, ff. 32r–39v, *Paris. gr*. 1185 A, ff. 131v–139r,[422] and the fifteenth-century *Lavras* M 89 (1780), ff. 135v–152v and seemingly its apographon *Lavras* H 207 (862), ff. 135v–153.[423] The work is identified as an *enkomion* in the Paris manuscript, and a *logos* in those from Istanbul and Athos.[424] The *enkomion* came first to the attention of Carolus van de Vorst who published short excerpts in his article on St. Phokas, and was first edited by Oikonomides, and subsequently reedited by Katsanes.[425] Internal evidence suggests that Kokkinos delivered it at a monastery dedicated to the saint,[426] perhaps the one located in Galata (Pera).[427] Although there is no indication in the text, van de Vorst

[421] Palaiologan hagiographers often praised their saintly namesakes and patrons. Talbot, "Old wine in new bottles," 25.

[422] This codex, copied in the last quarter of the fourteenth-century most probably for a monastic community, carries a homiletic and hagiographic collection with works by Symeon Metaphrastes (*On John the Evangelist*, *BHG* 919), Gregory Palamas (*Homily* 53 on the Presentation of the Theotokos, *BHG* 1095), Andrew of Crete (*On St. Nicholas*, *BHG* 1362c), Basil of Caesarea (*On the 40 Martyrs of Sebaste*, *BHG* 1205), Athanasios of Alexandria (*Life of St. Antony*, *BHG* 140), Theodore the Stoudite (*On the Nativity of John the Baptist*, *BHG* 843), Leo VI the Wise (*Homily* on Christ's Nativity, *BHG* 1974), Gregory of Cyprus (*Enkomion* of St. George, *BHG* 683), Maximos Planoudes (*Enkomion* of Sts. Peter and Paul, *BHG* 1500), Philagathos Kerameus (*Homily* on Christ's Transfiguration, *BHG* 1995), and Gregory of Nyssa (*On St. Theodore Teron*, *BHG* 1760). Before entering the French library around the 1730s, the manuscript was in the possession of St. Anastasia Pharmakolytria Monastery in Chalkidike, as indicated in a possession note (f. 194v); see Darrouzès, "Les manuscrits du monastère Sainte-Anastasie," 51–52; Omont, *Inventaire*, tome 1, 253–254, 275.

[423] Both Athonite manuscripts carry similar hagiographic and homiletic collections, including the *Life* of St. Athanasios the Athonite (*Life* A, *BHG* 187) composed by Athanasios of the Panagios Monastery (Constantinople), metaphrastic *martyria* of the Holy Martyrs Prokopios of Caesarea and Panteleemon, *hypomnema* to the Prophet Elijah, homilies on Christ's Transfiguration and the Dormition of the Theotokos by John of Damascus, Andrew of Crete, John Mauropos (metropolitan of Euchaita), and Kokkinos; additionally, the second codex transmits homilies on the beheading of John the Baptist by Andrew of Crete and John Chrysostom. Katsanes, "Ἐγκώμιον εἰς ἅγιον Φωκᾶν," 420–421; Tsames, "Τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα," 15; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 267.

[424] The headings in *M** and *Mosq.* 164* do not ascribe a 'generic identity': *τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἱερομάρτυρα Φωκᾶν*.

[425] Van de Vorst, "Saint Phocas," 252–295; Oikonomides, "Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἱερομάρτυρα Φωκᾶν," 86–101; Katsanes, "Ἐγκώμιον εἰς ἅγιον Φωκᾶν," 423–445.

[426] Kokkinos, *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς ἅγιον Φωκᾶν* 1.20–22; 2.7–12, 25–26; 3.19–21: **Τούτου τοῦ μακαρίου χοροῦ καὶ τῆς ἑταιρίας καὶ Φωκᾶς ἐστιν ὁ καλός**, ὁ νῦν ἡμῖν εἰς εὐφημίας ὑπόθεσιν προτεθειμένος τῷ λόγῳ. […] οὕτως ἡμᾶς καὶ **τὴν καθ᾽ ἑταιρίαν ὑποκεῖσθαι τούτῳ δὴ τῷ μεγάλῳ** (my emphasis).

[427] Janin, *Églises CP*, 498–499. Kokkinos mentions this monastery in the *v.G.Pal*. 7.10–15. Phokas was honoured in Constantinople where his relics had been brought by John Chrysostom, who also eulogized him in a homily around 400; Oikonomides, "Ἅγιος Φωκᾶς ὁ Σινωπεύς," 204–209.

places its composition in the 1340s on Mount Athos, while Tsentikopoulos proposes one of three periods: 1342–47, 1350–52, or later between 1355 and 1364.[428] Kokkinos most probably had access to the saint's entry in the *Synaxarion of the Great Church of Constantinople*, although he complains of the penury of sources at his disposal.[429]

Kokkinos also praised the late fourth-century desert father Onouphrios (*BHG* 1380). This composition (around 9000 words) survives in *M**, ff. 337r–349r, *Mosq.* 164*, ff. 249–270, and in the sixteenth-century *Vat. gr*. 1190, ff. 606r–617v.[430] The first and the last codices identify the text as a *bios kai politeia*, while the heading in the Moscow manuscript introduces it as a *logos*. Kokkinos most likely delivered it on the feast day of the saint (June 12) in front of a monastic community. The *Synaxarion of the Great Church of Constantinople* notes that Onouphrios' celebration took place in his chapel (*eukterion*) located in St. Alypios Monastery.[431] Another church dedicated to him was in the proximity of the convent of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis.[432] It may be possible that Kokkinos praised the saint in one of these locations. Unfortunately, the text does not disclose any information regarding the place and date of its composition.[433] The critical edition was published by Tsames.[434]

Most likely during his second patriarchate, Kokkinos eulogized the Three Hierarchs in a *logos enkomiastikos* (*BHG* 748) in which he displays his familiarity with their theology and writings, especially those of Gregory Nazianzen. This *logos* is transmitted by the fourteenth and fifteenth-century codices *Vat. gr*. 809, ff. 100r–

[428] Van de Vorst, "Saint Phocas," 266: "on pourrait conclure que Philothée était encore à la tête d'une lavre au mont Athos." Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 35–36, 269.
[429] *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, 835–836. Andrew Libadenos also wrote an *enkomion* of St. Phokas (*BHG* 1537b): *ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις ἱερομάρτυρα Φωκᾶν τὸν θαυματουργόν*, ed. Lampsides, *Ἀνδρέου Λιβαδηνοῦ*, 115–128. This *enkomion* has survived in the fourteenth-century codex unicus *Monac. gr*. 525, ff. 104r–111v. Libadenos is the main scribe, compiler and author of most of the texts in the manuscript (cf. the colophon on f. 177r where Libadenos offers the table of contents). See Hinterberger, "Ο Ανδρέας Λιβαδηνός," in *Κωδικογράφοι*, 25–42. On the codex, see also Lampsides, *Ἀνδρέου Λιβαδηνοῦ*, 11–38.
[430] The Vatican codex is a voluminous hagiographic and homiletic collection of almost 1400 folios; cf. Tsames, "Τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα," 17.
[431] *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, 746: Τελεῖται δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ σύναξις ἐν τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ αὐτοῦ εὐκτηρίῳ, τῷ ὄντι ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀλυπίου. See Janin, *Églises CP*, 19, 384.
[432] Janin, *Églises CP*, 384, 158–160.
[433] Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 264, suggested the late 1350s; cf. Tsames, "Λόγος εἰς ὅσιον Ὀνούφριον," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 27 (1982): 377.
[434] Tsames, "Λόγος εἰς ὅσιον Ὀνούφριον," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 27 (1982): 381–410.

138v, Istanbul, *Patriarchike Bibliotheke, Hagia Trias* 107, item 8, *Vat. gr*. 2129, pp. 486–523, and Athens, EBE, ms. 1053, ff. 216–239v.[435] The text was edited and translated into Latin by Pontanus and subsequently published in Migne's *Patrologia graeca*.[436]

Kokkinos devoted a lengthy *logos enkomiastikos* (of more than 20,000 words) to the Twelve Apostles (*BHG* 160h).[437] This hitherto unedited text is extant not only in *M**, ff. 392r–422r, as previously known,[438] but also, as I discovered, in *Mosq.* 164*, ff. 1r–37r. The first quarter of the text is missing from the second codex. This occurred later, most likely during the rebinding process, when the order of the quires was also altered [(A – the missing text), C, B, D]. I am currently preparing a critical edition of this *logos*.

Finally, Kokkinos wrote the aforementioned *Logos* on All Saints (*BHG* 1617g).[439] This lengthy hitherto unedited *Logos* (more than 14,000 words), preceded by a short introduction (*protheoria*), has survived in ten manuscripts, seven of which are contemporary with the author: *M**, ff. 3r–23v, *Mosq.* 164*, ff. 37r–71v, Athens, *Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou* 504*, ff. 224r–262v, *Mosq.* 349*, ff. 68r–104r (the first 85 words missing), *Vat. gr*. 809, ff. 139v–187r, *Vind. theol. gr*. 279, ff. 53r–86v, and *Vatopedi* 640, ff. 147v–193v.[440] Only the first three codices carry the *protheoria*. Kokkinos added marginal notes and corrections in *M** (ff. 18v, 19rv, 20v), *Mosq.* 164* (ff. 48v, 49v, 50rv, 54v, 57v, 58v), *Mosq*. 349* (ff. 77r, 87v, 101r, 102r, 104r), and Athens, *Metochion* 504* (ff. 233v, 256v, 258r, 259v).[441] Kokkinos' *Logos* on All Saints was also translated into Old Church Slavonic, most probably at the end of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century. I have managed to trace one fifteenth-century

[435] With the exception of ff. 216–251, the Athens manuscript dates to the 11/12th c. This *Logos* is also extant in the sixteenth-century Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, ms. gr. 2015, ff. 97v–126r, *Monac. gr*. 67, ff. 369–392, *Monac. gr*. 84, ff. 118v–138, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1443 (039), ff. 281–301, and the seventeenth-century Évreux, Municipal Library, ms. 3, ff. 174–196. See Tsames, "Τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα," 17–18.

[436] Pontanus, *Philippi Solitarii Dioptra*, 359–405; *PG* 154, 767A–820D.

[437] *M**, f. 392r: *τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους*. Inc.: ἔδει μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀποστολικοῦ καὶ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ λέγειν ἐπιχειροῦσι καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ λόγου τουτονὶ καταβαίνουσιν.

[438] Tsames, "Τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα," 15; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 307. Pinakes also lists only *M**.

[439] *Λόγος εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἰκονομίας ἐπιτομή*. Inc.: Καὶ τὸ λόγοις μὲν ἄλλως τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἑκάστου διεξιέναι.

[440] The text is also extant in the mid-fifteenth-century *Vatopedi* 634, ff. 68r–110v, and the sixteenth-century *Dionysiou* 130 (3664), ff. 306v–339v, and *Xeropotamou* 211 (2544), ff. 284r–348v.

[441] For Kokkinos' autograph interventions in *M**, see Appendix 5. I express my gratitute to Dr. Rudolf Stefec for sending me reproductions of the Athens manuscript.

manuscript transmitting such a translation, namely Bucharest, Biblioteca Academiei Române, *Ms. Slav*. 156, ff. 374v–395r.[442] The codex does not carry the *protheoria*. I argue that this *Logos* on All Saints, placed first in *M**, constitutes Kokkinos' hagiographic programme. My critical edition of the text is forthcoming. As a sample, Appendix 3 offers the critical edition of the *protheoria* together with an English translation.[443]

I.2.5. *Vitae* of contemporary saints

Along with the numerous hagiographic compositions for saints of the early Christian era, Kokkinos' five *vitae* of contemporary saints constitute a sizeable and significant part of his literary œuvre. In the following, I will briefly present their manuscript tradition, underlining, where possible, the relationship between the codices. The *vitae* are introduced in the chronological order of their composition, as already established above (*v.Nik.*, *v.Sab*., *v.Isid*., *v.Germ*., and *v.G.Pal*).

In the early 1340s, while abbot at Philokalles in Thessalonike, Kokkinos dedicated a short hagiographic composition to Nikodemos the Younger. In terms of length, the *v.Nik*. is the outlier among his *vitae* of contemporary saints, some of which, as already noted, reach 50,000 words. The text survives in two manuscripts, the fourteenth-century Meteora, Monastery of Transfiguration, ms. 374, ff. 3r–8r[444] and the early-sixteenth-century *Panteleemon* 571 (6078), ff. 248–257.[445] The latter identifies the *v.Nik*. as a *hypomnema*.[446] This type of hagiographic composition and its characteristics are discussed below in Part II.1.1. The two manuscripts seem to

[442] The manuscript carries a homiletic collection with works by John Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil of Caesarea, and other Church fathers. See Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele slave*, vol. 1, 225–233.

[443] Under Kokkinos' name have been also transmitted a *logos didaskalikos* on Theodore Teron (*BHG* 1768a), and short homiletic compositions on the Sunday of Apostle Thomas (*BHG* 1837d), and the celebration day (November 13) of John Chrysostom (*BHG* 881h). The *Λόγος διδασκαλικὸς εἰς τὸν μέγαν Θεόδωρον τὸν Τήρωναν* was edited in *AASS* (November, IV), 76–80, and is extant in fifteenth and sixteenth-century manuscripts. See Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 321–322. The other two texts, hitherto unedited, survive in numerous codices from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. For instance, the text on the Sunday of Thomas is extant in the fourteenth-century homiletic collection *Paris. gr*. 1200, ff. 20r–27r. See Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 322–323, as well the Pinakes database. A *logos* on St. Nicholas is also attributed to Kokkinos. See Tsames, "Τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα," 17–18; idem, "Οἱ βιογραφίες," 70; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 309.

[444] I am grateful to Dr. Chariton Karanasios for sending me digital reproductions of these folios.

[445] The Athonite codex was completed on 17.04.1522. See Lambros, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, 399.

[446] *Φιλοθέου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ὅσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Νικόδημον τὸν νέον τὸν ἐν τῇ σεβασμίᾳ μονῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ τοῦ Φιλοκάλλους*. Unfortunately, the title of the *v.Nik*. in the Meteora manuscript is illegible in the digital reproductions I consulted.

belong to the same family, as they transmit almost the same content, although ordered slightly differently, as highlighted in Table 1. Kokkinos' *hypomnema* is placed at the beginning of the Meteora codex, and close to the end in the *Panteleemon* manuscript.

The content of these manuscripts suggests that they were most likely copied for use in a monastic milieu, perhaps for reading during liturgical services or in the refectory. This is also suggested by the formula *eulogeson despota* added by the scribe after the title of the *v.Nik*. in *Panteleemon*. As already mentioned in the Introduction, the *hypomnema* was edited by Gedeon in 1911, reedited seven decades later by Tsames, and recently translated into English by Talbot.[447]

Table 1. The contents of Meteora 374 (M) and Panteleemon 571 (P)

M	**P**	***Content***
1	**8**	Philotheos Kokkinos, *Hypomnema* to Nikodemos the Younger (*BHG* 2307)
2	9	*Prayer* (blessing of the wine)
3	– (?)	Excerpts on monastic virtues
4	10	*Stichera* for novice monks
5	1	[John of Damascus], *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (*BHG* 224)
6	5	Dorotheos of Gaza, *On the structure and harmony of the virtues of the soul*
7	6	*Apophthegmata Patrum*
8	7	Symeon the New Theologian, *Wonderful Method* (*of Prayer*)
9	– (?)	Excerpts from the *paterikon* and *gerontikon*
10	– (?)	Dogmas of the Church
11	– (?)	John of Damascus, excerpts
12	2	Basil of Caesarea, excerpts
13	3	Ephraim the Syrian, *On repentance* (*metanoia*)
14	4	Nikephoros Blemmydes, *On faith*

Compared to the *v.Nik*, the *v.Sab*. enjoyed a better press. This prolix *vita* of almost 50,000 words, composed by Kokkinos around 1350, has survived in numerous manuscripts: four from the fourteenth century, one from the fifteenth, and four others from the nineteenth century. Thus, the *v.Sab*. was copied in four codices contemporary to its author: *M**, ff. 51r–136v, *Mosq*. 164*, ff. 122v–246*, *Vatopedi* 97, ff. 4r–164r,[448] and *Monac. gr*. 155, ff. 199r–206v (fragment). As it has become clear from the above, the first two manuscripts constitute collections of Kokkinos' hagiographic, homiletic, hymnographic, and dogmatic writings which the author

[447] Gedeon, *Ἀρχεῖον ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας*, tome 1, vol. 2, 175–185; Tsames, "Τὸ ὑπόμνημα στὸν ὅσιο Νικόδημο," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 26 (1981): 87–100 (with introduction), reprinted without introduction in Tsames, *Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἅγιοι*, 83–93; Talbot, "Nikodemos," 223–232.
[448] For a recent description of *Vatopedi* 97, see Lamberz, *Katalog*, 401–404.

himself annotated. They were copied under his supervision by a team of scribes including the aforementioned Malachias (*M**) and Tzykandyles (*Mosq*. 164*).[449] Having a similar *mise en page* (*M**: 2 columns, 31 lines; *Mosq*. 164*: 2 columns, 25 lines), these voluminous codices (more than 400 folios) carry similar works, albeit placed in a different order.

Table 2. The contents of *M** and *Mosq*. 164*

M*	***Mosq.****	**AUTHOR**	**ŒUVRE**
1	2	Philotheos Kokkinos	*Logos* on All Saints
2	3		*Bios kai martyrion* of St. Febronia
3	4		*Logos* on St. Anysia of Thessalonike
4	6		*v.Sab*.
5	7	Theodoret of Cyrrhus	*Philotheos Historia* (excerpts)
		Palladius	*Historia Lausiaca* (excerpts)
			Apophthegmata Patrum (excerpts)
		John Chrysostom	*In Matthaeum homilia* 21 (excerpt)
6	9	Philotheos Kokkinos	*Logoi dogmatikoi*
7	11		*Confession* of faith
8	—		*v.Germ*.
9	—		*v.Isid*.
10	—		Sermons on Proverbs 9:1
11	—		Sermons on the Sunday of the crippled woman
12	5		*Enkomion* of St. Phokas
13	—		*Logos historikos* on the capture of Herakleia
14	—		*Letter* to the Herakleians
15	10		14 *kephalaia* against Akindynos and Barlaam
16	8		*Bios kai politeia* of St. Onouphrios
17	—		*Akolouthia* for All Saints
18	—		*Kanon* on All Saints
19	—		*Kanon* on St. Demetrios of Thessalonike
20	—		Sermons on Psalm 37
21	1		*Logos enkomiastikos* on the Holy Apostles
—	12		*Homily* on the Transfiguration of Christ
—	13		*Homily* on the Dormition of the Theotokos

Table 2 shows that the first part of both manuscripts transmits almost the same compositions in a slightly different order. Thus, the *Logos* on All Saints, and the *vitae* of Febronia and Anysia appear in the same sequence, while the *Logos enkomiastikos* on the Holy Apostles comes in first position in *Mosq*. 164*, and last in *M**. Interestingly, the *v.Sab*. is followed by twelve short excerpts (*M**, f. 137; *Mosq*. 164*, ff. 246v–248) from Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *Philotheos Historia* (*BHG* 1439–1440), Palladios' *Historia Lausiaca* (*BHG* 1435–1438), the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, and John Chrysostom's *Homily* 21 on Matthew. The same twelve fragments were

[449] See Appendix 6, plates 1–4 (Tzykandyles), and 5–9 (Malachias).

copied at the end of *Vatopedi* 97 (ff. 164v–166v), a codex which only carries the *v.Sab*. (ff. 4r–164r). Before these excerpts, the scribe of the Athonite manuscript wrote in red ink that "everyone reading this account [the *v.Sab.*], I think, should also read these next folios, for they are very important and useful."[450] What do these "useful" folios carry? A closer look at their content reveals strong similarities with certain passages of the *v.Sab*., which could indicate that Kokkinos used them as source material and source of inspiration when composing the life of his spiritual master.

The first set of excerpts, slightly paraphrased, are two edifying stories taken from Theodoret's *Philotheos Historia*:[451]

1. On Abraham: *vita* 17.6, ll. 1–3, 7–12, 16–22:

> "All the time of his episcopacy," the holy Abraham "considered the bread superfluous, superfluous the water, the bed useless, and superfluous the use of fire." And shortly, "that 'man will not live on bread alone,' said Moses the lawgiver" (Deuteronomy 8:3), the master [Christ] recalled this utterance when he rejected the invitation of the devil [cf. Matthew 4:4], but that living without water is among the things possible, we have nowhere been taught in the divine Scripture. ... But this wonderful man throughout the time of his episcopacy took neither bread nor pulses nor greens cooked by fire and not even water, which is considered by those reputed clever about these things to be the first of the elements in utility; but it was lettuce and chicory and celery and such things that he made his food and also his drink."[452]

2. On Abbas in the life of Eusebios (of Teleda): *vita* 4.12, ll. 25–36:

> The holy Abbas has already spent thirty-eight years with the other saints in the monastery of saint Eusebios. His eagerness for labor is as if he had just now begun to labor. For right up to today he has

[450] *Vatopedi* 97, f. 164r: πᾶς ὁ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀναγινώσκων, ἀξιῶ, προσανάγνωθι καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἑξῆς φύλ<λ>α· πάνυ γάρ εἰσιν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ ὠφέλιμα. I would like to express my gratitude to the fathers of Vatopedi Monastery who kindly gave me photographic reproductions of several codices carrying Kokkinos' works, including *Vatopedi* 97.

[451] For the edition, see *Histoire Philothée*, ed. Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen (SC 234, 257). For an English translation, see *A History of the Monks of Syria*, trans. Price.

[452] Ὁ ἅγιος Ἀβραάμης "τὸν τῆς προεδρίας ἅπαντα χρόνον περιττὸν μὲν ἡγεῖτο τὸν ἄρτον, περιττὸν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἄχρηστον δὲ τὴν κλίνην, περιττὴν δὲ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς χρείαν·" καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον· "ὅτι μὲν οὖν 'οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος,' ἔφη μὲν Μωϋσῆς ὁ νομοθέτης, ἀπεμνημόνευσε δὲ ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ διαβόλου τὴν πρόκλησιν παραιτούμενος, ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἄνευ ὕδατος διαβιῶναι τῶν δυνατῶν, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐπαιδεύθημεν. Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ θαυμάσιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὔτε ἄρτου κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης μετέλαβε χρόνον, οὔτε ὀσπρίων, οὔτε λαχάνων ὁμιλησάντων πυρί, οὐχ ὕδατος ὃ τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων πρῶτον παρὰ τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα δεινοῖς εἶναι δόξασιν ἐνομίσθη διὰ τὴν χρείαν· ἀλλὰ θριδακίνας καὶ σέρεις καὶ σέλινα καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα καὶ τροφὴν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ πόμα." I follow the Greek text in the manuscripts of the *v.Sab.* Price, *A History of the Monks*, 122 (modified).

never covered his feet with shoes. During frost he sits in the shade, in flaming heat he takes the sun and welcomes its flames as if it were a westerly breeze. During all this time he has refused to take water, despite not eating those things that are customarily taken by those practising not drinking—for they are wont to feed on food that is more moist; instead, it is while feeding on the same food as the others—and eating little, just enough to provide slight strength—that he considers superfluous the use of water.[453]

The next seven fragments are paraphrased and abridged from Palladios' *Historia Lausiaca*.[454] The first three are anecdotes about abba Dorotheos:

3. *vita* 1.5–*vita* 2.1:

This holy Palladios said that "when I was young I was visiting the holy Isidore in Alexandria beseeching to be instructed in the solitary life, as I was still in the full vigour of my age. He led me out of the city to the so-called wilderness. And he hands me over to Dorotheos, a Theban ascetic who was spending the sixtieth year in his cave and ordered me to complete three years with him for taming my passions.[455]

4. *vita* 2.2:

God is my witness, I did not know him stretch his legs, or rest on purpose either on a rush-mat or on a bed, but throughout the whole night he wove a rope of palm-leaves.[456]

5. *vita* 2.3:

Being inquisitive I learned that from his youth he had this way of life, never falling asleep on purpose, unless when working or eating he closed his eyes overcome [by sleep], so that often even

[453] Ὁ ἅγιος Ἀββᾶς, ὀκτὼ μὲν ἤδη καὶ τριάκοντα σὺν ἄλλοις ἁγίοις ἐν τῷ φροντιστηρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐσεβίου διετέλεσεν ἔτη. ὡς ἔναγχος δὲ τοῦ πονεῖν ἀρξάμενος, οὕτως ἐφίεται τοῦ πονεῖν· μέχρι γὰρ καὶ τήμερον ὑποδήμασι μὲν τοὺς πόδας οὐκ ἐκάλυψε πώποτε· τῇ σκιᾷ δὲ προσεδρεύων ἐν τῷ κρυμῷ, τὸν ἥλιον ἐν τῷ φλογμῷ καταδέχεται, καὶ ὡς ζεφύρου αὖραν τὴν ἔνθεν δέχεται φλόγαν. ἅπαντα δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὕδατος μεταλαχεῖν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, οὐκ ἐκεῖνα ἐσθίων ἃ τοῖς τὸ μὴ πίνειν ἐπιτηδεύουσι προσφέρεσθαι σύνηθες—ὑγροτέρων γὰρ οὗτοι σιτίων ἀπολαύειν εἰώθασιν—, ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπολαύων σιτίων, ἐσθίων δὲ βραχέα, καὶ ὅσα βραχεῖαν ἐντίθησι δύναμιν, περιττὴν ἡγεῖται τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος χρείαν. Price, *A History of the Monks*, 55–56 (modified).

[454] See *La Storia Lausiaca*, ed. Bartelink, 4–292.

[455] Ἔλεγεν ὁ ἅγιος Παλλάδιος οὗτος ὅτι φοιτήσαντά με ποτὲ νέον πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰσίδωρον τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ παρακαλοῦντα στοιχειωθῆναι ἐν τῷ μονήρει βίῳ, σφριγώσης μου τῆς ἡλικίας ἔτι, ἐξάγει με τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα ἐρημικά· καὶ παραδίδωσί με Δωρωθέῳ τινὶ ἀσκητῇ Θηβαίῳ ἐξηκοστὸν ἄγοντι ἔτος ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ καὶ κελεύει με παρ᾽ αὐτῷ πληρῶσαι τρία ἔτη πρὸς δαμασμὸν τῶν παθῶν (cf. Bartelink, 20).

[456] Ἐπὶ Θεῷ δὲ μάρτυρι, οὐκ ἔγνων τοῦτον ἁπλώσαντα πόδας, οὐ καθευδήσαντα ἐξεπίτηδες ἢ ἐπὶ ψιαθίου ἢ ἐπὶ κλίνης, ἀλλὰ διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς ἔπλεκε σειρὰν τὴν ἐκ θαλλῶν φοινίκων (cf. Bartelink, 22).

the morsel [of bread] fell from his mouth on account of the excess of drowsiness.[457]

The following excerpts are short stories about abbas Moses, Sisinnios and John:

6. *vita* 19.5–8:

The holy Moses the Ethiopian, when he was severely troubled by the demon of fornication, entering into his cell he decided neither to sleep throughout the whole night, nor bend his knees, except in prayer to escape the tyrrany of the sleep. Therefore, he remained in his cell for six years, and every night he stood in the middle of his cell, praying unceasingly to God and not closing his eyes.[458]

7. *vita* 49.1:

The holy Sisinnios, the disciple of holy Elpidios, after a long *askesis* and patience, he finally enclosed himself in a tomb. And standing for three years in the tomb, he persisted in prayers, sitting down neither during the night nor during the day, neither reclining nor going out.[459]

8. On abba John (ch. 61):

The holy Apelles said: "There is in this desert our brother John who is of different age, but who excels all the monks in virtues. He first stood for three years on a rock and persisted in prayer at all times. He did not sit down altogether, nor did he fall asleep, except for what sleep he could snatch standing up. He ate nothing else, but the Eucharist which the priest brought to him on Sunday only."[460]

9. On Abba John (ch. 61):

When his feet were shattered from the immobility for a long time [for standing so long] and started to fester, an angel came and

[457] Ἔμαθον δὲ πολυπραγμονήσας ὅτι ἐκ νεαρᾶς ἡλικίας ταύτην εἶχε τὴν πολιτείαν, μηδέ ποτε κοιμηθεὶς ἐξεπίτηδες, εἰ μή τι γε ἐν τῷ ἐργάζεσθαι ἢ ἐσθίειν ἐκάμμυσέ που τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν κατενεχθείς, ὥστε πολλάκις καὶ τὸν ψωμὸν ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ὑπερβολῇ νυσταγμοῦ (cf. Bartelink, 23).

[458] Ὁ ἅγιος Μωϋσῆς ὁ αἰθίοψ, σφοδρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος τῆς πορνείας ὀχλούμενος, εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῇ κέλλῃ διωρίσατο μὴ κοιμηθῆναι διὰ πάσης νυκτός, μὴ κλίναι γόνυ, μὴ δὲ ἐν προσευχῇ ἐπὶ τὸ φυγεῖν τὴν τυραννίδα τοῦ ὕπνου· μείνας οὖν ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ ἐπὶ ἔξ ἔτη, τὰς νύκτας πάσας μέσον τῆς κέλλης ἱστάμενος ἦν, καὶ ἀδιαλείπτως τῷ Θεῷ προσευχόμενος, καὶ μὴ ἐπικαμμύων τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς (cf. Bartelink, 98–100).

[459] Ὁ ἅγιος Σισίν<ν>ιος ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐλπιδίου, μετὰ πολλὴν ἄσκησιν καὶ καρτερίαν, ὕστερον ἐν μνήματι ἑαυτὸν καθεῖρξε· καὶ ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη σταθεὶς ἐν τῷ μνήματι, ἐν προσευχαῖς διετέλει, μὴ νύκτωρ, μὴ μεθημέραν καθίσας, ἢ ἀναπεσὼν ἢ ἔξω βαδίσας (cf. Bartelink, 240).

[460] Ἔλεγεν ὁ ἅγιος Ἀπελλής· "ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ ἀδελφὸς ἡμέτερος Ἰωάννης, ἄλλης μὲν ἡλικίας ὤν, πάντας δὲ τοὺς μοναχοὺς ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ὑπερβάλλων. οὗτος τὸ πρῶτον ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τριά ἔτη ἐπὶ πέτραν τινὰ καὶ πάντοτε προσευχόμενος διετέλεσε· μὴ καθίσας ὅλως, μὴ κοιμηθείς, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐστὼς τοῦ ὕπνου μόνον ἀφήρπαζε, τῇ κυριακῇ δὲ μόνῃ τῆς εὐχαριστίας μετελάμβανε τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου αὐτῷ ἀποφέροντος, ἄλλο οὐδὲν γενόμενος."

> touched his mouth saying: "The Lord will be your true food and drink, and it suffices for you the spiritual nourishment."[461]

Next are two *apophthegmata* of abba Bessarion:

10. *Apophthegma* 8: Abba Bessarion said that: "Forty years I did not sit down, but I slept either sitting or standing."[462]

11. *Apophthegma* 6: The same said that: "Forty nights and days I remained standing in the midst of thorn-bushes, without sleeping."[463]

After these edifying stories, the last excerpt is taken from John Chrysostom's exegesis of Matthew 6:

12. *Homily* 21 on Mattthew:

> Even now there are many who showcase the apostolic [way of] life, like the "three thousand" then and the "five thousand" [cf. Acts 2:41, 4:5]. But if we do not believe, it is not because there are no people morally accomplished, but because for the most part we refrain from this thing. Accordingly, just as the drunkard would not easily believe that there is any man who does not taste water. And yet many monks in our times have accomplished this thing.[464]

As I will discuss in more detail in Part II, Kokkinos includes descriptions of similar ascetic feats in the *v.Sab.* Here it suffices to mention two examples. First, in chapters 43, and 46–47 of the *v.Sab*., he reports that Sabas spent forty days in rapture, at the bottom of a chasm while in the Holy Land, without food or drink, leaning to neither side, sleepless, as if he were an inanimate statue.[465] After forty days, some monks from the Mar Saba Monastery discovered him and carried him back to his grotto. There he spent another two years without moving: the first year reclining on one side, and the second sitting on a chair, without standing up for prayer, or bending his

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[461] Διαρραγέντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν ποδῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀκινησίας τοῦ πολλοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τῶν προερχομένων ἰχώρων, ἐπιστὰς ἄγγελος ἥψατο τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ λέγων· "Ὁ Κύριος ἔσται σοι ἀληθὴς βρῶσις καὶ πόσις, καὶ ἀρκεῖ σοι τέως ἡ πνευματικὴ τροφή."

[462] *PG* 65, 141C, ll. 3–5: Εἶπεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Βησαρίων ὅτι "τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη οὐκ ἔθηκα ἑαυτὸν ἐπιπλευρὸν, ἀλλὰ καθήμενος ἢ στήκων ἐκοιμώμην."

[463] *PG* 65, 141B, ll. 11–13: Ὁ αὐτὸς εἶπεν ὅτι "τεσσαράκοντα νυχθήμερα ἔμεινα μέσον ῥάμνων, στήκων, μὴ κοιμώμενος."

[464] John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum homilia* 21, *PG* 57, 298, ll. 47–54: πολλοὶ καὶ νῦν εἰσὶ τὸν ἀποστολικόν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι βίον, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ τρισχίλιοι τότε καὶ οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι· εἰ δὲ οὐ πιστεύομεν, οὐ παρὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τοὺς κατορθοῦντας, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ πράγματος ἀπέχειν. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ μεθύων οὐκ ἂν εὐκόλως πιστεύσειεν ὅτι ἔστιν ἄνθρωπός τις οὐδὲ ὕδατος ἀπογευόμενος· **καίτοι γε καὶ τοῦτο πολλοὶ κατώρθωσαν ἐφ' ἡμῶν μοναχοί** (my emphasis).

[465] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 43.1, 5–7: Κάτεισι μὲν ὁ μέγας τὸν βαθύτατον, ὡς ἔφην, κρημνόν ... ἐφ' ὅλας ἡμέρας αὐτόθι τεσσαράκοντα ἵσταται, μὴ τροφῆς, μὴ ποτοῦ τὸ παράπαν ἁψάμενος, ἄκαμπτος, ἀκλινὴς ὅλος καὶ ἄυπνος, ἀνδριὰς ἐξ ἀψύχου τινὸς ὡσπερεὶ κατασκευασθεὶς ὕλης.

knees.[466] Second, in chapter 52 of the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos describes Sabas' sojourn in Crete en route to Constantinople. He reports that the holy man spent two years wandering on the island consuming only greens and water. Moreover, Kokkinos emphasizes that his hero did not sit or lie down during that period, sleeping only a little while leaning on some tree or rocks. Due to this extreme asceticism, Sabas' feet reportedly became swollen like pillars. Towards the end of the chapter, Kokkinos refers to his source of inspiration, namely "other stories" (*historiai*), such as the *Historia Lausiaca*, the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, and especially the eponymous *Philotheos* [*Historia*], which records the deeds of the noble Syrian ascetic fathers.[467]

These collections of edifying stories were popular in Byzantium as attested by their rich manuscript tradition.[468] The similarities in terms of themes and content, as well as their placement in manuscripts immediately after the *v.Sab*.—on the last folio of the final quire (ιζ΄) of the *v.Sab*. in *M**—may suggest that these narratives constituted a source of inspiration and comparative material which Kokkinos selected and used when composing the *v.Sab*. He most likely had at his disposal manuscripts with such repertoires of edifying stories and "galleries of monastic portraits"[469] of the Egyptian, Palestinian, and Syrian tradition to serve his literary purpose.[470] Finally, it is also interesting to note that Kokkinos added in *M** (f. 133v) an autograph *scholion* to the *v.Sab*. 81.26–34 reading σχόλιον· † τὸν ἐν τῷ γεροντικῷ φησι μέγαν Ἀγάθωνα.[471] In this section of the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos extols Sabas' love for his neighbour and reports his words of admiration for "that wonderful elder" [Abba Agathon of Egypt] who, if it were possible, would have exchanged his body, as if it were a cloth, with that of a leper.[472] Thus, Kokkinos draws on an earlier

[466] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 47.1, 4–7: Ἐνιαυτὸν γοῦν ὅλον ... ἐφ' ἑνὸς πλευροῦ διήνυσε κατακείμενος· εἶτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐξαναστὰς ... ἐπί τινος καθέδρας ἐνιαυτὸν αὖθις ὅλον κεκάθικε ... μὴ πρὸς εὐχὴν ἀναστάς, μὴ γόνυ κλίνας.

[467] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 52.19–21, 26–30, 35–38, 45–46: [...] ἐφ' ὅλους ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο, βοτάναις καὶ ὕδατι μόνοις τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκην ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν φυσικὴν ἀνάγκην παραμυθούμενος. ... μὴ καθέδρας, μὴ κατακλίσεως μηδοπωστιοῦν τὸ παράπαν μνησθῆναι ... καὶ τοῦ βραχυτάτου δὲ ὕπνου ... ἐπὶ δένδρου γέ τινος ἢ καὶ τῆς προστυχούσης πέτρας, ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἑαυτὸν προσερείδων. ... οὓς **ἄλλαι τε φέρουσιν ἱστορίαι καὶ δὴ ἡ τὰ τῶν γενναίων Σύρων ἐκείνων θαυμαστῶς ἱστοροῦσα καὶ Φιλόθεος ἐπωνύμως** διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ προσαγορευομένη. [...] "καὶ κιόνων τινῶν δίκην ἐξογκωθέντες μοι", φησίν, "ἦσαν οἱ πόδες." (my emphasis).

[468] See Binggeli, "Collections of edifying stories," in Efthymiadis, *Companion* II, 143–159.

[469] Binggeli, "Collections," 144–146.

[470] On storytelling in early Greek hagiography, see Rapp, "Storytelling," *JEChrS* 6 (1998): 431–448.

[471] See Appendix 5.

[472] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 81.26–34.

Egyptian monastic portrait offered by *Apophthegmata Patrum* to showcase Sabas' love for his neighbour.

A section of the *v.Sab*. is also transmitted by the fourteenth-century *Marc. gr.* 155, ff. 199r–206v (*v.Sab*. 31.44 παντός to 40.19 ψηφίζονται τόν, Tsames 219–235). This manuscript carries works of the anti-hesychasts Gregory Akindynos (ff. 17r–98v) and Prochoros Kydones (his treatise on essence and *energeia*, ff. 99r–194v). On the next four folios (ff. 195r–198r), the anti-hesychast monk Isaac Argyros copied a patristic *florilegium* with extracts from Gregory of Nyssa's *Life* of Moses, John of Damascus, Gregory Nazianzen, Maximos the Confessor, Maximos Planoudes' Greek translation of Augustine, and Theophylact of Ohrid. The first and the last quires (ff. 1r–16v, 199r–206v), which frame the codex, as it were, transmit two hesychastic works authored by Kokkinos, the synodal *tomos* of 1351 and a fragment from the *v.Sab*. respectively. As Bianconi has already noted,[473] the *mise en page* of the last quire (2 columns, 31 lines), its dimensions (275 x 210), numbering (ια΄), watermark (Mošin-Traljić 6791), as well as the script, differ from those of the rest of the codex (298 x 220). Thus, this "quaternione incoerente rispetto al resto del codice"[474] was originally part of *M**, sharing its codicological and palaeographical features. The scribe of this fragment initially copied three of the eleven quires (ζ΄–ιζ΄) of the *v.Sab*. in *M**, namely ι΄, ια΄, and ιβ΄ (ff. 72r–79v, 80r–87v, 88r–95v). During the production of *M**, the quire ια΄ was taken and placed at the end of *Marc. gr.* 155, and the missing text of the *v.Sab*. (ff. 80r–87v) was re-copied by other of Kokkinos' associates (*gnorimoi*).[475] In Bianconi's words, "i ff. 80–87 del Marciano gr. 582 sono il frutto di un intervento seriore, ancorché immediatamente successivo, finalizzato a restaurare l'originario fascicolo ια΄ caduto e ora scovato nel Marciano gr. 155."[476] Moreover, the 'story' and the provenance of the last quire of *Marc. gr.* 155 is also spelled out in an annotation on the upper margin of f. 199r. Most likely added after Kokkinos' demise (*ca*. 1378), this note reads:

> The present quire is from the life (*bios*) of monk Sabas whose surname was Tziskos. It was composed by the one who is called Patriarch [lord] Philotheos Kokkinos. This very quire was retrieved

[473] Bianconi, "Riflessione su cultura profana," 110–112, and plate 7; "La controversia palamitica," 365–366.
[474] Bianconi, "Riflessione su cultura profana," 110; La controversia palamitica," 365.
[475] Cf. Fonkič, "Les autographes," 87, "Gli autografi," 252.
[476] Bianconi, "Riflessione su cultura profana," 111.

> by one of the associates of that one [Kokkinos], taken from their volume [*M**], which was written by their hands [Kokkinos' associates].[477]

Finally, it is interesting to note the content of the section of the *v.Sab*. 31.44–40.19 which was added to *Marc. gr.* 155. In chapters 31 to 40, Kokkinos offers an account of Sabas' travel and sojourn first at Mount Sinai and subsequently in the vicinity of the River Jordan where he lived as a recluse in a grotto. There Sabas prays unceasingly, contemplates the divine (*v.Sab*. 31–32), and experiences the Tabor light. After describing Sabas' vision, Kokkinos makes a lengthy excursus on the vision of the divine, adducing numerous patristic (for example, John of Damascus and Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite) and biblical references (*v.Sab*. 33–34). Moreover, in a *prolepsis*, Kokkinos reports that Sabas' face was full of light as he experienced the Tabor light on the feast day of Christ's Transfiguration (*v.Sab*. 35–36). Finally, after fifty days of fasting and extreme asceticism in the Jordan desert, Sabas again experiences the divine light and sees Christ (*v.Sab*. 37–38). Thus, most of this section of the *v.Sab*. introduces and promotes hesychast theology. Given the fierce hesychast polemics of the second half of the fourteenth century, these folios promoting hesychasm most likely did not make their way by chance into a manuscript carrying anti-hesychast works. *Marc. gr.* 155 seems to have been a "strumento di lotta" of the anti-hesychast camp—as mentioned, Argyros copied the patristic *florilegium*—which came at some point into the possession of the hesychasts who deliberately added the section of the *v.Sab*. at the end of it, refuting, as it were, the preceding anti-hesychast works of Akindynos and Kydones.

Through the *v.Sab*. Kokkinos not only praises his master and promotes himself, but also constructs a hagiographic argument in favour of hesychasm, embedding numerous hesychastic elements. These features are derided by Demetrios Kydones in his *Apology* addressed to Kokkinos in 1368. In this *Apology*, introduced in Part I.1, Kydones alludes to the *v.Sab*. when discussing Christ's Transfiguration

[477] *Marc. gr.* 155, f. 199r: † τὸ παρὸν τετράδι(ον) ἔστι μ(ὲν) ἐκ τοῦ βίου τοῦ (μοναχοῦ) Σάβα οὗ ἐπίκλην Τζίσκος· συνεγράφη δὲ παρὰ τοῦ χρηματίσαντος | π(ατ)ριάρχ(ου) [s.l. κυρ(οῦ)] Φιλοθέου τοῦ Κοκκίνου· ὅπερ τετράδι(ον) ἐκομίσθη παρά τινος τῶν ἐκείνου γνωρίμ(ων), ἐξ αὐτ(ῆς) τῆς βίβλου αὐτ(ῶν) | ληφθέν, ἥτις διὰ τῶν ἐκείνων ἐγράφη χειρῶν: †. Constantinides Hero, "Some notes on the letters of Akindynos," *DOP* 36 (1982): 221–226, at 223, transcribed this note with some minor errors due to which she erroneously identified this fragment as "an autograph of Philotheos." Cf. Bianconi, "Riflessione su cultura profana," 111–112 and n. 73; "La controversia palamitica," 365, n. 89.

on Mount Tabor. He ironically writes that "you [Kokkinos] taught these in like manner in the case of Sabas, whom you transfigured in your 'truthful' narratives and you devise a fabulous story that he came up to the third heaven with his body."[478] Kydones' criticism suggests that he had most likely read the *v.Sab*. or certainly some parts of it, such as the one in *Marc. gr*. 155, which are imbued with hesychastic elements. The example of Kydones and his observations shows that the *v.Sab.* was circulated, read, and commented upon in the second half of the fourteenth century.

In addition to the aforementioned codices, the *v.Sab*. has also survived in *Lavras* I 50 (1134), ff. 225r–360v. This fourteenth to fifteenth-century Athonite manuscript is a collection of Kokkinos' hymnographic and hagiographic works. The first 55 folios carry his *diataxis* of the Divine Liturgy, the *akolouthia* for Palamas, and *troparia* for the Theotokos. The remainder of the codex transmits the *v.G.Pal*. and the *v.Sab*. Unfortunately I did not have the chance to consult this manuscript. However, according to Eustratiades, the manuscript also carries, similarly to the other manuscripts, excerpts from Theodoret's *Philotheos Historia* and Palladios' *Historia Lausiaca* (f. 361) and perhaps the other fragments as well.[479] As mentioned, the *v.Sab*. is also transmitted by the nineteenth century *Vatopedi* 98 (pp. 9–331, without the *v.Sab*. 1.1–28 βίος ἐκείνου),[480] *Panteleemon* 160, 161, and 490 (5667, 5668, 5997).[481] Papadopoulos-Kerameus published the *v.Sab*. at the end of the nineteenth-century, and Tsames prepared its critical edition in 1983.[482]

The *v.Isid*. (almost 30,000 words) has come down to us in *M**, ff. 214r–255v, and *Iberon* 590, ff. 196r–263. As seen, the Athonite manuscript carries Kokkinos' homiletic and dogmatic writings (sermons on the beatitudes, the crippled woman, on Proverbs 9:1 and Psalm 37, and three *antirrhetikoi* against Gregoras), as well as the *v.Germ*. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Papadopoulos-Kerameus edited

[478] Kydones, *Apologia di Procoro*, ll. 276–278, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, 304–305: ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως παρὰ Σάββα, ὃν ἐν τοῖς σοῖς ἀληθινοῖς διηγήμασι μετεμόρφωσας καὶ μετὰ σώματος εἰς τρίτον ἀνελθεῖν οὐρανὸν τερατεύη, μεμάθηκας.
[479] Eustratiades, *Κατάλογος*, 185.
[480] On this manuscript, see Lamberz, *Katalog*, 404–406. Interestingly, the scribe added a list of holy fathers who practised *askesis* at Vatopedi on page 332: Οἱ ἐν τῷ ἁγιωνύμῳ ὄρει κατὰ τὴν μεγίστην ἱερὰν μονὴν τοῦ Βατοπαιδίου ἐν ἀσκήσει λάμψαντες ὁσιώτατοι πατέρες. Among these fathers he also included "Sabas the Younger and his disciple Philotheos."
[481] Cf. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 248–249.
[482] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, vol. 5, 190–359, 426–429; Tsames, "Βίος ἁγίου Σάβα," supplement no. 34 to *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 27 (1982) (Thessalonike, 1983), 1–208, at 37–201, reprinted without introduction (pp. 19–36) in Tsames, *Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἅγιοι*, 161–325.

the *v.Isid*. on the basis of *Iberon* 590, and in 1980 Tsames prepared its critical edition, collating both codices.[483]

Similarly to the *v.Isid*., the only two surviving manuscripts of the *v.Germ*. are *M**, ff. 186r–213v, and *Iberon* 590, ff. 165r–195v. The first edition of the *v.Germ*. (more than 20,000 words) was published by Ioannou in 1952 on the basis of *M**. In the introduction to his *editio princeps*, Ioannou noted that the *v.Germ.* "n'a pas dù jouir d'une grande vogue" and that "les compilateurs de recueils hagiographiques … ignorent sereinement l'existence même de Germain."[484] Indeed, judging by its manuscript tradition, the *v.Germ*.—as well as the *v.Nik.* and the *v.Isid*., each transmitted by only two codices—did not enjoy a wide circulation. However, one must also consider that this assessment is only made on the basis of the manuscripts that have survived to the present day. Three decades after Ioannou's edition, Tsames prepared another critical edition of the *v.Germ*. using both codices.[485]

Finally, the *v.G.Pal*., the lengthiest among Kokkinos' *vitae* (more than 50,000 words), has come down in a series of manuscripts dating from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. Most of these codices carry Palamas' works (especially his homilies) and compositions in his honour. The earliest witnesses of the *v.G.Pal*. are *Lavras* Γ 81 (321), ff. 1r–121v, and the aforementioned *Paris. gr*. 421, ff. 314r–386r, both copied in the second half of the fourteenth century. The first carries seven homilies of Palamas, as well as Neilos Kerameus' *enkomion* of Palamas (*BHG* 719),[486] while the second gathers, as seen, Kokkinos' dogmatic works (the *tomos* of 1351 and the 15 *antirrhetikoi*). The text is also extant in the fourteenth-fifteenth century *Lavras* I 50, ff. 55r–224v, a volume transmitting the *v.Sab.* and hymnographic compositions by Kokkinos. Moreover, the *v.G.Pal*. was copied at the end of two fifteenth-century codices, *Coislin*. 98, ff. 213r–292 and *Lavras* Λ 82 (1573), ff. 291r–357, both carrying Palamas' works. In 1563, fragments of the *v.G.Pal*. were copied in another collection of Palamas' homilies, namely the

[483] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Žitija," 52–149. Tsames, "Βίος ἁγίου Ἰσιδώρου," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 25 (1980): 89–187, edition at 92–186, reprinted without introduction in Tsames, *Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἅγιοι*, 329–423.
[484] Ioannou, "Vie de s. Germain," 49, edition at 50–114.
[485] Tsames, "Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Γερμανοῦ," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 26 (1981): 105–172, edition at 110–171, reprinted without introduction in Tsames, *Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἅγιοι*, 97–158.
[486] See Kaklamanos, "L'éloge du patriarche Kerameus," *Byzantina* 33 (2013/14): 423–438, esp. 426.

aforementioned *Hieros. Sanctae Crucis* 22, ff. 302r–436v.[487] The text, or rather its translation into 'demotic' Greek, was also transmitted in the seventeenth-century *Iberon* 589 (4709), item 3.7, and the eighteenth-century *Lavras* Ω 136 (1948), *Lavras* Ω 95 (1907), and *Esphigmenou* 107 (2120).[488] On the basis of *Hieros. Sanctae Crucis* 22, Kleopas published the *v.G.Pal*. in Jerusalem in 1857, and the text was subsequently printed in *PG* 151, 551–656. The critical edition was prepared by Tsames in 1984.[489]

Apart from the above-mentioned translation of Kokkinos' *Logos* on All Saints, I am not aware whether any of his *vitae* of contemporary saints were translated into Old Church Slavonic. His *vitae* do not feature in the catalogues of Ivanova and Tvorogov.[490]

As clear from above and as indicated in Table 3, three of the *vitae* (*v.Nik.*, *v.Isid*., and *v.Germ*.) have only survived in two manuscripts, while the other two (the *v.Sab*. and the *v.G.Pal*.) enjoyed a better diffusion. Of the latter, only the *v.G.Pal*. was copied in manuscripts ranging from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, especially in Athonite codices dedicated to Palamas' works. Most of them were produced either in Constantinople or on Mount Athos, and some were subsequently purchased, making their way to the European libraries that house them today. For instance, this is the case of *M**, whose interesting story is presented below, and *Mosq.* 164*.

Mosq. 164* was most likely purchased and brought to Russia by Arseniy Sukhanov during his trip to Mount Athos in the early 1650s. At the initiative of Patriarch Nikon of Moscow (1652–1658), who undertook a revision of Russian liturgical books, and with the support of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich (*r.* 1645–1676), Sukhanov travelled to Athos where he aquired *ca*. 500 Greek manuscripts of liturgical, hagiographic, and various other content. In Moscow, these codices were first housed in the Synodal Library of the Russian Patriarchate and subsequently transferred to the Department of Manuscripts of the State Historical Museum

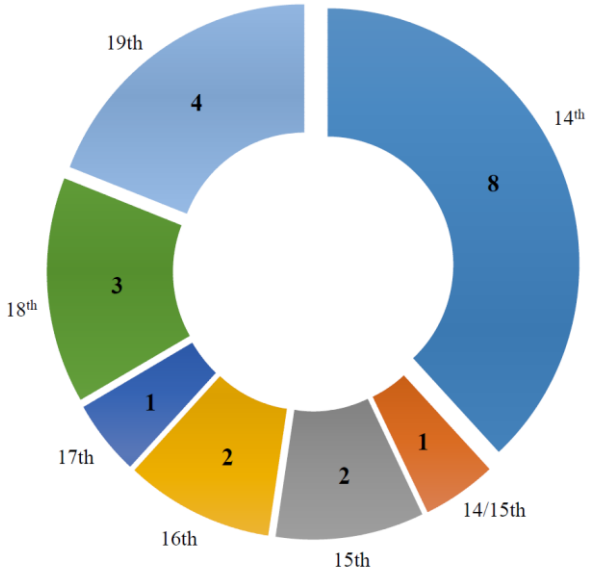
[487] Kaklamanos, "L'éloge," 427–428.
[488] On *Lavras* Ω 136, see Kaklamanos, "L'éloge," 428; Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 285–286.
[489] Tsames, "Λόγος εἰς ἅγιον Γρηγόριον," supplement no. 42 to *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 27 (1982) (Thessalonike, 1983), reprinted in Tsames, *Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἅγιοι*, 427–591.
[490] Ivanova, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica*; Tvorogov, *Переводные жития*.

(GIM).[491] Thus, as shown in Fig. 2, most of the codices transmitting Kokkinos' *vitae* are contemporary or near contemporary with the author.

Table 3. Manuscripts transmitting Kokkinos' *vitae*: distribution by century

Century	***v.Nik.***	***v.Sab.***	***v.Isid.***	***v.Germ.***	***v.G.Pal.***
14th	Meteora 374	*M**			*Lavras* Γ 81 *Paris. gr*. 421
		Mosq. 164* *Vatopedi* 97 *Monac. gr*. 155	*Iberon* 590		
14/15th		*Lavras* I 50			*Lavras* I 50
15th					*Coislin*. 98 *Lavras* Λ 82
16th	*Panteleemon* 571				*Hieros*. 22
17th					*Iberon* 589
18th					*Lavras* Ω 136 *Lavras* Ω 95 *Esphigmenou* 107
19th		*Vatopedi* 98 *Panteleemon* 160 *Panteleemon* 161 *Panteleemon* 490			

Fig. 2. Total number of manuscripts transmitting Kokkinos' *vitae* per century



[491] See Fonkič, "Sukhanov," 68–104.

I.2.6. The "author's edition" codex *Marcianus graecus* 582

*M** is arguably one of, if not the most important witness of Kokkinos' *vitae* of contemporary saints. In the following, I will present its interesting history and unusual fate, offer a brief codicological and palaeographical analysis, highlight Kokkinos' active involvement in the process of its production, and argue that *M** and *Paris. gr*. 421 were part of Kokkinos' 'editorial' project of collecting and publishing his own writings.

At the end of his grammatical treatise, *De litteris, syllabis et metris* (*On Letters, Syllables and Meters*), the third-century Roman author Terentianus Maurus wrote that *Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli*, the fates of books depend on their readers. This observation turned popular catchphrase remains true to this day.[492] The fate of books, and in general the fate of any text, depends on their readers, and one may add, their owners. Medieval manuscripts, each unique in its making, often tell infinitely more complex and fascinating stories of readership and circulation than modern books. This is also the case of *M**.

Interesting insights into the history and circulation of *M** can be gathered from Finazzi's thorough investigation of archival material on the Venetian book collector Giacomo Gallicio and his "unusual" donation to the "Public Library" of Venice in 1624.[493] Thus, on August 23, 1624, Gallicio filed a request to the Venetian Council of Ten (*Consiglio dei dieci*) for the release of a certain imprisoned man. In exchange, Gallicio was ready to bequeath his collection of twenty-two Greek manuscripts to the "Public Library" of Venice (today the Biblioteca Marciana). He writes in his plea that "I have acquired in Constantinople, with a considerable amount of money and with the risk of my life, some ancient books, written in Greek by the hand of saints and scholars, which were held in high esteem in that Patriarchate."[494] According to him, he had numerous offers to sell this collection for a profit, but always refused them, waiting for a more important and profitable

[492] *Terentianus Maurus. De syllabis*, ed. Beck, 122. See Wolfgang, *Zur Geschichte eines Zitats*.
[493] Venetian State Archive, *Consiglio dei Dieci*, *Parti comuni*, no. 354, Nov.–Jan. 1624. Finazzi, "La donazione," in *Miscellanea Marciana*, 103–118.
[494] Gallicio (Finazzi, 113): "habbia acquistato in Constantinopoli con molto mio capitale, et risigo di vita alquanti libri antichissimi scritti in carattere Greco, di mano de Santi e Dotori, che già erano in quel Patriarcato tenuti in molta stima."

prospect.[495] This prospect did present itself, yet not in the guise of a lucrative exchange. Instead, Gallicio traded his manuscripts for the freedom of a man by the name of Bernadino Vespa. At some point in 1623, Vespa seems to have inflicted a serious head injury on a certain Piero Ruberti in the latter's house in Venice. Following a complaint from the victim, Vespa was sentenced to a couple of years in prison and fined a hefty sum.[496] Although the ties between Vespa and Gallicio remain a subject for further investigation, on August 23, 1364, the latter filed a request to the *Consiglio dei dieci* for the release of Vespa, offering in exchange a list of twenty two-codices he was willing to bequeath to the "Public Library."[497]

At the request of the so-called "Riformatori dello Studio di Padova," Gallicio's list of manuscripts was consulted by Paolo Sarpi and Giovanni Sozomeno (curator of the "Public Library"). Following their positive assessment, the exchange went through: Gallicio's codices entered into the possession of the Library on March 13, 1625, and Vespa was released from prison in December of the same year. Sozomeno compiled an entry list, and in twelfth position he recorded, *item Philothei Patriarchae homiliae*.[498] This item is nowadays referred to by the shelfmark *Marc. gr*. 582 (*M**), a manuscript which, as already seen, carries not only Kokkinos' sermons, but also his dogmatic, hymnographic and especially his hagiographic works. As listed in Table 4, in addition to *M**, Gallicio bequeathed codices ranging from the tenth to the fifteenth century. Among them were three codices transmitting John Chrysostom's homilies (*Marc. gr*. 563, 567, 568) and the well-known early tenth-century illuminated manuscript with commentaries on the Book of Job (*Marc. gr*. 538).[499]

[495] Gallicio (Finazzi, 113): "et essendomi stati più volte richiesti da molti personaggi con offerirmi prezo tale che mi saria d'avantaggio contentato."
[496] Finazzi, "La donazione," 109–112.
[497] Finazzi, "La donazione," 104, 113–114.
[498] For a reproduction of Sozomeno's list, see Finazzi, "La donazione," 108 sq.
[499] This interesting story of *M** is a case in point for what Scase aptly noted in her *Introduction* to the *Essays in Manuscript Geography*, 1: "the manuscript book is a diversely constituted material artefact spun in a web of material practices of production and reception ... text is copied ... quires are bound, books are sold, borrowed, bequeathed, donated, and each individual person who contributes to this process has his or her own unique history which bears on the creation of the book. ... the manuscript book is the product of a multitude of processes whose practice always has its own geographical as well as historical individuality."

Table 4. Gallicio's manuscripts bequeathed to the "Public Library" of Venice (1624)

Item	Content	Shelfmark	Date
1	Constantine Armenopoulos, *Hexabiblos*	*Marc. gr.* 580	XIV
2	Daniel, metropolitan of Ephesus, *Opera theologica*	missing	–
3	Porphyry, *The Isagoge*; David the Philosopher; Michael Psellos	*Marc. gr.* 599	mid. XIV
4	John Chrysostom, *Homilies*	*Marc. gr.* 568	XII
5	John Chrysostom, *Homilies*	*Marc. gr.* 567	mid. X
6	John Chrysostom, *Homilies* on the Gospel of John	*Marc. gr.* 563	XI
7	*Commentaries* on the Book of Job	*Marc. gr.* 538	905
8	Liturgical and hagiographic collection Theodore Daphnopates, *Life of St. Theodore the Stoudite*	*Marc. gr.* 351	XI–XII
9	John Pothos Pediasimos, Nicomachus Gerasenus, Thomas Magistros	*Marc. gr.* 595	XIV
10	Maximos the Confessor, *Opera theologica*	*Marc. gr.* 570	XII
11	Maximos Planudes, Anthology of Greek epigrams	*Marc. gr.* 621	1472
12	Philotheos Kokkinos, Hagiographic collection	*Marc. gr.* 582	XIV
13	Theological miscellany (Niketas Stethatos, Symeon the New Theologian, John of Damascus, John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea)	*Marc. gr.* 575	1426
14	Acts of the Council of Chalcedon	*Marc. gr.* 555	mid. XI
15	Acts of the Apostles and Paul's Letters with commentaries; John's *Revelation* with commentaries by Arethas of Caesarea	*Marc. gr.* 546	XI
16	Psalms and Euthymius Zigabenus' commentaries	*Marc. gr.* 537	XIII
17	Basil of Caesarea, *On the Book of Isaiah*	*Marc. gr.* II.1	XI
18	Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*	missing	–
19	Theological collection	missing	–
20	Constantine Laskaris, *Grammar*	missing	–
21	Heliodorus of Emesa, *Aethiopica*; Eustathios Makrembolites, *Hysmine and Hysminias*	*Marc. gr. Z.* 607	XV

An autopsy of *M** and its codicological and palaeographic analysis offer further insights into its history. *M** is a voluminous paper codex copied in the second half of the fourteenth-century. It measures 298 x 290 mm, consists of 422 folios, and has a *mise en page* that features, most likely for reasons of legibility,[500] two columns with 31 lines of text.[501] As already seen (cf. Table 2 and Appendix 5), nine of Kokkinos' hagiographic works fill more than half of *M** (around 255 folios): three *vitae* of contemporary saints (*v.Sab.*, *v.Germ.*, *v.Isid.*) and six compositions for saints who lived in earlier centuries (All Saints, Febronia, Anysia, Phokas, Onouphrios, and the Holy Apostles). The content of the codex was copied by a team of scribes from

[500] There are other codices carrying his works that have the text arranged in two columns: *Mosq.* 164* (2 columns, 25 lines), *Paris. gr.* 421 (2 columns, 31 lines). Modern research has shown that two-column texts ellicit a significantly higher reading speed and an increased comprehension compared to one-column texts. See, for instance, Baker, "Is multiple-column online text better?"
[501] For a catalogue description, see Mioni, *Codices graeci*, 499–501.

Kokkinos' entourage, most likely from the patriarchal chancellery, and the aforementioned Malachias ("anonymus Aristotelicus").[502]

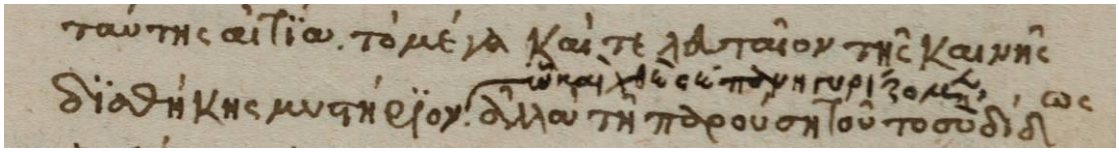
Malachias was a prolific scribe, a "palamite convaincu" and part of "l'entourage très proche" of Kokkinos, copying his works in manuscripts, such as *Monac. gr*. 508*, *Mosq*. 349,* and *Petropol. gr*. 244.[503] As mentioned, Fonkič, and subsequently Mondrain and Bianconi, have identified Kokkinos' autograph interventions in a number of manuscripts, most of which transmit his own works.[504] As they also point out, a careful palaeographic investigation of these codices reveals Kokkinos' close collaboration with the scribes copying his writings. Thus, like other men of letters of his time, such as Nikephoros Choumnos, Theodore Hyrtakenos, Gregoras, and Philotheos of Selymbria,[505] Kokkinos oversaw the process of copying his texts, bringing corrections, inserting missing words, and adding marginal notes. For instance, Gregoras himself copied parts of his *Romaike Historia* in *Par. gr*. 1276*, a codex which transmits, as seen, some of Kokkinos' dogmatic works. He also copied and corrected his works in *Vat. gr*. 165, the earliest witness of his *Romaike Historia* produced under his supervision. Gregoras collaborated with a series of scribes to copy and publish his own works, which he subsequently annotated (*Vat. gr*. 116, *Vat. gr*. 1086).[506] Scholars have identified numerous codices bearing his autograph interventions and reconstructed his 'library.'[507] Another

[502] Fonkič, "Les autographes," 87, "Gli autografi," 252, distinguished 8 different scribes.
[503] Mondrain, "La constitution," 23; eadem, "L'ancien empereur," 280; Fonkič, "Les autographes," 84–86, "Gli autografi," 247–249.
[504] *RGK* does not include a lemma dedicated to Kokkinos. The peculiarities of his handwriting include descending *iota* transgressing the bilinear limits, distinctive *chi rho* ligature, *epsilon* leaning towards left, tinny and filled *omicron*, ogival *theta*, and long accent strokes. Moreover, he adds a short line above each proper name. Further on the features of Kokkinos' script, see Fonkič, "Les autographes," 79, "Gli autografi," 241, and Bianconi, "La controversia palamitica," 371.
[505] Riehle, "Epistolography as autobiography," *Parekbolai* 2 (2012): 1–22; Karpozilos, "The correspondance of Theodore Hyrtakenos," *JÖB* 40 (1990): 275–294; Mondrain, "La constitution," 23.
[506] On Gregoras' collaborators, see Bianconi, "Aspetti della collaborazione tra copisti nell'età dei Paleologi," *BZ* 96 (2003): 521–558, at 539–554; Pérez Martín, "El *scriptorium* de Chora," in *Ἐπίγειος Οὐρανός*, 203–223; eadem, "El 'estilo Hodegos'," 433–451, identifies among Gregoras' scribes a certain "Anonymus G," who copied Gregoras' *Florentios* and his *vita* of Empress Theophano in *Vat. gr*. 1086 (ff. 3r–32v).
[507] Ševčenko, "Some autographs of Nicephorus Gregoras," *ZRVI* 8 (1964): 435–450 (repr. in *Society and Intellectual Life*, XII; Fonkič, "Les nouveaux autographes de Nicéphore Grégoras" (in Russian), in *Manuscrits grecs*, 62–77; Mondrain, "Maxime Planude, Nicéphore Grégoras et Ptolémée," *Palaeoslavica* 10 (2002): 312–322; "Les écritures dans les manuscrits byzantins du XIV^{e} siècle;" Bianconi, "La biblioteca di Cora," 410–434; "La controversia palamitica," 339–353; "La 'biblioteca' di Niceforo Gregora," in *Πρακτικά του Ϛ΄ Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Ελληνικής Παλαιογραφίας*, 225–233; *RGK* II.416, III.491. Bianconi has recently identified Gregoras' hand in other codices, including the tenth century *Vat. gr*. 2369 (f. 5r) and the fourteenth century Oxford, *Barocci* 48 (ff. 16r, 19v).

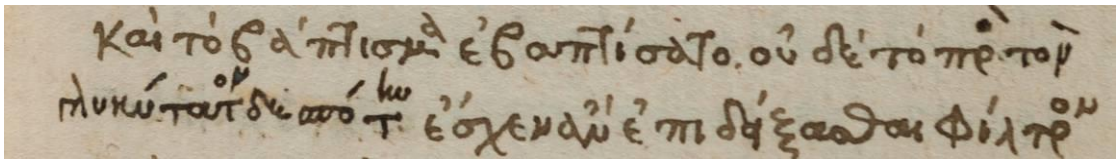
example is Philotheos of Selymbria who copied his own works in Patmos, Monastery of St. John, ms. 366, and Istanbul, *Patriarchike Bibliotheke, Panaghia* 53. He also copied manuscripts for his own use, including *Vat. gr.* 22, a miscellaneous codex with lexicographical material, Uppsala, UB, Ms. gr. 28, and *Marc. gr.* 309.[508]

A few examples of Kokkinos' collaboration with his scribes will suffice. In *Monac. gr*. 508*, Malachias copied the main text of the *tomos* of 1351 (ff. 5r–50v), while Kokkinos added its title (f. 5r: Τόμος ἐκτεθεὶς …) and, as already mentioned, copied the names and signatures of the participants to the synod (ff. 50r–52v).[509] In *Mosq*. 349*, Malachias copied Kokkinos' *kanones*, *troparia*, and prayers (ff. 12r–34v), the *Logos* on All Saints (ff. 68r–104r),[510] and the *logoi dogmatikoi* against Akindynos (ff. 107–170), and Kokkinos reviewed them, adding corrections *in rasura* and marginal notes. For instance, Kokkinos carefully corrected his *Logos* on All Saints (ff. 77r, 79v, 87v, 101rv, 102r, 104r).[511]

Mosq. 349*, f. 77r: interlinear addition of missing text



Mosq. 349*, f. 101r: correction *in rasura*



A considerable part of the text in *M** was copied by Malachias. In fact, out of 422 folios he copied around 207, that is to say, almost half of the codex (ff. 138r–226v, 228r–231v, 233rv, 236r–243v, 245r–248v, 250r–252v, 254r–255v, 257r–353r). Kokkinos entrusted him to copy his dogmatic works: the *logoi dogmatikoi* (ff. 138r–

[508] For instance, on f. 369r of Patmos 366, he corrected the superscription "Φιλοθέου ἱερομονάχου," crossing out "~~ἱερομονάχου~~" and adding on top μητροπολίτου Σηλυβρίας. On his autographs, see Harlfinger, "Autographa," 47–48, and plates 10–12; Gaul, "The twitching shroud," 338–340, and plates 5–6; Pérez Martín, "El 'estilo Hodegos'," 59.
[509] Fonkič, "Les autographes," 83–85, and plates 1–2.
[510] Appendix 6, plates 5–9.
[511] Appendix 6, plates 6–9. For a comprehensive list of Kokkinos' autograph interventions in *Mosq*. 349*, see Fonkič, "Les autographes," 87, "Gli autografi," 252.

178v), as in *Mosq.* 349*, the confession of faith (ff. 179r–185v), and the 14 *kephalaia* (ff. 327r–335r). Malachias also copied Kokkinos' sermons on Proverbs 9:1 and the crippled woman (ff. 255v–298r), and the two texts addressed to the Herakleians (ff. 307r–327r). Moreover, Kokkinos commissioned him to copy his hagiographic and hymnographic compositions: the *v.Germ*. (ff. 186r–213v), the *v.Isid*. (214r–255v), the *vitae* of St. Phokas (ff. 298r–306r) and St. Onouphrios (337r–349r), as well as the *akolouthia* and the *kanon* on All Saints (ff. 349r–352r), and the *kanon* on St. Demetrios (ff. 352v–353r).

Kokkinos' numerous autograph interventions throughout *M** suggest that he collaborated closely with Malachias and with the other scribes to prepare the 'edition' of his works. Once his team of scribes finished copying his works, Kokkinos perused them and added the last 'retouches'. On the upper margin of f. 19r he wrote almost the same note twice: the first, written in dark brown ink on the upper edge of the folio and hardly legible, reads τὴν ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀρέθα φησί, while the second, written in pale red ink below the first, reads τὴν ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀρέθα λέγει.[512] This suggests that Kokkinos reviewed his works, or at least his *Logos* on All Saints (ff. 3r–23v), before their quires were adjusted and bound to make up *M**. Thus, once *M** was compiled, he again wrote the marginal note since the first became less legible due to the paper cut-outs. A similar case is found on f. 20v with the marginal note τὰς μάρτυρας φησὶ Μαρίναν καὶ Ἰουλιανήν. Thus, throughout *M**, Kokkinos added titles in pale red ink, corrections *in rasura* (in dark brown ink), marginal notes (either in pale red or dark brown ink), changed the word order, added missing text (as in *Mosq.* 349*, f. 77r), as well as copied text himself. A selection of Kokkinos' autograph interventions in *M** is offered in Appendix 5. Here a few examples will suffice:

– the *Logos* on All Saints [scribe I]: corrections *in rasura* (ff. 13r, 16v, 18v), marginal notes (ff. 18v, 19rv, 20v)
– the *Bios kai martyrion* of St. Febronia [scribe I]: title (f. 23v, in pale red ink), corrections *in rasura* (ff. 30r, 31v, 33r, 35rv, 37v, 40v), word order (f. 31r)
– the *Logos* on St. Anysia [scribe I]: title (f. 42r, in pale red ink), corrections *in rasura* (ff. 45rv, 47v)

[512] See Appendix 5.

– the *v.Sab*. [scribes I, II, III, IV]: corrections *in rasura* (ff. 52v, 79r, 90v, 91r, 92v, 94v, 95v, 103r, 106r, 108v, 116v, 129r), crossing out text (ff. 91rv, 112r), marginal note (*scholion*, f. 133v)

– the *v.Germ*. [Malachias]: addition of missing text (ff. 194v, 198v, 206r), corrections *in rasura* (f. 196v)

– the *v.Isid*. [Malachias, scribe VI]: title (f. 214r, in pale red ink), addition of missing text (f. 214r, 218v, 220v, 225v, 226r, 236r, 241r, 245r, 250v), corrections *in rasura* (f. 223r)

– the sermons 1 and 2 on Proverbs 9:1 [Malachias]: addition of missing text (ff. 270rv, 280v, 284r, 285r), crossing out text (f. 275r)

– the sermons on the crippled woman [Malachias]: addition of missing text (ff. 288v, 289r), corrections *in rasura* (f. 291v)

– the *Logos historikos* on the fall of Herakleia [Malachias]: corrections *in rasura* (ff. 309v, 310r, 318r)

– the letter to the Herakleians [Malachias]: corrections *in rasura* (ff. 324r, 327r)

– the *kanon* on St. Demetrios [Malachias]: in close collaboration with Malachias, Kokkinos wrote himself several *troparia* in red ink (ff. 352v, 353r)

– the sermons on Psalm 37 [scribe VII]: corrections *in rasura* (ff. 356r, 365r, 369r, 371v, 379v, 390r).

Kokkinos collaborated with his scribes in other manuscripts transmitting his works, such as *Mosq*. 164* and *Mosq*. 349*. For instance, in the first codex he perused his *Logos* on All Saints (ff. 37r–71v) copied by Tzykandyles. He supplemented the title of the *protheoria* (f. 37r), and wrote short marginal notes in pale red ink (ff. 48v, 49v, 50r, 54v, 57v, 58v, 59v).[513]

Kokkinos commissioned Tzykandyles to copy his *antirrhetikoi* 11–15 in *Paris. gr*. 421 (ff. 202r–313v). As already mentioned, *M** and *Paris. gr*. 421 gather exclusively Kokkinos' works, have the same *mise en page* (2 columns, 31 lines), and were copied by scribes from Kokkinos' entourage, among whom were Malachias and Tzykandyles. These codicological and palaeographical characteristics, as well as their content, suggest that *M** and *Paris. gr*. 421 were part of Kokkinos' 'editorial'

[513] See Appendix 6, plates 1, 3–4. On Kokkinos' interventions in these Moscow manuscripts, see Fonkič, "Les autographes,"87, "Gli autografi," 251–252.

project of collecting and publishing his œuvre, which he likely undertook during his second patriarchate.

Table 5. Kokkinos' collection of his works: the codices *M** and *Paris. gr*. 421

M*	*Logos* on All Saints *Bios kai martyrion* of St. Febronia *Logos* on St. Anysia of Thessalonike ***v.Sab.*** *Logoi dogmatikoi* *Confession* of faith ***v.Germ.*** ***v.Isid.*** Sermons on Proverbs 9:1 Sermons on the Sunday of the crippled woman *Enkomion* of St. Phokas *Logos historikos* on the capture of Herakleia *Letter* to the Herakleians 14 *kephalaia* against Akindynos and Barlaam *Bios kai politeia* of St. Onouphrios *Akolouthia* for All Saints *Kanon* on All Saints *Kanon* on St. Demetrios of Thessalonike Sermons on Psalm 37 *Logos enkomiastikos* on the Holy Apostles
***Paris. gr.* 421**	Synodal *tomos* of 1351 15 *antirrhetikoi* against Gregoras ***v.G.Pal.***

As Table 5 shows, four of the five *vitae* of contemporary saints are gathered in these manuscripts, three in *M** (*v.Sab*., *v.Germ*., *v.Isid*.) and one in the Paris codex (*v.G.Pal*.). Although the latter does not feature Kokkinos' autograph 'retouches,' it seems likely that Kokkinos decided the layout and the structure of both codices. If *Paris. gr*. 421 presents his compositions in a chronological order, this is not the case for *M*.* For instance, in *M**, the *v.Sab*. features before the *Logoi dogmatikoi* although it postdates them; similarly, the *Letter* to the Herakleians comes after the *Logos historikos* even though the former was written before the latter, and, furthermore, both of them feature after the *v.Isid*., although they predate it. Interestingly, Kokkinos chose to frame *M**, as it were, with compositions dedicated to All Saints: the *Logos* is in first position, while the *akolouthia* and the *kanon* are among the last works in the codex. It is not by chance that the *Logos* on All Saints comes first in *M** since, I argue, it couches Kokkinos' hagiographic programme. In the introduction (*protheoria*) to the *Logos*, he underlines that "the goal of the present account is

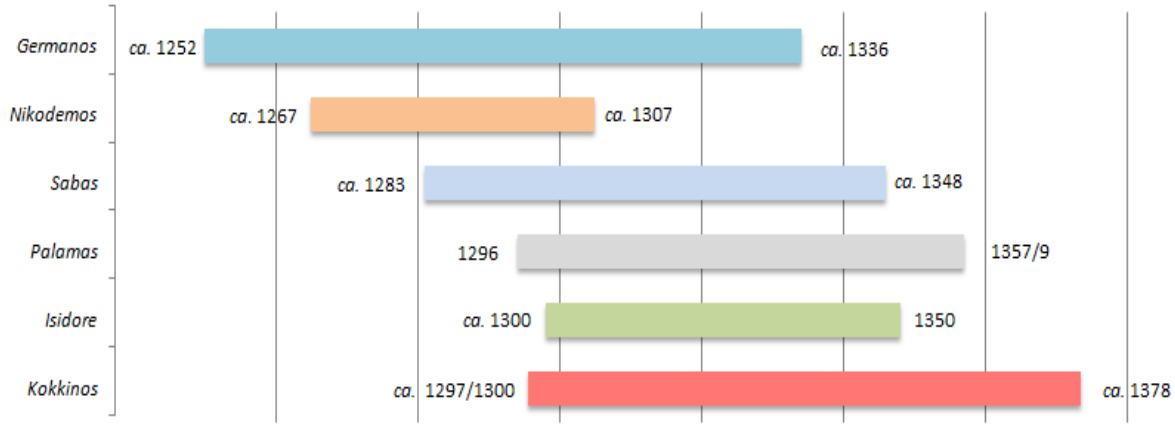
neither to simply eulogize the saints, nor to say something in particular about them, but to show on the whole what is the cause of the sanctification and deification of human nature."[514] Moreover, he stresses that the cause of the sanctification and deification of human nature is nothing other than Christ's Incarnation and the advent (*epidemia*) of the Holy Spirit (Pentecost). In other words, the road to sainthood is accessible to everyone from the early Christian era onwards. Thus, Kokkinos proceeds to offer in *M** examples of men and women who attained sainthood, both from the distant past (Febronia, Anysia, Phokas, and Onouphrios) and among his contemporaries (Sabas, Isidore, and Germanos).

[514] Kokkinos, *Logos* on All Saints: τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ σκοπός ἐστιν, οὐ τὸ τοὺς ἁγίους ἁπλῶς ἐγκωμιάσαι, οὐδὲ μερικῶς τι περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ἥτις ἐστὶ δεῖξαι καθόλου τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ καὶ τῆς θεώσεως τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. See Appendix 3.

I.3. Biographical Sketches of Kokkinos' Heroes

The five contemporary saints eulogized by Kokkinos lived between *ca*. 1252 and 1357/9, as shown in Fig. 3: Nikodemos the Younger (*ca*. 1267–1307), Sabas Tziskos (*ca*. 1283–1348), Isidore Boucheir (*ca*. 1300–1350), Germanos Maroules (*ca*. 1252–*ca*. 1336), and Gregory Palamas (1296–1357/9). In the following, short biographical portraits of these historical figures are in order.

Fig. 3. Kokkinos and his heroes: comparative chronology of lifespan



I.3.1. Nikodemos the Younger

Nikodemos the Younger hailed from the Macedonian city of Berrhoia where he was born around 1267. Nothing is known about his family, education, or early life. At some point, he assumed the monastic garment, most likely in Berrhoia, and became a vagrant ascetic. Around the age of 40, he came to Thessalonike where he joined the Philokalles Monastery. It seems that he was murdered around 1307 by some local citizens for alleged scandalous behaviour. A local cult developed around his uncorrupted bodily remains, which were discovered outside Philokalles and subsequently placed in a church built in his honour with financial support from Emperor Andronikos II. A fresco portrait of Nikodemos, painted by 1321, has been preserved in the *katholikon* of the Hilandar Monastery on Athos.[515] Similarly to

[515] Simonopetritis, "Τοιχογραφία," *Πρωτᾶτον* 7 (1983): 133–137; Gerstel, "Church decoration in late Byzantine Thessalonike," *DOP* 57 (2003): 225–239, at 235.

Germanos, the only source on Nikodemos' life is the *hypomnema* Kokkinos dedicated to him.[516]

I.3.2. Sabas Tziskos

Sabas Tziskos was a renowned ascetic of the fourteenth century.[517] He was born around 1283 into an upper-class family of Thessalonike and received the baptismal name of Stephen. After pursuing education in his hometown, he entered Athos around 1301 and assumed the monastic habit. Due to the Catalan raids around 1308,[518] Sabas fled the Holy Mountain and travelled to the Holy Land. After two decades of vagrancy, during which he became renowned for his asceticism, he returned to Athos and entered the Vatopedi monastery. He remained there until late March 1342, when he joined an Athonite embassy to Constantinople to plead for the end of the civil war. After the failure of the embassy, he remained in the capital, residing at the Chora Monastery.[519] In early 1347, he refused the patriarchal throne offered to him by Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, and died most probably one year later. Apart from the biographical details provided by Kokkinos in the *v.Sab.*, Sabas is also mentioned in Kantakouzenos' *Memoirs*.[520]

I.3.3. Isidore Boucheir

Like Germanos and Sabas, Isidore Boucheir hailed from Thessalonike.[521] He was born around 1300 into a clerical family and was the oldest of ten children. Upon completing his studies (including *enkyklios paideia*), Isidore became a schoolmaster for the sons of upper-class families in Thessalonike. Although not a monastic, he practised *askesis* while in Thessalonike, under the spiritual guidance of Gerasimos, disciple of Gregory of Sinai. In his early twenties, Isidore went to Athos and joined

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[516] Chionides, "Ο Βεροιώτης μοναχός," 96–111.

[517] As seen above (see *supra* n. 477), Sabas' surname features in a superscription on f. 199r of the fourteenth-century *Marc. gr.* 155: † τὸ παρὸν τετράδι(ον) ἔστι μ(ὲν) ἐκ τοῦ βίου τοῦ (μοναχοῦ) Σάβα οὗ ἐπίκλην Τζίσκος· "The present quire is from the *life* of monk Sabas whose surname was Tziskos." Constantinides Hero, "Notes on the letters of Akindynos," 223; Bianconi, "Riflessione su cultura profana," 111–112.

[518] Cf. Palmer, "*Life of Sabas* as a source for the history of the Catalan Company," 35–38.

[519] On this monastery, restored by the *megas logothetes* Theodore Metochites between 1316 and 1321, see Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," in *Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, 17–92; Teteriatnikov, "The dedication of the Chora Monastery," *Byzantion* 64 (1996): 188–207; Janin, *Églises CP*, 531–539.

[520] Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* III.34, 35 (II.209, 213).

[521] On Isidore's surname, see Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones. Briefe*, I.1, 160, n. 1.

Gregory of Sinai at the *skete* of Magoula, where he remained for a short time until 1325 when Turkish raids forced him to return to Thessalonike.

After a ten-year hesychast apostolate in his *patris* (*ca.* 1325–1335), Isidore returned to Athos where he was tonsured and consecrated deacon by Palamas. In the late 1330s, he was actively engaged together with Palamas in defending hesychasm against Barlaam's criticism. In 1341, he accompanied Palamas to the capital for the church councils (June–July) which condemned Barlaam and Akindynos. At that time, the Constantinopolitan synod elected him to the vacant metropolitan see of Monembasia. However, he was not consecrated due to the outburst of the civil war, and resided in Constantinople as *hypopsephios*,[522] until Patriarch Kalekas deposed him in November 1344.[523] Isidore's fortunes changed after the end of the civil war, when he replaced Kalekas on the patriarchal throne on May 17, 1347.[524] One of his first actions as patriarch was to anoint Palamas and Kokkinos as metropolitans of Thessalonike and Thracian Herakleia respectively. The last part of his life was marked by sickness (most likely bowel cancer). Isidore drafted his testament (*diatheke*) in February 1350,[525] and succumbed later in the autumn of the same year. Apart from his testament, information on Isidore's life and activities can be gathered from several contemporary sources such as the *Register of the Patriarchate* and the historical narratives of Gregoras and Kantakouzenos.

I.3.4. Germanos Maroules

Germanos (George by his baptismal name) was born in Thessalonike in the middle of the thirteenth century into the aristocratic Maroules family.[526] His father held financial and judicial functions in the city. Germanos was the third oldest child of four boys and four girls. Two of his brothers are known by name, Demetrios and Andronikos. He pursued education in his *patris* and at the age of eighteen (around

[522] Initially, this metropolitan see was offered to Palamas, but he refused it. See Palamas, *Ἀναίρεσις γράμματος Καλέκα* 42 (PS II, 618–619). On Isidore's election, see Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2216. At the synod of April 1342 (Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2227), Isidore participated as bishop-elect (*hypopsephios*).
[523] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2250.
[524] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2273.
[525] For the critical edition, see *PG* 152, 1297–1302. For corrections to this edition, see Helfer, "Das Testament," 73–84. See also Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2309.
[526] On the family name Maroules, see Kazhdan, "Maroules," *ODB* 1304. On Germanos' family, see Ioannou, "St. Germain," 51–52; Laurent, "La vie de saint Germain," 114–116.

1270) departed to Athos where he was tonsured by his first spiritual father, John. He spent the rest of his life on Athos where he had several spiritual fathers (Job, Myron, Malachias, Athanasios and Theodoret). After 66 years of ascetic life on Athos, Germanos died at the age of 84.[527] As in the case of Nikodemos, Kokkinos' account is the main source of information on Germanos' life.

I.3.5. Gregory Palamas

Palamas' life is well documented by the sources (including his own writings) and extensively discussed in the scholarship.[528] Therefore, I will only briefly mention the milestones of his life. He was born *ca.* 1296 in Constantinople, into the illustrious family of Constantine Palamas, a member of the Constantinopolitan senate. He had four siblings: Makarios, Theodosios, Epicharis and Theodote. He received a sound education in Constantinople under the patronage of Emperor Andronikos II. Instead of pursuing a career in the civil service, Palamas left the capital for Mount Athos around the age of twenty. There he practised *askesis* first in the vicinity of Vatopedi under the spiritual guidance of the hesychast monk Nikodemos, then at the Great Lavra, and subsequently in the *skete* of Glossia under the guidance of another hesychast, Gregory Drymis. Due to the Turkish raids on Athos of 1325, Palamas fled to Thessalonike where he was ordained priest at the age of 30. After an ascetic sojourn in the vicinity of Berrhoia, Palamas returned to Athos around 1331 and settled at St. Sabas' hermitage, located in the proximity of the Great Lavra, where he dedicated himself to *askesis* and writing. Around 1335, he served for a spell of time as the abbot of the Esphigmenou Monastery. A couple of years later, summoned by Isidore, Palamas went to Thessalonike—"la 'capitale' du palamisme"[529]—and wrote the first two *Triads* in defence of hesychast practice and theology against Barlaam's accusations.

In 1340 Palamas wrote the third *Triad*, refuting Barlaam's *Against the Messalians*, as well as the *Hagioreitikos tomos*. One year later, he participated in a series of Constantinopolitan synods which condemned Barlaam and Akindynos. In the context of the civil war and ecclesiastical mayhem, Palamas was imprisoned

[527] For the chronology of Germanos' life see *PLP* 17147; cf. Tsentikopoulos, "Φιλόθεος," 280–281.
[528] See Sinkewicz, "Gregory Palamas," 131–137; Meyendorff, *Introduction*, 25–170.
[529] Gouillard, "Synodikon," 248.

(1343), accused of heresy and excommunicated by Patriarch Kalekas (1344).[530] At the end of the civil war, Palamas' fortunes changed. Exonerated by the synod of 1347, which deposed Kalekas and excommunicated Akindynos, he was appointed metropolitan of Thessalonike by Patriarch Isidore. However, due to the Zealots' opposition, he was only able to enter his metropolis in 1350. Palamas continued to defend hesychasm against Gregoras, and his theology was sanctioned at the Constantinopolitan synod of 1351. In March 1354, he was taken captive by the Ottomans in Anatolia and was ransomed one year later. In 1355, he returned to his flock in Thessalonike, where he remained until his death in 1357/9. Soon after his death he was venerated as saint and was canonized by Kokkinos in early 1368. Today, the Orthodox Church celebrates him on November 14 and on the second Sunday of Lent.

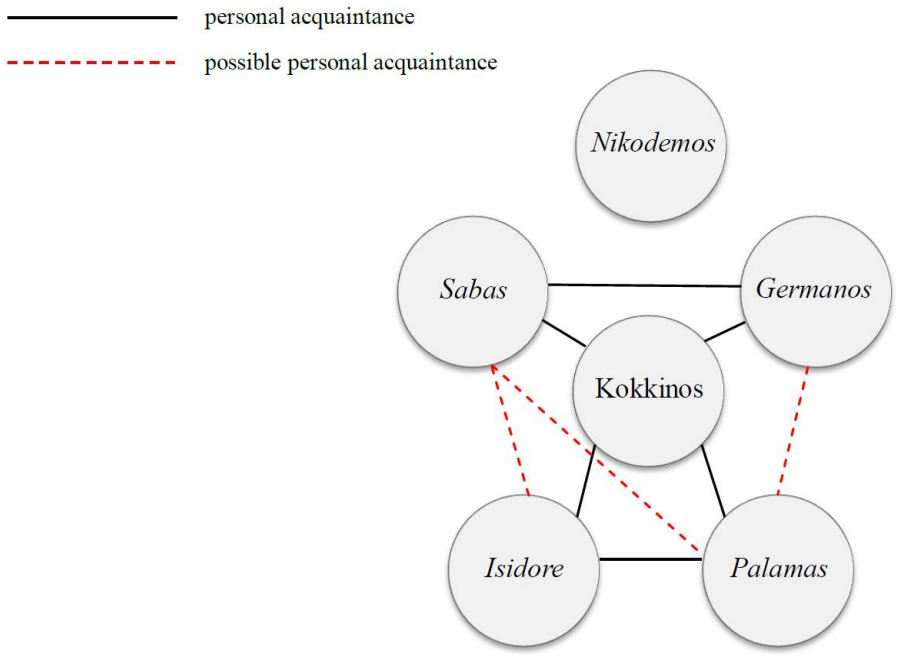
I.3.6. Connections between Kokkinos and his heroes

Among these historical figures, Nikodemos is the only one Kokkinos did not know in person. In fact, at the time of Nikodemos' death, he was less than ten years old (cf. *supra* Fig. 3). The other four figures had been either his spiritual fathers (Sabas and Germanos) or friends and fellow combatants in the hesychast debates (Palamas and Isidore). As discussed in Part 1.1, in the *v.Sab*. Kokkinos underlines his strong connection with Sabas,[531] while in the *v.Germ*. he emphasizes his acquaintance and friendship with the Maroules family.[532] In the *v.Isid.* he also conveys a sense of close friendship with Isidore—who promoted him to the metropolitan see of Thracian Herakleia—and fashions himself as his rightful heir to the patriarchal throne.[533] Most probably going back to their sojourn at the Great Lavra in the early 1330s, the acquaintance and friendship between Kokkinos and Palamas was long-lasting and strengthened by their involvement in defending hesychasm.[534] In fact, Isidore, Palamas, and Kokkinos formed a close-knit group that supported and promoted each

[530] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2249.
[531] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 59.9–11.
[532] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 1.17–20.
[533] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 52–53.
[534] As discussed in Part I.1, Kokkinos subscribed to, supported and promoted Palamas' teachings. In 1340 he signed and endorsed Palamas' *Hagioreitikos tomos*, and it seems that he also intervened on Palamas' behalf sending letters to Constantinople when the latter faced opposition from Patriarch Kalekas in the early 1340s. See Palamas' *letter* to Kokkinos from Nov.–Dec. 1344 (PS II, 517–538).

other. For instance, in the *v.G.Pal*., Kokkinos stresses the friendship between Palamas and Isidore several times.[535] Thus, as illustrated in Fig. 4, with the exception of Nikodemos, most of Kokkinos' heroes were acquainted with each other.

Fig. 4. Connections between Kokkinos and his heroes



Kokkinos' personal acquaintance with four of his heroes constituted an important source of information for his accounts. However, he also gathered information from other sources which he acknowledges throughout the *vitae*. Thus, given that he did not know Nikodemos, he only had scarce data at his disposal. In the last part of the *v.Nik*., Kokkinos underlines that he "composed the present narrative, different parts from different sources, and assembled them like mosaic pieces into the form and shape of a single unit, so to speak, since I have found no prior information on the saint." He most likely gathered some information from the monks under his supervision at Philokalles, some of whom had known Nikodemos.[536] An important source for the *v.Germ*. was Kokkinos' friend and former schoolfellow Iakobos

[535] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 43.12–16: Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ θείου … ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῶν ὁμιλητῶν τε καὶ φίλων τὰ πρῶτα φέροντος παρὰ Γρηγορίῳ.

[536] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 11.8–11: τὸ παρὸν συλλέξαντες διήγημα, ἄλλο ἀλλαχόθεν, ψηφίδων δίκην συνεθέμεθα εἰς ἑνὸς σώματος ὡς οἷόν τ' εἰπεῖν μόρφωσίν τε καὶ εἶδος, ἐπεί τοί γε οὐδαμῶς εὕρηταί τι τῷ ἁγίῳ πρότερον. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 231. Kokkinos mentions in the *prooimion*, analysed below, that he presents briefly "a few of his [Nikodemos'] deeds for those who knew him" (*v.Nik*. 1.5–6): τοὺς εἰδότας ἐκεῖνον διὰ βραχέων τὰ ἐκείνου ὑπομνήσομεν), most likely referring to the monks of the Philokalles where Nikodemos had lived three decades before Kokkinos' arrival.

Maroules. As already discussed, Iakobos was Germanos' nephew and spent sixteen years on Athos under the spiritual guidance of his uncle. Kokkinos speaks several times about him in the *v.Germ*. and acknowledges the information he received from him.[537] Moreover, Kokkinos' detailed account of Germanos' childhood, analysed below, is most likely based on insights offered by Iakobos. Interestingly, in the final invocation, Kokkinos acknowledges Iakobos' contribution stating that "Iakobos together with Philotheos, once a pair beloved by you, [offer] these to you, [our] revered and most beloved head."[538] As Kokkinos reports, Ioannikios, Germanos' disciple, told him how his spiritual father miraculously rescued his life.[539] Moreover, during his sojourn on Athos, Kokkinos most likely learned details about Germanos' life from other Athonite monks (including Sabas).[540] As pointed out in Part 1.1, the main source of information on Sabas' life was the holy man's "most legitimate disciple," whom Kokkinos acknowledges several times in the *v.Sab*.[541] For the *v.Isid*., Kokkinos most likely used information gathered from Isidore's disciples, close associates, and other people who knew him, such as David Disypatos and Ioannikios Gabras, as well as autobiographical details provided by Isidore in his testament.[542] Finally, for the *v.G.Pal*., Kokkinos complemented his personal knowledge of the holy man with information from Palamas' former spiritual master Gregory Drimys, friends and disciples (especially Dorotheos Blates),[543] as well as the steward of the metropolis of Thessalonike, who, as mentioned, sent Kokkinos sworn testimonies from the beneficiaries of Palamas' miracles.[544]

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[537] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 41.34–35. Iakobos features also in the *v.Germ*. 34–35, 41.25–37, 43.21–44. Moreover, in his *Life of St. Maximos Kausokalybites* (*BHG* 1237), Theophanes of Vatopedi mentions Iakobos Maroules among "the holy elders who lived in spiritual tranquillity" at the extreme end of the Athonite peninsula. Theophanes, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ Μαξίμου* 12, ed. Halkin, "Deux vies de S. Maxime," *AB* 54 (1936): 65–109, at 82. For an English translation, see Greenfield and Talbot, *Holy Men of Athos*, at 443–567, here at 487.

[538] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 46.19–20: Ταῦτά σοι, σεβασμία κεφαλὴ καὶ φιλτάτη, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Φιλόθεος ἅμα, ἡ ποτὲ φίλη σοι ξυνωρίς.

[539] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 30.29–31.

[540] Cf. Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 27.25; 33.26–38.

[541] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 35.25–31, 52.49–54, 64.48–56, 65, 66; see also the *v.Sab*. 8.10–11.

[542] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 70.4–6: καθὰ δὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ τῶν μαθητῶν ἐκείνου γνησιωτάτου … ἡμεῖς ἐκμαθόντες ἔχομεν ("as we have learned from the most legitimate of his disciples"); *v.Isid*. 7.23: ὡς οἱ τὰ ἐκείνου γε συνειδότες φασί ("as those who knew his affairs say"); see also *v.Isid*. 45, 54, and 59.

[543] As will be seen below, Kokkinos provides a short biographical portrait of Dorotheos Blates, "the good disciple and companion" of Palamas, and stresses several times what Palamas confided to Dorotheos. See, for instance, the *v.G.Pal*. 19, 35–36. Kokkinos claims that Drimys, "my friend," told him about Palamas' Athonite sojourn under his supervision; see the *v.G.Pal*. 22–23.1–13.

[544] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 23.9–10, 36.1–2, 134.1–8.

PART II: NARRATOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF KOKKINOS' *VITAE* OF CONTEMPORARY SAINTS

> *The goal of the present account is neither to simply eulogize the saints, nor to say something in particular about them, but to show on the whole what is the cause of the sanctification and deification of human nature. ... the common cause and reason for these [is] nothing else than the great and awe-inspiring mystery of Christ's stewardship through flesh, through which [human] nature was freed from the first curse and death, and was deemed worthy of life, adoption as a son, and the Kingdom of Heaven, through the extraordinary communion of the All-Holy Spirit.*[545]

In his programmatic *Logos* on All Saints, Kokkinos stresses that "the great and awe-inspiring mystery of Christ's stewardship through flesh [Incarnation]"[546] and the advent (*epidemia*) of the Holy Spirit atoned, sanctified, and deified human nature. This is in line with patristic theology on deification, best summarized by Athanasios of Alexandria's well-known phrase, "He [the Son of God] became man so that we might become god."[547] In his *vitae*, which are also theological writings,[548] Kokkinos underlines the mystery of Christ's stewardship of salvation and the grace of the Holy Spirit through which everyone has an equal chance of achieving sainthood. For instance, in the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos writes along the same lines that Sabas was rewarded while still living with "the deification of human nature, the foretaste of the future inheritance, the new mystery as well as fulfilment of the new mystery of the Lord's stewardship (*oikonomia*), what the Scriptures call Heavenly Kingdom and adoption as a son," and this is "not a recompense for Sabas' ascetic toils, but a display of the Lord's munificence and grace."[549] Moreover, in the *prooimion* of the

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[545] Kokkinos, *Logos* on All Saints. For the Greek text, see Appendix 3.
[546] Kokkinos, *Logos* on All Saints: τὸ διὰ σαρκὸς μέγα καὶ φρικτὸν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἰκονομίας μυστήριον.
[547] Athanasios of Alexandria, *On Incarnation* 54.3 (*PG* 25, 192B): Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐνηνθρώπισεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν.
[548] Sinkewicz, "The *Capita 150* of Gregory Palamas," *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1986): 334–351, at 334.
[549] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 33.97–103: τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως θέωσιν εἰς ἀμοιβὴν ἤδη λαμβάνει, τὸ προοίμιον, κατὰ τοὺς θεοφόρους εἰπεῖν, τῆς μελλούσης κληρονομίας, τὸ καινὸν τοῦ καινοῦ τῆς

v.Isid., analysed below, he stresses that although living "later in time," Isidore is not inferior to the saints of the early Christian era since God is not "one-sided and uneven" with respect to the distribution of gifts to human nature which is His *homotimon plasma*.[550]

Part II analyses the *vitae* as literary compositions, without exploring extensively their theological undertones. It first discusses the types of hagiographic composition ('hagiographic genre') Kokkinos chose, namely *hypomnema*, *bios kai politeia*, and *logos*, and offers next a detailed narratological analysis of the *vitae*. An investigation of narrative elements and their functions generally reveals how an author crafts a story, shaping and guiding the reading experience. The narrative technique employed by Kokkinos in his *lives* of saints has not received so far any scholarly attention. Therefore, Part II seeks to fill this gap by making use primarily of the structuralist analytical toolbox developed and systematized by Gérard Genette in his *Narrative Discourse*. To shed light on the organization of the narrative in Kokkinos' *vitae* and his use of specific narrative devices, Genette's framework will be complemented with insights from the works of other literary scholars such as Bal. Thus, this part constitutes a narratological investigation, which highlights the structure, narrative speed, order, and other narratorial devices specific to each *vita*. The analysis is divided according to broad sections of a hagiographic composition which follow the chronological progression of a saint's life: *prooimia*; childhood and early life, which includes a discussion of the *patris*, parents, childhood and education of the saint; monastic life; end of life; posthumous account; and final invocation. For a better understanding of the organisation and structure of Kokkinos' *vitae*, I offer a detailed breakdown of their structure in Appendix II. Part II concludes with considerations on Kokkinos' style and intended audience.

δεσποτικῆς οἰκονομίας μυστηρίου μυστήριον καὶ συμπέρασμα· ὃ δὴ καὶ οὐρανῶν βασιλεία καὶ υἱοθεσία καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῇ Γραφῇ προσηγόρευται, οὐ καμάτων ἀντίδοσις ὄν, κατ' αὐτοὺς τούτους αὖθις, ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῦ δεσπότου φιλοτιμίας καὶ χάριτος ἔνδειξις.

[550] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 1.43–57: […] τὸν Θεὸν ἑτερορρεπῆ τε καὶ ἄνισον περὶ τὴν διανομὴν τῶν δωρεῶν κακῶς ἐννοούντων, καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν καὶ τὸ ἕν τε καὶ ὁμότιμον αὐτοῦ πλάσμα. […] τοῖς χρόνοις ὕστερος γεγονὼς τῶν παρὰ Θεῷ τὰ πρῶτα τεταγμένων οὐκ ἀπελείφθη πράξει τε καὶ θεωρίᾳ κοσμήσας εἴπερ τις τὸν βίον.

II.1. Kokkinos' 'Hagiographic Genres'

The first part of this subchapter requires a short terminological introduction. As is well known, the term 'hagiography' is an eighteenth-century neologism of western European origin, which acquired its current meaning as the writing and study of saints' *lives* only in the twentieth century. For Byzantine authors, the 'hagiographic genre' or 'hagiography' was unknown.[551] In fact, as Hinterberger put it, they "had no coherent theory of genre, except in the case of rhetoric."[552] However, when adding a title, Byzantine men of letters, or (later) the scribes copying their compositions, ascribed a 'generic identity' to their writings.[553] Nonetheless, one has to bear in mind that the heading of a work copied in a manuscript was often not a categorization made by its author.

As seen in Part I.2, Kokkinos played an active role in copying and reviewing his works, and wrote the titles of some of his hagiographic compositions in his own hand. Therefore, in order to identify Kokkinos' choice of 'hagiographic genre' for his *vitae*, I consider their headings in the manuscripts transmitting them, and examine how Kokkinos refers to his own accounts throughout his text.

II.1.1. *Hypomnema*

The *v.Nik.* is transmitted by the fourteenth-century Meteora 374 and the early sixteenth-century *Panteleemon* 571. As mentioned, the latter identifies the text in the superscription as "*hypomnema* by Philotheos, patriarch of Constantinople, of our holy (*hosios*) father Nikodemos the Younger from the venerable monastery of Philokalles of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the truthful God."[554] In the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Kazhdan pointed out that the term "*hypomnema*" stood for various kinds of compositions such as a type of petition to the emperor, documents

[551] Hinterberger, "Autobiography and hagiography," *SOsl* 75 (2000): 139–164, at 139–140; cf. *ODB*, 897–899; see also Lifshitz, "Beyond positivism and genre: 'hagiographical' texts as historical narrative," *Viator* 25 (1994): 95–113.
[552] Hinterberger, "Autobiography and hagiography," 140; see also idem, "Byzantine hagiography," in Efthymiadis, *Companion* II, 25–60, esp. 26 –27.
[553] See Genette, *Paratexts*.
[554] See *supra* n. 446.

from the patriarchal chancellery, and also "a form of panegyric of a saint."[555] Thus, *hypomnema* (literally, "memorial") designates a type of hagiographic text, relatively rare and mainly used for the biographies of the Apostles in the Metaphrastic Menologion.[556] Bearing a resemblance to historiography, it is a concise account of a saint's life in which the purpose of conveying biographical information takes precedence over rhetorical and literary embellishments.[557]

Although there could be a chance that the sixteenth-century scribe of *Panteleemon* 571 altered the title of the *v.Nik.*, internal evidence suggests that Kokkinos himself most likely titled his work *hypomnema*. Thus, in the *prooimion*, he uses the cognate verb *hypomimnesko* when writing "I will *briefly mention* a few of his [Nikodemos'] deeds."[558] Moreover, as already noted by Schiffer, Kokkinos seems to have been familiar with this type of hagiographic composition. For instance, in one of his *antirrhetikoi* against Gregoras, he quotes from Symeon Metaphrastes' *hypomnema* to John the Evangelist.[559] The choice of this 'generic identity' for the *v.Nik*. was most likely dictated by the scarce information Kokkinos confesses he could gather on the subject.[560] Consequently, he keeps the text concise, at *ca*. 2700 words. The *hypomnema* to Nikodemos is thus the outlier in terms of length among Kokkinos' *vitae* of contemporary saints.

In the *v.Nik.*, the term *hypomnema* appears exclusively in the title. While in the *prooimion* Kokkinos speaks generically of "the present endeavour (*encheiresis*),"[561] throughout the rest of his text he refers three times to his work as a *logos* (account).[562] Moreover, he makes the distinction between *logos* and *diegema* (narrative): "But let my account (*logos*) resume once more the narrative (*diegema*) in

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[555] *ODB* 965.
[556] *BHG* 101 (Andrew), *BHG* 485 (prophet Daniel), *BHG* 764 (James), *BHG* 877 (the translation of John Chrysostom's relics to Constantinople), *BHG* 919 (John), *BHG* 991 (Luke), *BHG* 1226 (Matthew), *BHG* 1493 (Peter and Paul), *BHG* 1527 (Philip), *BHG* 1835 (Thomas), and *BHG* 1848 (Timothy). On the Metaphrastic Menologion, see Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*; idem, "Symeon Metaphrastes and the metaphrastic movement," in Efthymiadis, *Companion* II, 181–196.
[557] Schiffer, "Hypomnema," in *Beiträge*, 397–407; Hinterberger, "Byzantine hagiography," 36.
[558] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 1.5–6: διὰ βραχέων τὰ ἐκείνου ὑπομνήσομεν.
[559] Kokkinos, *Antirrhetikos* 11.694–698: Ὁ δέ γε τῷ ἐπιστηθίῳ Θεολόγῳ σοφώτατα τὸ **ὑπόμνημα** ξυντιθεὶς τοιάδε περὶ ἐκείνου φησὶ τῆς θείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεμνημένος μεταμορφώσεως. "Πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τε ἀνιόντι Χριστῷ συνάνεισι, καὶ θέας ἀξιοῦται ὡς ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ θαυμαστῆς, αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ Λόγου θεότητα παραγυμνωθεῖσαν ἰδών, καὶ οὐρανίου φωνῆς ἀκούει" (my emphasis). See *PG* 116, 685D; Schiffer, "Hypomnema," 406.
[560] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 11.9–11.
[561] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 1.10–11.
[562] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 4.30, 9.1, 12.3.

chronological order."[563] The term *diegema* usually refers to an episode or story in a saint's life and is employed by hagiographers, together with its cognate *diegeisthai*, to refer to their texts.[564] Usually, Kokkinos uses these terms in authorial interventions through which he structures his work, for example, "My account (*logos*) brings me to another [miracle]."[565] It is important to point out that, from the outset, the title also assigns a saintly 'identity' to Kokkinos' protagonists, in this case holy (*hosios*) Nikodemos. Germanos has the same 'identity' as *hosios* in the heading of the *v.Germ*, while Sabas, Isidore and Palamas are introduced as saints (*hagioi*).

II.1.2. *Bios kai politeia*

All the fourteenth-century manuscripts carrying the *v.Sab*. identify it in the superscription as "the life and conduct (*bios kai politeia*) of our holy father Sabas the Younger of the holy Mount Athos."[566] Therefore, although the title is not written in Kokkinos' handwriting, it most likely reflects his categorization.[567] The expression *bios kai politeia*, also translated as "biographical data and way of life," is common to numerous hagiographic compositions and defines a saint's life (*vita*), which covers the biographical trajectory to sainthood in chronological order from birth to death.[568]

The term *bios* appears exclusively in the title of the *v.Sab*. as a 'technical' term, while in the text Kokkinos uses it with the meaning of *life*, namely Sabas' life.[569] As in the case of the *v.Nik.*, Kokkinos refers to his text as a *logos*.[570] He also distinguishes between *logos* and *diegema*: "I wish to linger in narrative ... but the

[563] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 4.30–31: Ἀλλ' ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος καθ' εἰρμὸν καὶ αὖθις ἐχέσθω τοῦ διηγήματος. Here I use the English translation by Talbot, "Nikodemos," 227. The second instance of the term *diegema* is in the *v.Nik*. 11.9.

[564] Cf. Hinterberger, "Byzantine hagiography," 30; Rapp, "Storytelling." In fact, *diegema* is one of the first preliminary rhetorical exercises (*progymnasmata*) that consituted the cornerstone of 'secondary' education in Byzantium. See Jeffreys, "Rhetoric in Byzantium," in *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric*, 166–184; see also Webb, "The *Progymnasmata* as Practice," in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, 289–316; Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*.

[565] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 9.1: Ἐπ' ἄλλο δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος φέρων ἄγει. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 229 and 231 renders twice the term *logos* as "narrative." See also the *v.Nik*. 12.3: Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἀξίας τῆς σῆς ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐνδεής ("For even if this narrative fails to match your worth").

[566] *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα τοῦ νέου τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει τῷ Ἄθῳ*.

[567] Interestingly, as already seen, at the end of *Vatopedi* 97 (f. 164r), the scribe wrote that "everyone reading this account (*logos*) [the *v.Sab.*], I think, should also read these next folios, for they are very important and useful." See *supra* n. 450.

[568] Further on the characteristics of this genre, see Hinterberger, "Byzantine hagiography," 29–32.

[569] Cf. Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 1.28: ὁ περιφανὴς βίος ἐκείνου.

[570] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 2.19–20, 4.45, 6.35, 10.38, 13.6, 14.13, 15.1, 15.5, 15.16, 17.4, 18.62, 20.48, 24.52, 28.33, 34.53, 34.84, 37.58, 39.5, 42.60, 45.48, 47.73, 49.66, 50.36, 52.2, 54.41, 57.11, 57.51, 58.18, 59.43, 68.36, 70.36, 70.94, 71.6, 72.65, 74.74–75, 84.10, 84.19, 84.29, 84.69.

length of my account prevents me from doing so."[571] It is further interesting to observe that Kokkinos employs the term *historia*[572] when referring to the story of Sabas' life, which seems to correspond to Genette's *histoire* or Bal's *fabula*.[573] For instance, Kokkinos underlines that nobody should doubt Sabas' miraculous resurrections from the dead since they also belong to "the whole body of this wonderful story (*historia*)."[574] In the penultimate chapter of the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos makes a clear distinction between the act/process of writing (*syngraphe*), the story (*historia*) of Sabas' life, and his account (*logos*). Thus, he writes that "a great and unspoken desire seized my soul for writing (*syngraphe*) this story (*historia*) ... I had no little fear, which I mentioned when I began my account (*logos*)."[575]

Finally, Kokkinos also refers to the act/process of writing down the text carried out by his scribe (*hypographeus*) and the latter's "toil and zeal with regard to writing."[576] Finally, in the *v.G.Pal*., Kokkinos refers twice to the *v.Sab*. First, he makes a short reference to Sabas' vision and stance with regard to Akindynos which, he notes, "we have already assembled in the accounts (*logoi*) about him [Sabas]."[577] Second, as already discussed in Part I.1, he mentions the "noble" Sabas and Germanos, "whose godlike life and conduct (*bios kai politeia*) we have already published in two accounts (*logoi*)."[578]

As seen, the *v.Isid*. survives in the fourteenth-century *Iberon* 590 and the "author's edition" *M**. In both codices, the heading of the *v.Isid*. is "life and conduct and *enkomion* of our father among saints Isidore, patriarch of Constantinople."[579] In

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[571] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 57.44–45, 51: Ποθῶ … ἐνδιατρῖψαι τῷ διηγήματι … ἀνθέλκει δέ με τὸ τοῦ λόγου μῆκος ἐκεῖθεν.
[572] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 51.49, 84.8, 84.18, 84.26.
[573] Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 27–29; *Narrative Discourse Revisited*, 13–20; Bal, *Narratology*, 5–7, 79, 175–219.
[574] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 51.47–49: τῷ παντὶ σώματι προσέχοντας ταύτης τῆς θαυμαστῆς ἱστορίας.
[575] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.7–10: Πολὺς μέν τις καὶ ἄρρητος εἶχέ μου τὴν ψυχὴν ἔρως περὶ τὴν συγγραφὴν ταύτης τῆς **ἱστορίας** … προσῆν γέ τι καὶ δέους οὐ μικρόν, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἀρχόμενος εἶπον τοῦ **λόγου**. See also *v.Sab*. 17–27: πρὸς τέλος τὴν **ἱστορίαν** ἐλθεῖν … καὶ εἰ κατὰ γνώμην τῆς μεγάλης ἐκείνης ψυχῆς ὁ **λόγος** προβαίνοι. […] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν τῆς **συγγραφῆς** διὰ λείας ἡμῖν πάνυ […] ὁμοῦ μὲν τὸ τῆς **ἱστορίας** ὀρθόν τε καὶ ἁπλανὲς διαμαρτυρόμενος πᾶσιν (my emphasis).
[576] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.29–32: ὁ δὲ τῶν λόγων μοι τούτων ὑπογραφεύς … τοῦ περὶ τὸ γράφειν πόνου καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς.
[577] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 75.21: ἅπερ ἡμεῖς φθάσαντες τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου συνετάξαμεν λόγοις.
[578] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 112.2–4: Σάβας τε καὶ Γερμανὸς οἱ γενναῖοι … ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἤδη τὸν θεοειδῆ βίον τε καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐν δυσὶ λόγοις φθάσαντος ἐκδεδώκαμεν.
[579] *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ ἐγκώμιον τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰσιδώρου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*.

the case of *M**, the heading was written in Kokkinos' own hand (f. 214r).[580] An *enkomion* is an ancient literary form which, according to the guidelines formulated by Pseudo-Menander (third c. AD), ought to praise a saint rhetorically, covering—without the wealth of detail of a *bios*—several thematic elements that include homeland (*patris*), family (*genos*), education, career, and contains a *synkrisis* with other classical or Christian figures. The *enkomion* is characterized by rhetorical wording, tropes, digressions, and rhetorical questions.[581]

The title of the *v.Isid.* illustrates what Hinterberger calls a hagiographic hybrid or a *bios syn enkomio*, a "Mischgenus" that entails an interweaving of the two genres.[582] Indeed, as will be seen below, Kokkinos not only provides detailed biographical information on the lives of his heroes, but he also employs numerous encomiastic elements, such as rhetorical questions, asides on the saints' virtues, *synkriseis*, explanations of their actions, making, as it were, a "rhetorical exegesis" of their lives. While Kokkinos uses the term *logos* seven times in the *prooimion*[583] and twice the expression *logos kai syngraphe* to refer to the *v.Isid.*,[584] in the rest of his text he employs the term *logos* more than twenty times. This is most recurrent in authorial interventions (for example, "as my account (*logos*) will shortly show," or "my account (*logos*) hesitates to advance"), which structure the flow of the *v.Isid.*[585]

The previously mentioned codices also transmit the *v.Germ.* Similarly to the *v.Sab.*, this *vita* is titled "life and conduct of our holy (*hosios*) father Germanos of the venerable and greatest Lavra of saint Athanasios on the Holy Athos."[586] Unlike the heading of the *v.Isid.*, Kokkinos did not write the title of the *v.Germ.* in *M** himself. However, it most probably represents the author's categorization. As in the previous *vitae*, Kokkinos refers to his text as a *logos*.[587] As mentioned, in the *v.G.Pal.*,

[580] See Appendix 5.
[581] Further on the characteristics of the *enkomion*, see Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 22; Hinterberger, "Byzantine hagiography," 36–39.
[582] Hinterberger, "Byzantine hagiography," 41, 43–49.
[583] Kokkinos, *v.Isid.* 1.3–4, 14, 28, 29, 32, 40, 61.
[584] Kokkinos, *v.Isid.* 1.34, 67.
[585] Kokkinos, *v.Isid.* 3.18–19, 4.24, 13.8, 16.7–8, 18.24, 19.20, 22.13, 25.37, 35.1, 40.6, 48.21, 49.8, 55.19, 56.2, 64.5, 67.2, 69.37, 70.19–20, 71.47, 72.11, 72.31, 80.4.
[586] *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γερμανοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν Ἄθω σεβασμίᾳ καὶ μεγίστῃ Λαύρᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου.*
[587] Kokkinos, *v.Germ.* 1.32, 3.7, 9.50, 17.27, 18.32, 19.39, 25.31, 29.6, 29.32, 34.3, 39.4, 39.6, 39.13, 40.10, 42.11, 45.7.

Kokkinos reports that he composed an account (*logos*) of Germanos' life and conduct (*bios kai politeia*).

II.1.3. *Logos (enkomiastikos)*

The *v.G.Pal*. has the following headings in the manuscripts: "*Logos* on our father among saints Gregory, archbishop of Thessalonike" (*Lavras* Γ 81),[588] "*Logos enkomiastikos* on the life (*bios*) of our father […]" (*Coislin*. 98),[589] "*Logos enkomiastikos* on our father […], in which also a partial account (*historia*) of his miracles" (*Paris. gr*. 421),[590] and "Life and conduct (*bios kai politeia*) and detailed (or partial)[591] account (*historia*) of miracles of our father […]" (*Lavras* Λ 82).[592] As is well known, in Byzantine rhetoric *logos* is an embracing rhetorical term. For instance, in the Palaiologan period, the heading *logos* often stood for an *enkomion*.[593] The titles of the *v.G.Pal*. point out the interconnection and co-existence of different generic elements and characteristics in one mixed literary form. Hinterberger aptly noted that these headings reflect "the relativity of the generic character of many texts depending upon the period and the personal taste," and although "generalisations can be helpful in organising certain types of material, they can be deceptive if each particular case (author, text, etc.) is not examined independently from the outset."[594] As will be seen below, Kokkinos constructs his *vitae* with careful attention to in-depth biographical detail, encomiastic elements, as well as detailed presentation of the miracles effected by his heroes, especially in the *v.G.Pal*. where, as will be noted in Part III.1, the ratio of the account of the miracles to the *vita* is 1:5. Additionally, Kokkinos not only rigorously documents the lives and activities of his heroes, but

[588] *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Γρηγόριον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θεσσαλονίκης*.
[589] *Λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης*.
[590] *Λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Γρηγόριον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θεσσαλονίκης ἐν ᾧ καὶ τινων ἀπὸ μέρους ἱστορία θαυμάτων αὐτοῦ*.
[591] Hinterberger, *Autobiographische Traditionen*, 113–115, and "Byzantine hagiography," 43, pointed out that, depending on the content, the adjective μερικός may denote either a detailed or a partial description of miracles.
[592] *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ θαυμάτων μερικῶν ἱστορία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης.*
[593] On *logos* in the Palaiologan period, see Hinterberger, "Byzantine hagiography," 36–39; see, for instance, Constantine Akropolites' *Logos* on St. John Merciful the Younger (*BHG* 889n), ed. Polemis, "The Speech of Constantine Akropolites on St. John Merciful the Young," *AB* 91 (1973): 31–54. The word *logos* also features in the title of Gregoras' *vita* of Empress Theophano (*BHG* 1795), ed. Kurtz, *Zwei griechische Texte über die Hl. Theophano*, 25–45.
[594] Hinterberger, "Byzantine hagiography," 48–49.

also weaves into his narrative numerous digressions and biographical sketches of other members of his cast, such as the relatives of the holy men and other ascetics.[595]

Kokkinos' synodal *tomos* of 1368 sheds further light upon the headings of the *v.G.Pal*. and the 'generic identity' ascribed by Kokkinos to this text. In this *tomos*, he reports that he eulogized Palamas in canons, hymns, as well as "his life (*bios*) composed by me in the category of *enkomia*."[596] As in the other *vitae*, throughout the *v.G.Pal*. Kokkinos refers to his text as a *logos*.[597] He also makes the distinction between *logos* and *diegema*: "I wanted ... as much as possible to adorn the account (*logos*) with those finest moments (*aristeiai*) and wonderful prizes of contest of the great man [Palamas], and so to revel in the narrative (*diegema*), but the length of the account (*logos*) dissuaded me."[598]

[595] As mentioned, Kokkinos inserts a lengthy biographical portrait of Iakobos Maroules in the *v.Germ*. 34; see also his biographical sketches of Palamas' spiritual masters, Nikodemos and Gregory Drimys in the *v.G.Pal*. 17 and 22. Similarly, in his *vita* of Gregory of Sinai (*BHG* 722), Patriarch Kallistos offers short biographical portraits of the disciples of his hero (chs. 9–14).

[596] Kokkinos, *Synodal Tomos* of 1368, ll. 733–734, ed. Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 126: ὁ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ συγγραφεὶς βίος ἐκείνου ἐν ἐγκωμίων μέρει.

[597] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 2.6, 9, 14, 16, 18, 21, 24; 8.21, 24; 14.22, 28.20, 37.18, 55.44–45, 62.4, 5, 8; 65.1, 70.13, 72.12, 77.33, 80.15, 98.7, 100.8, 101.8, 102.19, 103.8, 110.15, 111.4, 112.38, 116.28, 30; 125.31, 77; 134.3, 7; 136.26.

[598] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 62.1–5: Ἐγὼ μὲν ἐβουλόμην … καθόσον οἷόν τε καὶ ταῖς ἀριστείαις ἐκείναις τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ τοῖς θαυμαστοῖς ἄθλοις ἐπικαλλωπίσαι τὸν λόγον, καὶ οἷον ἐπεντρυφῆσαι τῷ διηγήματι, ἀπάγει δέ με τὸ τοῦ λόγου μῆκος.

II.2. Narratological Analysis of Kokkinos' *Vitae* of Contemporary Saints

Although classic narratological theories have mainly focused on explaining the intricacies of the post seventeenth-century novel, narratology has lately expanded its temporal horizon. The diachronic turn of narratology, hailed by Monika Fludernik as a vital and exciting new area of research,[599] has been prolific especially in classical studies. Significant works in this field are Irene de Jong's narratological work on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and her edited volumes on narratives, time, and space in Ancient Greek literature.[600] Previous studies on the narrative structure of Byzantine hagiographic texts have highlighted certain particularities.[601] Among them it suffices to mention a tendency for a chronological arrangement of the narrative, following set narrative stages (birth, childhood, monastic life, death, and posthumous account), the importance of *topoi,* and the frequent lack of narrative interdependence between the narrative parts of a *vita*.[602]

After an invocation of assistance, a typical *vita* covers the early years of a saint's life. This includes an eulogy of his/her *patris* and parents, and possibly details on education and early behaviour. *Vitae* often include at this stage early signs of the hero's future holiness, such as protection in the womb, other wondrous signs after birth, prophetic games, a mature conduct, a remarkable intellectual acumen or a special inclination towards ascetic practices.[603] Upon reaching adolescence, the saint usually breaks familial bonds for a cenobitic life or a self-imposed exile from society in pursuit of an ascetic calling. Bourbouhakis and Nilsson point out that the narrative in the mature phase of the saint's life "becomes noticeably more episodic, with less chronological specificity and fewer causal links between succeeding events."[604]

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[599] Fludernik, "The diachronization of narratology," *Narrative* 11.3 (2003): 331–348, at 332.
[600] De Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers*; *A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey*; *Narrators, Narratees, and Narratives in Ancient Greek Literature*; *Time in Ancient Greek Literature*; *Space in Ancient Greek Literature*.
[601] For a review of literature on the subject prior to 1997, see Høgel, "Literary aspects of Greek Byzantine hagiography," *SOsl* 72 (1997): 164–171; see also Efthymiadis, *Companion*, vol. 2.
[602] Bourbouhakis, Nilsson, "Byzantine narrative," in *A Companion to Byzantium*, 263–274. On hagiographic commonplaces, see Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos*.
[603] Casseau, "Childhood in Byzantine saints' lives," in *Becoming Byzantine*, 127–166.
[604] Bourbouhakis, Nilsson, "Byzantine narrative," 269.

Loosely tied episodes, in what they call a "catalogue of exploits," recount instances of miraculous healings worked by the saint, trials and temptations, travels or encounters with believers or sceptics. A *vita* usually ends with prayers on behalf of the hagiographer and the audience. While some hagiographic compositions display unusual narrative techniques, a prime example being Niketas Magistros' *Life of St. Theoktiste of Lesbos* (*BHG* 1723),[605] described as "the best Chinese box narrative of the medieval world,"[606] most *vitae* abide by the canon, barring various authorial initiatives.

II.2.1. *Prooimion*

Prooimia are a standard feature of an hagiographic account and encompass the hagiographers' efforts to introduce the subjects of their eulogy and capture the attention and benevolence of their audience. *Prooimia* are often highly rhetorical and written in a convoluted style, as hagiographers strive to showcase their rhetorical skills from the very beginning of their accounts. The style of this narrative section, as well as the information it includes can shed light on hagiographers' programmes and intended audience. Therefore, in the following, the *prooimia* of Kokkinos' *vitae* are scrutinized in order to determine what they reveal about Kokkinos' audience and hagiographic programme. The five *prooimia* are analysed comparatively to highlight particularities and variations on hagiographic commonplaces, such as *topos modestiae*, *rerum magnitudo*, and *ex pluribus pauca*.[607]

All the five *vitae* begin in a conventional way with a general preface, which varies in length from *ca*. 130 words (*v.Nik.*) to *ca*. 750 words (*v.Isid.*), as shown in Table 6. Unsurprisingly, given its brevity, the *v.Nik.* has the shortest *prooimion*, while the *v.Isid.* and the *v.G.Pal.* have the longest. Three of the *vitae* open with a rhetorical question. In the *v.Nik.*, Kokkinos asks, "who could pass over the story of the truly great ascetic Nikodemos and not relate his accomplishments to God-loving ears (*philotheoi akoai*)"—a pun on Kokkinos' name—, given that this "would

[605] Edition in *AASS* (November 4), 224–233; Ioannou, *Μνημεῖα ἁγιολογικά*, 1–17. English translation by Constantinides Hero, "Life of St. Theoktiste of Lesbos," in *Holy Women of Byzantium*, 101–116.
[606] Mullett, "Novelisation in Byzantium," in *Byzantine Narrative*, 1–28, at 4 (repr. in Mullett, *Letters, Literacy*, XI); cf. Constantinides Hero, "Life of St. Theoktiste of Lesbos," 98.
[607] See Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos*, 22–32.

certainly cause immense harm to lovers of the good [things]."[608] Similarly, using biblical similes, Kokkinos underlines that leaving the great Germanos in silence would be concealing "the lamp under the *modius* and the bed, or the bright and radiant star of virtue under the earth."[609] In the *v.Isid.*, he asks rhetorically how he could leave Isidore without a gift of honour (*agerastos*), given their friendship.[610] The longest *vitae*, the v.*Sab.* and the *v.G.Pal.*, bear a striking resemblance in their opening sentences, which present the two heroes as the subjects of intellectual contest (*agon*) and *panegyris*.[611] However, Kokkinos uses different qualifying temporal markers. He stresses two times that "the wondrous Sabas" is his subject "today" (*semeron*), possibly indicating that the *vita* was delivered on the feast day of the saint in front of an audience gathered to celebrate him.[612] On the other hand, in the *v.G.Pal.*, he states that "the great Gregory" has been a subject for some time (*palai*). This may suggest, as previously noted, that Palamas already had a cult at the moment when Kokkinos wrote his *vita* in the early 1360s.

Table 6. Length of the *prooimia* in Kokkinos' *vitae*

Vita	**Number of words**	**% of the *vita***
v.Nik.	132	4,95
v.Sab.	395	0,79
v.Isid.	752	2,52
v.Germ.	353	1,75
v.G.Pal.	524	1,05

In the prefaces, Kokkinos also reflects on his hagiographic endeavour, praises the saints for their deeds and spiritual achievements, presents his connection with them, unveils reasons for composing the account of their lives, and in some cases invokes

[608] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 1.1–4: Ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν παραδράμοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸν μέγαν τῷ ὄντι ἐν ἀσκηταῖς Νικόδημον καὶ μὴ τὰ ἐκείνου ὡς ἔχει δυνάμεως φιλοθέοις ἀκοαῖς παραδῷ· ζημίαν γὰρ οὔμενουν πολλοστὴν αὐτόθεν τοῖς τῶν καλῶν ἐρασταῖς προξενήσειεν. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 224.

[609] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 1.1–4: […] Γερμανὸν οὕτω σιγῇ καταλιπόντας τὸν μέγαν, τὸν λύχνον ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον … καὶ τὴν κλίνην, ἢ τὸν ἀστέρα τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν διαφανῆ τε καὶ λαμπρὸν ὑπὸ γῆν αὖθις. Cf. Mark 4:21, Matt. 5:15, Luke 8:16, 11:33.

[610] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 1.1–4: Ἰσίδωρον δὲ ἄρα τὸν μέγαν ἀγέραστον ὡσπερεὶ καταλιπόντες τοῖς λόγοις, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ λόγων αὐτῶν ἅμα καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ φιλικοῦ καθήκοντος βραχύν τισι δόξομεν πεποιῆσθαι λόγον;

[611] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 1.1–4: Σάβας ὁ θαυμάσιος, **ὑπόθεσις ἀγώνων** τῷ λόγῳ πρόκειται σήμερον […]. *v.G.Pal*. 1.1–2: Γρηγόριος μὲν ὁ μέγας **πανηγύρεως ὑπόθεσις καὶ λογικῶν ἀγώνων** ὁρᾶται πάλαι τῇ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ προκείμενος; cf. the *v.G.Pal*. 2.4 (my emphasis). On *panegyreis* in Byzantium, see Vryonis, "The panegyris of the Byzantine saint," in *The Byzantine Saint*, 192–226.

[612] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 1.1–2, 5–6: ὑπόθεσις ἀγώνων τῷ λόγῳ πρόκειται **σήμερον** … λόγων ὑπόθεσιν τὴν μεγίστην ἑαυτὸν ἡμῖν προβάλλοιτο **σήμερον** (my emphasis).

the saints' help for the success of his endeavour. As common in *prooimia*, Kokkinos employs specific *topoi*, such as *rerum magnitudo*, *topos modestiae*, and *ex pluribus pauca*. He emphasizes the greatness of the subject and expresses concern and fear about his ability to write the account of the saints' lives in a manner commensurate with the height of their achievements. For instance, Kokkinos states rhetorically that on account of its greatness, the "contest" of writing Palamas' *vita* has not been assumed by any of the professional speechmakers (*logopoioi*), rhetors and any of the "golden race of wise men."[613] The latter is an allusion to Hesiod's *Works and Days*, most likely taken from the readings of the Church fathers, particularly Gregory Nazianzen.[614] Kokkinos is fond of this expression and uses it several times throughout the *vitae* to suggest the illustrious descent of his heroes.[615] The process of writing a saint's life is also described in terms of entering a contest in the *v.Sab.*[616] Moreover, Kokkinos also ponders in the *v.Isid*. on the difficulty of the endeavour, as he does in the *v.G.Pal*., and claims that he undertook this after much reflection, given the greatness of the subject.[617]

However, despite the stated difficulty of writing the *vitae*, the traditional pose of modesty is not found in all the *vitae*.[618] Variations of it appear in the *v.G.Pal*., where Kokkinos humbly deems himself the least of the rhetors and professional speechmakers.[619] He belittles his abilities in a similar way in the *v.Sab*., where he claims that if he were to confide in the strength of his words and the height of his spiritual thought, he would seem to be out of place, "not outside madness," and rely on something that does not exist.[620] In the *prooimia* of the other *vitae* Kokkinos seems more confident in his abilities. He undertakes the endeavour "completely casting aside [his] fear and hesitation" (*v.Nik.*) and states that he will praise the saint

[613] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 1.3–5: πάντες ὁμοῦ λογοποιοί τε καὶ ῥήτορες, καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις τῶν σοφῶν γένος.
[614] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 109; cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 26.10.
[615] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 2.43, *v.Sab*. 4.30.
[616] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 1.22–23.
[617] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 1.35–40.
[618] Cf. Alexakis, "The modesty *topos*," *BZ* 97 (2004): 521–530.
[619] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 2.1–2: Ῥητόρων μὲν οὖν καὶ λογογράφων πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς τὰ ἔσχατα φέρων.
[620] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 1.9–12: Λόγου μὲν οὖν ῥώμῃ καὶ ὕψει θεωρίας εἴ γε τεθαρρηκὼς ὅλως αὐτὸς τοῦτον ὑπεισήειν τὸν ἄθλον, τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων ἂν ἐνομίσθην καὶ οὐδὲ μανίας ἐκτός, οἶμαι, τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσιν, οὐχ ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ μόνον τὰ μὴ ὄντα δοξάζων.

"to the best of his abilities,"[621] while also trusting in his help (*v.Nik.,* v.*Isid.*). Possibly to preempt criticism of his choices in matters of content or to cover up a lack of information, Kokkinos also comments on the length of his work in authorial asides, making known his intention to be selective and to dwell only briefly on episodes of the saints' lives (what Genette calls the narrator's *directing function*).[622] For instance, he states that he "will briefly mention a few deeds" of the saint (*v.Nik.*),[623] without attempting a full and chronological account of the life—for this would be difficult and impossible (*v.Sab.*),[624] but focus instead on the most important events, avoiding both excess (*pleonexia*) and brevity (*meionexia*) (*v.G.Pal.*),[625] and omitting some of his deeds, although wonderful and worthy to be documented (*v.Isid.*).[626] These authorial comments, common to hagiographic *prooimia*, are reiterated by Kokkinos at different points in his *vitae*, where he informs his audience that he leaves out certain scenes or details from the lives of his heroes. Finally, the *topoi* of modesty and *ex pluribus pauca* are absent from the *prooimion* of the *v.Germ.*, where Kokkinos focuses mainly on praising the holy man.

With the exception of the *v.Nik.*, Kokkinos overtly showcases his connection and friendship with his heroes. He presents this as an important driving force behind his endeavour, which also confers legitimacy to his accounts. For instance, in the *v.Isid*., he straightforwardly fashions himself as Isidore's friend. He calls him "the good friend"[627] and employs classical references and proverbs on friendship. He echoes Plutarch's essay on friendship, noting that "the friend is another self" and includes the proverb stating that "the goods of friends are common."[628] In the *v.Germ.*, Kokkinos underlines the similarities he shares with the subject of his

[621] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 1.2, 4–5: ὡς ἔχει δυνάμεως ... Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς φόβον ἅμα καὶ ὄκνον ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ὁλοσχερῶς ἀπορρίψαντες.
[622] Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 255.
[623] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 1.5–6: διὰ βραχέων τὰ ἐκείνου ὑπομνήσομεν.
[624] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 1.29–31: οὐχ ὥστε καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ῥηθῆναι καὶ μηδέν τι τῶν ἐκείνου παραλειφθῆναι—ἐργωδέστατον γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ οὐ πόρρω τῶν ἀδυνάτων.
[625] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 2.21–22, 25–26: τὴν πλεονεξίαν τοῦ λόγου, τὴν μειονεξίαν δὲ ... ἐπεξελθεῖν ἂν δεδυνῆσθαι ... ὡς μὴ τὰ ἐκείνου παρὰ τούτου ζητεῖν πάντα, μηδὲ τὸ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐφεξῆς καὶ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν ἐπεξιέναι.
[626] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 1.65–67: Τί γὰρ ... οὐ θαυμαστὸν τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ λόγου καὶ συγγραφῆς ἄξιον;
[627] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 1.7–8: Φίλου δ' ἀγαθοῦ … μεμνημένοι.
[628] Kokkinod, *v.Isid*. 1.9–10: τῶν τε σοφῶν ἄλλον αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν φίλον λεγόντων καὶ τῆς ἔξωθεν παροιμίας 'κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων' αὖθις ποιούσης. Plutarch, *On Having many friends* (Περὶ πολυφιλίας) 93e: καὶ τὸ ἄλλον αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν φίλον. See also Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* 33. Kokkinos most likely became acquainted with this reference through the Church fathers. See Basil of Caesarea, *Ep*. 83: 'Ἄλλον ἑαυτὸν εἶναι τὸν φίλον.' See *CPG* II, 76, 481.

account: the same homeland (Thessalonike), which he calls "my truly beloved and sweetest soil," the acquaintance and friendship with the Maroules family, and especially "the holy Athos" and its "revered cities of monks."[629] In fact, Kokkinos spends more than half of this *prooimion* to speak about himself and offer autobiographical data, as already showed in Part I.1. For instance, he informs his audience that escaping worldly turmoil, he entered Athos where he became Germanos' disciple. Interestingly, the *v.Germ*. is the only case in which Kokkinos traces the holy man's monastic trajectory from the very beginning of the account. Thus, he mentions that Germanos departed from his *patris* of Thessalonike and went to Mount Athos, which nourished him spiritually, led him to perfection, "to the full measure of the stature of Christ" (Ephesians 4:13), and showed him forth as "a bright and conspicuous beacon of wisdom and all knowledge to those coming down to that saving harbour [Athos] from this worldly sea and the winds and rough water there."[630] As will be seen below, Kokkinos employs nautical imagery throughout the *vitae*. Finally, in the *v.G.Pal*. he underlines that he assumes the contest of writing the account not because of his rhetorical skills (in keeping with the *topos modestiae*), nor out of ambition (*philotimia*)[631] and for the sake of self-display (*epideixis*), but because of his love and friendship (*philia*) towards Palamas, as he cannot yield to anyone the first place in Palamas' "catalogue of friends."[632]

Kokkinos discloses other reasons for writing the *vitae*, namely to show the greatness of his hero's deeds and his spiritual achievements (*v.Isid.*),[633] to feast the "lovers of good" (*philokaloi*) and the "God-lovers" (*philotheoi*)—another pun on his

[629] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 1.17–22: οὐ διὰ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ταὐτόν φημι μόνον καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ γένος καὶ τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐκείνῳ συνήθειαν καὶ μακρὰν ἐκ παιδὸς ἑταιρίαν … καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν Ἄθω καὶ τὰς σεμνὰς τῶν μοναχῶν ἐκείνας πόλεις.

[630] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 1.5–16: Ἄθως … ἔθρεψέ τε πνευματικῶς … καὶ εἰς ἄνδρα προαγαγὼν τέλειον, «εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ» …, **πυρσὸν** ἀνέδειξε περιφανῆ τε καὶ **διαέριον** σοφίας τε καὶ γνώσεως πάσης τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ κοσμικοῦ τούτου πελάγους καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα πνευμάτων τε καὶ τοῦ κλύδωνος εἰς τὸν σωτήριον ἐκεῖνον κατιοῦσι λιμένα. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 43.17: **Ὡς διαέριος πυρσός** (my emphasis).

[631] On *philotimia* in late-Byzantine *theatra*, see Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 23–25.

[632] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 2.2–4, 11–12: τοῦ δέ γε πόθου τοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν φίλων ἑνὶ μηδενὶ παραχωρεῖν ἀνεχόμενος τῶν πρωτείων, δίκαιος ἂν εἴην καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπεισελθεῖν τὸν ἀγῶνα […] Καὶ δείξομεν ὡς οὐ φιλοτιμίας καὶ λόγων ἐπιδείξεως χάριν, ἀλλὰ φιλίας μόνης.

[633] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 1.32–35: Δείξει καὶ γὰρ τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων μέγεθος αὐτῷ φημι τούτῳ τῷ νενικῆσθαι καὶ ὅτι μείζω λόγου τε καὶ συγγραφῆς τὰ κατορθώματα τοῦ μεγάλου.

name—(*v.Germ.*),[634] and to bring benefit to future generations (*v.Sab.*).[635] In the *v.Nik*. he overtly states that "my purpose is a spiritual one, training and encouraging lovers of virtue to emulate him."[636]

The *prooimia* are interspersed with laudatory remarks on the saints' virtues, Kokkinos presenting *ab initio* their spiritual trademarks. Thus, he praises Nikodemos for his ascetic life and imitation of Christ through his deeds and death, a first hint to the blameless death the holy man suffered, as will be discussed later.[637] Sabas' life and conduct on earth are presented as "the work of the [divine] grace abundantly gushing forth in him," "a lesson of word and virtue," and "a wonder and common benefit for posterity."[638] Kokkinos praises Germanos as a "summit of moderation and humility," two virtues he extols numerous times throughout the *vita*.[639] Isidore is portrayed as virtuous and wise, and Kokkinos carefully selects quotations from the books of Solomon to support this image.[640] The *prooimion* of the *v.Isid.* goes along the lines traced by Kokkinos in the *introduction* (*protheoria*) to his programmatic *Logos* on All Saints, quoted at the beginning of Part II. As already mentioned, he underlines that although born and living "later in time," Isidore is not inferior to the saints of the early Christian era, when the grace of the Spirit was pouring on all men and filled the hearts of the righteous, since God is not "one-sided" and "uneven" when distributing the gifts of the Spirit to the human nature which He created equal in honour. In other words, Kokkinos professes that everyone is a potential candidate to sainthood, since Christ's Incarnation and the advent (*epidemia*) of the Holy Spirit atoned, sanctified, and deified human nature.[641]

Insights about Kokkinos' audience can be gathered already in the *prooimia.* In the *v.Nik*., Kokkinos refers to listeners ("God-loving ears") consisting of "lovers

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[634] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 1.32–33: καὶ ὁ λόγος … τὰς φιλοκάλους τε καὶ φιλοθέους ἅμα ψυχὰς κατὰ δύναμιν ἑστιάτω. Kokkinos also refers to his audience as "lovers of good" in the *v.Sab*. 1.28–29: λεγέσθω κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ προτιθέσθω τοῖς φιλοκάλοις.
[635] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 1.21–22: θαῦμα τοῖς ἑξῆς καὶ κοινὸν ὄφελος.
[636] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 1.7–9: ὁ σκοπὸς ἄρα πνευματικός, πρὸς μίμησιν τὴν ὁμοίαν ὑπαλείφων καὶ οἱονεὶ διεγείρων τοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐραστάς.
[637] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 1.1–2, 12–13: τὸν μέγαν τῷ ὄντι ἐν ἀσκηταῖς Νικόδημον […] τὸ τὴν κλῆσιν πράξει δήπου καὶ τέλει Χριστοῦ βεβαιῶσαν.
[638] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 1.19–22, 27–28: … τῆς ἐν ἐκείνῳ δαψιλῶς χεθείσης χάριτος ἔργον ὡσαύτως τό … ἐπὶ γῆς ἐκεῖνον καὶ ζῆσαι καὶ πολιτεύσασθαι … θαῦμα τοῖς ἑξῆς καὶ κοινὸν ὄφελος […] καὶ λόγου καὶ ἀρετῆς διδασκάλιον καινὸν ὁ περιφανὴς βίος ἐκείνου.
[639] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 1.29–30: καὶ τῷ τῆς μετριότητος καὶ τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης ὑπερφυῶς ἄκρῳ.
[640] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 1.14–18. Prov. 10:7, 29:2, Wisd. of Sol. 4:1.
[641] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 1.43–57. See also Kokkinos' *protheoria* to his *Logos* on All Saints (Appendix 3).

of the good" and "lovers of virtue" who knew Nikodemos.[642] As already noted, this indicates that Kokkinos most likely eulogized Nikodemos in front of the monastic community at Philokalles. In the *prooimion* of the *v.Sab*., he emphasizes that "today" Sabas constitutes the pretext for discourses, not only for Christians, but also for those "outside."[643] Kokkinos most likely envisaged the *v.Sab*. to be delivered on the feast day of the saint. However, as I discuss below, it seems unlikely that he delivered it in the form it has survived. He also upholds the legitimacy of his endeavour, writing that "it seemed somehow that [Sabas] revels in and adorns himself with my words and thoughts."[644] In the *v.G.Pal*., he writes that he addresses a knowledgeable audience that will judge the truthfulness of his account.[645] The highly rhetorical *prooimion*, as well as other elements in this *vita*, to be highlighted below, suggest an erudite, most likely Constantinopolitan, audience. Finally, Kokkinos asks his thoughtful listeners—perhaps rhetorically envisaged—not to demand a full report of Palamas' life (*v.G.Pal.*),[646] and delivers his account to those present (*v.Isid*.).[647] These markers indicative of an oral performance may have been purposely placed by Kokkinos in his texts. However, if these *vitae* had been initially intended for public consumption, they were most likely delivered in instalments, given their length.

If Kokkinos ends the *prooimion* of the *v.Nik*. with a short invocation of God's and Nikodemos' assistance for the success of his hagiographic endeavour,[648] in the *v.Sab*. he claims that the account will unfold with Sabas' guidance, presenting only what he himself learned or heard from the holy man or from those who knew Sabas.[649]

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[642] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 1.2–3, 5–6, 8–9: ὡς ἔχει δυνάμεως φιλοθέοις ἀκοαῖς παραδῷ ... τοῖς τῶν καλῶν ἐρασταῖς ... τοὺς εἰδότας ἐκεῖνον διὰ βραχέων τὰ ἐκείνου ὑπομνήσομεν ... καὶ οἱονεὶ διεγείρων τοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐραστάς.

[643] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 1.3–4: ὅσαι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ὅσαι τῶν ἔξωθεν.

[644] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 1.4–5: καὶ γὰρ ἐντρυφᾶν πως ἐδόκει καὶ καλλωπίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις τε καὶ νοήμασι.

[645] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 2.18–20: καὶ **κριταὶ** κάθηνται σχεδὸν πάντες τῶν λεγομένων τοῖς πράγμασι παρατιθέντες τοὺς λόγους καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀκριβείας ἀπαιτοῦντες τὰ ὄντα (my emphasis).

[646] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 2.23–25: παραιτεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῖς εὐγνώμοσι τῶν ἀκροατῶν … ὡς μὴ τὰ ἐκείνου παρὰ τούτου ζητεῖν πάντα.

[647] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 1.40–41: Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἔχω περὶ τοῦ λόγου καὶ οὕτω θαρρούντως αὐτὸν τοῖς προκειμένοις προσάγω.

[648] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 1.9–11: Θεὸν τοίνυν καὶ τὸν τούτου μύστην ἐπικαλέσασθαι ἡμᾶς χρεών, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ δι' ὃν ἡ παροῦσα ἐγχείρησις, ἵν' ἡμῖν κατ' εὐχὴν τὸ προκείμενον γένηται. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 224: "Therefore I should invoke God and His initiate, on behalf of whom and for whom is the present account, so that the endeavor at hand may turn out in accordance with our prayers."

[649] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 1.34–37.

Kokkinos' *prooimia* do little in the way of breaking compositional canons, as he adapts conventional *topoi* of expression. However, despite these expected commonplaces, the prefaces offer important inroads into his compositions. Among these are cues about the social fabric of his audience, a first taste of his literary abilities, style, and what a further analysis reveals to be his signature elements, such as puns on his name or that of his heroes. Moreover, the *prooimia* are a canvass for self-fashioning where Kokkinos presents himself as a close friend of four of the holy men and thus justifies and lends legitimacy to his accounts.

II.2.2. Childhood and early life

The early years of saintly figures are generally not as well documented as later periods in their lives. Hagiographers often devote only a limited amount of attention to the origin and childhood of their heroes. This section of the narrative is generally brief, riddled with commonplaces or plainly glossed over. However, as Caseau notes, "childhood and family details were of great interest to a medieval reader."[650] Kokkinos' accounts of the early life of his heroes are more extensive than is customary in saints' *lives*, as pointed out by Talbot,[651] and include vivid details about their parents, siblings, education, and everyday activities.

In Kokkinos' five *vitae*, the accounts of the early life of his heroes vary in terms of length, content, and level of detail. Table 7 shows the number of words he dedicates to this narrative section in each *vita* and the equivalent percentage out of the total length of the composition. In terms of number of words, the lengthiest account is found in the *v.G.Pal.* (*ca*. 3611 words), while the largest percentage of the narrative dedicated to this topic is in the *v.Germ*. (*ca*. 17,6%). The outlier is the the *v.Nik*., where Kokkinos covers Nikodemos' early years in a mere 45 words, due to the lack of information on his life, which he confesses later in the *vita*.

Given this brevity, the v.*Nik*. will be briefly analysed at this point, before moving on to the richer material of the other four *vitae*. Nikodemos' *patris*, the Thessalian city of Berrhoia, receives a very short and standard praise of her "natural location and position and many other advantages," the greatest adornment of all

[650] Caseau, "Childhood in Byzantine saint's lives," in *Becoming Byzantine*, 127–166, at 139.
[651] Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 48–64, at 52–54.

being her "very own fruit, the wondrous Nikodemos."[652] Kokkinos also presents the saint's lineage only vaguely and cursorily, through the commonplace of a noble descent: "he came not from an undistinguished family, but from one of the most important in those parts."[653] The hagiographer then makes a jump (*ellipsis*) to Nikodemos' departure from home, without specifying any other information on his education, early behaviour or even baptismal name. However, as already seen, this brevity is in line with the literary conventions of the *hypomnema*.

Table 7. Length of the early life account in Kokkinos' *vitae*

Vita	**Number of words**	**% of the *vita***
v.Nik.	45	1,69
v.Sab.	2059	4,13
v.Isid.	2730	9,14
v.Germ.	3556	17,62
v.G.Pal.	3611	7,20

II.2.2.1. *Patris*

Following the guidelines established by late-antique theorists of rhetoric, such as Pseudo-Menander,[654] Kokkinos praises the homeland (*patris*) of his heroes. Three of them (Germanos, Sabas and Isidore) shared the same geographical origin by birth, hailing from Kokkinos' *patris* of Thessalonike. Moreover, although Nikodemos and Palamas originated from Berrhoia and Constantinople respectively, they were also connected to Thessalonike, the former as monk at Philokalles and subsequently interred in the vicinity of the monastery, and the latter as the city's metropolitan and later her saintly protector.[655] The *enkomia* highlight, as customary, the favourable natural environment of their homelands, as well as the intellectual and moral greatness of their inhabitants.[656] The shortest *enkomia* are found in the *v.Nik.* (*ca*. 30

[652] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 2.1–4: ἥτις ἄρα κατὰ φύσιν καὶ θέσιν καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς προτερήμασιν εὖ ἔχουσα … ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ τῷδε καρπῷ, τῷ θαυμαστῷ φημὶ Νικοδήμῳ, ἐγκαλλωπίζεται.
[653] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 2.4–5: Γένος δὲ τούτῳ τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐνταῦθα εὑρισκομένων τὸ διαφορώτατον. English translation by Talbot, "Nikodemos," 224.
[654] See *Menander Rhetor*, ed. and trans. by Russell and Wilson.
[655] Cf. Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 51.
[656] On the *enkomia* of Thessalonike in Palaiologan hagiography, see Kaltsogianni, Kotzabassi, Paraskevopoulou, *Η Θεσσαλονίκη στη βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία*, 143–213, Kokkinos' panegyrics at 178–190; Nerantze-Barmaze, *Βυζαντινή Θεσσαλονίκη*, 147–158. On the city in Palaiologan hagiography, see Saradi, "The city in Byzantine hagiography," in Efthymiadis, *Companion* II, 419–452, at 437–442; see also eadem, "The *kallos* of the Byzantine city," *Gesta* 34.1 (1995): 37–56; Rhoby, "Stadtlob und Stadtkritik," in *Byzantinische Sprachkunst*, 277–295, esp. 287–288.

words) and the *v.Germ.* (less than 60 words) and the longest in the *v.Sab*. (*ca*. 1000 words), whereas those in the *v.Isid.* and the *v.G.Pal*. are *ca*. 200 words long.[657]

Kokkinos shows great civic pride in Thessalonike, styling her as a humanistic city of wisdom and learning,[658] as well as a city boasting many saints. Palaiologan hagiographers, and Byzantine *literati* in general, such as Thomas Magistros, Theodore Metochites, Nikephoros Choumnos, and Demetrios Kydones, praised their homelands.[659] In the narrative section dedicated to Sabas' *patris*, the first part eulogizes Thessalonike, while the second (*ca*. 400 words) constitutes an extensive and vitriolic *psogos* against the Zealot revolt that unfolded in the city between 1342 and 1350. Kokkinos initially states his intention to forego the usual praise of the saint's native city and parents, not because either are unworthy of praise, but as a tribute to Sabas' own rejection of family ties.[660] He poses, therefore, two rhetorical questions about the *patris* and the family of his hero, which structure the rest of his *laudatio*. Thus, he asks rhetorically "who does not know the Thessalonike of Philip [II of Macedon]," and "who does not know who his [Sabas'] parents were?"[661] After the first question, Kokkinos underlines Thessalonike's eminence in terms of rhetoric and wisdom, and the fact that it surpasses not only other cities from Thessaly and Macedonia, but also great cities of old.[662] Kokkinos does not dwell on the topic of the city's glorious past, as Gregoras does for instance in his *enkomion of St. Demetrios* (*BHG* 547f), where he compares her with other famous ancient cities, such as Babylon and Carthage, underlining the superiority of his *patris*.[663] However, after this short rhetorical digression, Kokkinos abides by generic conventions and, in an authorial intervention, states the need to begin his account with information on Sabas' background.[664]

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[657] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 2.1–4, *v.Germ*. 2.1–6, *v.Sab*. 2–3, *v.Isid*. 2.1–21, *v.G.Pal*. 3.
[658] Cf. Saradi, "The city in Byzantine hagiography," 440.
[659] See Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*; Barker, "The 'Monody' of Kydones," in *Μελετήματα*, 285–300; *PG* 109, 641B–644B. See also Barker, "Late Byzantine Thessalonike," *DOP* 57 (2003): 5–33, esp. 5–6.
[660] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 2.13–16.
[661] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 2.4–13: Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τὴν Φιλίππου Θεσσαλονίκην … Τίς δὲ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς … ἦσαν οἱ τούτου πατέρες;
[662] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 2.5–10; cf. *v.Isid*. 2.19–20.
[663] For the edition of Gregoras' *enkomion*, see Laourdas, "Εγκώμια εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Δημήτριον," *Μακεδονικά* 4 (1960): 83–96. Cf. Saradi, "The city in Byzantine hagiography," 439.
[664] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 2.16–23.

Kokkinos' civic pride transpires in the *v.Sab*. as he reveals that he has often praised "the wonderful and great Thessalonike" elsewhere.[665] As already noted, it seems likely that in the early 1340s, while in Thessalonike, Kokkinos eulogized one of the city's martyrs, St. Anysia. In this *vita*, titled *logos*, he offers one of his first panegyrics of his *patris* (*ca*. 350 words).[666] He presents Thessalonike as "a great and populous city," having an excellent geographical location, and welcoming both indigenous and foreign people. The latter become citizens and, as it were, drinking from "the mythical water of oblivion," forget their own homeland.[667] It is worth pointing out that Thomas Magistros, under whom Kokkinos pursued his education, uses this motif in his account of the journey to Constantinople, where he refuses to forget his *patris* of Thessalonike.[668] Kokkinos furthermore praises the virtue (*arete*) and piety (*eusebeia*) of the city, which gathers "the most blessed choir of ascetics and martyrs," both women and men.[669] Demetrios Kydones praises Thessalonike along similar lines in his *Monody* (1346), in which he deplores the misfortunes endured by his fellow citizens due to the Zealot revolt.[670]

In the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos hails Thessalonike as a common adornment for her citizens and extols her learning (*logos*), wisdom (*sophia*), and virtue (*arete*) through which she "eclipses other greater and more distinguished cities."[671] Echoing Plato's *Republic*, Kokkinos presents his *patris* as a model of citizenship because of her wisdom. In a short explanatory pause on *politeia*, he argues for the importance of wisdom, in the absence of which people would resemble "cattle in a pen."[672] As already noted in Part I.1, he also styles Thessalonike as a city of saints, with a "wealth of virtue and holiness," where holy men and women have shone like "true

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[665] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.1–3: ἡ θαυμαστὴ καὶ μεγάλη Θεσσαλονίκη, ἣν ἔγωγε καὶ πολλαχόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἐπαινεῖν ἔχων.
[666] Kokkinos, *Λόγος εἰς ἁγίαν Ἀνυσίαν* 2.
[667] Kokkinos, *Λόγος εἰς ἁγίαν Ἀνυσίαν* 2.1–2, 6–7, 9–13: πόλις ... μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος [...] ξένους τε καὶ αὐτόχθονας ἐν ἴσῳ δεξιουμένη ... ὡς πολίτας μὲν αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς ἐθέλειν καλεῖσθαι ... τὴν δὲ οἰκείαν ἕκαστον φεύγειν 'ὅλῳ ποδὶ' καὶ μηδὲ καθάπαξ τῶν ἐκείνης μεμνῆσθαι, ὡς δοκεῖν τὸ μυθευόμενον ὕδωρ τῆς λήθης ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτοὺς πεπωκέναι.
[668] See Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 87–120.
[669] Kokkinos, *Λόγος εἰς ἁγίαν Ἀνυσίαν* 2.17, 25–26: ὅσον ἐξ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ εὐσεβείας ... Δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ μακαριστὸς τῶν ἀσκητῶν τε καὶ μαρτύρων χορός, οὐκ ἀρρένων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θηλειῶν.
[670] Cf. Barker, "Late Byzantine Thessalonike," 5; Congourdeau, *Les Zélotes*, 112–121.
[671] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.15–16: καὶ πολλὰς ἑτέρας τῶν πόλεων, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὰς μείζους καὶ περιφανεστέρας ἐντεῦθεν φαιδρύνειν.
[672] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.7–12: καθάπερ ἐν σηκῷ βοσκημάτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλήλοις συμμιγνυμένων ἐπ' οὐδενὶ χρησίμῳ, ὡς μηδὲ πόλιν ὀνομάζεσθαι κυρίως ἐκείνην, ἣν οὐ καθίστησι σοφία κατὰ τὸν τῶν σοφῶν λόγον. See Plato, *Republic* 423ab; cf. Kokkinos, *Λόγος εἰς ἁγίαν Ἀνυσίαν* 2.17.

animated icons and silent preaching."[673] The latter expression is recurrent in patristic literature.[674] As expected, Kokkinos does not fail to mention the city's saintly patron, St. Demetrios the Myroblytos, "her illustrious general (*strategos*) and protector and saviour," whose "fame (*kleos*) reaches the broad heaven" (Homer, *Odyssey* 19.108) and "the edges of the inhabited world," and who spreads the fame of Thessalonike at the same time.[675]

After this *laudatio* of Sabas' *patris*, the tone shifts from eulogy to *psogos*, as Kokkinos harshly criticizes the contemporary socio-political and economic upheaval in Thessalonike, known as the Zealot revolt.[676] This internal unrest and dissension had a wide coverage in the sources of the period, where it gained a "réputation de révoltes sanguinaires."[677] The tone and virulence of Kokkinos' *psogos* against this revolt suggests, as already noted, that the event was close to, or possibly ongoing at the moment of writing the *v.Sab*. Kokkinos deplores the situation of the city, and refers to it as "this present universal disorder and confusion," or metaphorically as "misfortunes" and "epidemics."[678] In one of his letters addressed to John VI Kantakouzenos (1346), Kydones also refers to the Zealot revolt as "sickness."[679] Kokkinos adds an auditory effect to the grave tone of the passage through the use of *homoioteleuton*, as well as expressing his sorrow ("o, woe!").[680]

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[673] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.16–19: Τὸν δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἁγιότητος πλοῦτον λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι διεξιέναι, ἔξεστι δὲ καθάπερ πρὸς εἰκόνας τινὰς ἐμψύχους καὶ σιγῶντα κηρύγματα τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐκλάμψαντας θαυμαστοὺς ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας.

[674] See, for instance, Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 43.5.

[675] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.20–25: τὸν περιφανῆ ταύτης στρατηγὸν καὶ παντοδαπὸν πολιοῦχον καὶ ῥύστην, οὗ 'κλέος εὐρὺν ἐς οὐρανὸν ἱκάνει', κατὰ τὸ ἔπος, καὶ οὗ πλήρεις τῶν θαυμάτων ἥπειρός τε καὶ νῆσοι καὶ τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔσχατα· δι' ὃν ἐπισημοτέρα πολλῷ καὶ περιώνυμος χρηματίζει, συνακουομένη τοῖς τούτου κατορθώμασι μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ θαύματος καὶ συλλαλουμένη.

[676] The Zealot revolt in Thessalonike (1342–1350) attracted an abundant scholarship. It suffices to mention, Ševčenko's "bombshell article" on "Nicolas Cabasilas' 'anti-Zealot' discourse," *DOP* 11 (1957): 81–171; Congourdeau (ed.), *Thessalonique au temps des Zélotes*; Barker, "Late Byzantine Thessalonike," 16–21. For a short review of the scholarship on the subject, as well as for a chronology of the revolt, see Congourdeau, *Les Zélotes*, 28–30, 31–43.

[677] Congourdeau, *Les Zélotes*, 12. This social and political crisis was a form of "gouvernement populaire," which scholars compared to the revolts in other cities in Europe at that time. On the larger European context of the fourteenth century, see Congourdeau, *Les Zélotes*, 16–18. Barker, "Late Byzantine Thessalonike," 19, notes that efforts to link the Zealot movement with the urban unrest manifested in western Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century have been "ephemeral."

[678] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.26–29: Τὰ γὰρ τῆς παρούσης ταυτησὶ κοσμικῆς ἀταξίας καὶ τῆς συγχύσεως … καὶ πταίσματά τινα καὶ ἀρρωστήματα μᾶλλον; *v.Sab*. 3.54: ταύτα ἀρρωστήματα.

[679] Congourdeau, *Les Zélotes*, 96–98.

[680] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.33–36, 42: καὶ τούτ**ων** οὐχ ἡμεδαπ**ῶν**, ἀλλ' ἐπηλύδ**ων** τιν**ῶν** βαρβάρ**ων** ἔκ τε τ**ῶν** ἡμετέρ**ων** ἐσχατι**ῶν** καὶ τ**ῶν** κύκλωθεν νήσ**ων** ὑπ' ἀνάγκης φυγάδ**ων** αὐτόθι συνελαθέντ**ων**, 'ἄνδρας αἱμάτ**ων** καὶ δολιότητος.' […] οἵμοι […].

Kokkinos dwells on the origins of the troubles, emphasizing that this is not an 'internal sickness,' but something external, which is "far from the customs and ancient nobility and generosity" of Thessalonike.[681] He argues that this has been caused neither by her citizens, nor by its council (*boule*), aristocracy or the middle class, but by "barbarous foreigners" that came from far away and from the surrounding islands.[682] Kokkinos describes these people as "men of bloodshed and deceit" (Psalm 55:23), driven by "irrationality" (*alogia*), "abominable, pestilent, and common destroyers of the human race."[683] They have imposed their tyranny (*tyrannis*) on the city, and have filled her with acts of violence and blood.[684] Kokkinos also emphasizes their hostility towards the empire (*basileia*) and the Church (*ekklesia*).[685] Moreover, he compares the misfortunes of his fellow citizens to the "*Iliad* of evils" and the "Lemnian evils," as well as to the hardships suffered by the Jews, making reference to Josephus Flavius' account of the siege of Jerusalem (AD 70).[686] Quoting Isaiah (3:1–5), Kokkinos portrays the effects of the Zealot revolt as a reversal of established order: those of the same race have become antagonistic, "the most licentious and arrogant" have risen against the "most thoughtful and illustrious," the young against the old, and the dishonoured against the honoured.[687] At the end of the *psogos*, Kokkinos becomes the advocate of his *patris*, arguing that one must not judge "the best of the cities" for the present situation, but rather praise her for her former achievements.[688] He further draws a parallel to how one should treat a man if he were in a similar position, concluding that both a man and a city

[681] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.26–28: οὐδὲ χρὴ φέρειν ὅλως εἰς μέσον, πόρρω τῶν ἐκείνης ἠθῶν ὄντα καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας εὐγενείας τε καὶ τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας.

[682] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.31–34: οὐδὲ τῆς βουλῆς ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων, οὐδέ γε τῆς δευτέρας καὶ μέσης, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, μοίρας, … ἀλλ' ἐπηλύδων τινῶν βαρβάρων ἔκ τε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐσχατιῶν καὶ τῶν κύκλωθεν νήσων.

[683] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.36, 45–46: 'ἄνδρας αἱμάτων καὶ δολιότητος' … μιαροὺς δέ τινας καὶ φθόρους καὶ κοινοὺς ὀλετῆρας τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους ὀφθέντας.

[684] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.46–49.

[685] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.43–44.

[686] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.49–52: ὡς μηδὲν εἶναι πρὸς ταῦτα μήτε τὰ Ἰουδαίων πάθη, ἅπερ Ἰώσηπος τραγῳδεῖ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκουμένων συμβῆναι, μήτε κακῶν αὐτὰ προσειπεῖν Ἰλιάδα , μήτε δεινὰ Λήμνια. The proverbial expression "Lemnian evils" (*CPG* I.110, 270, II.34, 503–504) is frequently used by Kokkinos in his works, as well as by other of his contemporaries, such as Demetrios Kydones (cf. the aforementioned *Monody*).

[687] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.56–58: τὸ ὁμόφυλον ἐλεεινῶς εἰς ἀντίπαλον ἀπορρήξασα μοῖραν τοὺς ἀσελγεστάτους καὶ θρασυτάτους τοῖς σωφρονεστάτοις καὶ γενναίοις κατεξανέστησεν.

[688] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.65–67: Ὅθεν οὐδὲ χρὴ τὴν ἀρίστην τῶν πόλεων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑστέρων δυστυχημάτων ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀποδοκιμάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων μᾶλλον κατορθωμάτων εὐδαιμονίζειν.

should be honoured, even if they lacked at some point their former virtue and glory.[689] Later in the *vita*, Kokkinos refers again to the Zealot revolt when recounting, in an *analepsis*, Andrew Palaiologos' failed attempt to meet Sabas at Vatopedi.[690]

In the *v.Isid.*, Kokkinos glorifies Thessalonike exclusively for the quality of her inhabitants. Thus, he fashions her as a humanistic city, "a mother and a nurturer" of great men, that adorns herself with her citizens.[691] Kokkinos enumerates the kind of people Thessalonike has offered both to the empire and the Church: leaders of the greatest monasteries, military commanders and generals, governors of cities, judges, masters of education, senators, as well as men in the entourage of the emperor.[692] Moreover, he stresses that his *patris*, a "true *metropolis* and *paidagogos* to Christ," offers spiritual guidance providing other cities with "priests of God, stewards of the souls, and heralds of Christ's Gospel."[693] Furthermore, through Constantinople—"the leader of all cities"—Thessalonike proclaimed Isidore as "shepherd and *didaskalos* of the inhabited world (*oikoumene*)."[694]

As already mentioned, in the *v.Germ*. Kokkinos partially departs from the conventional sequence as he praises Germanos' homeland already in the *prooimion*. Thus, after the preface, he resumes a brief eulogy of Thessalonike in which he describes the city and her holy man with parallel structures: "the great and distinguished man [Germanos] was born in the great and distinguished among cities."[695] As in the *v.Sab*. and the *v.Isid*., Thessalonike is styled as a mother of learning and wisdom, both in "ours" and the "outside," and a nurturer of earnest men and women.[696]

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[689] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 3.68–74.
[690] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 70.
[691] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 2.4–6: τὸ τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν αὐτὴν καὶ μητέρα καὶ τροφὸν πεφηνέναι καὶ κοσμεῖν μὲν ἑαυτὴν ἐντεῦθεν.
[692] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 2.7–13. Cf. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and society," 86.
[693] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 2.14–17: ἱερέας Θεοῦ καὶ ψυχῶν οἰκονόμους καὶ κήρυκας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ταῖς πόλεσι συνεχῶς χορηγοῦσαν καὶ τῷ ὄντι μητρόπολιν καὶ παιδαγωγὸν θαυμαστὴν τὰ ἐς Χριστόν.
[694] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 2.19–21: τὸν μέγαν … διὰ μιᾶς ταυτησί, τῆς τῶν πόλεων ἁπασῶν γε προκαθημένης, τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀναδείξασα πάσης ποιμένα τε καὶ διδάσκαλον.
[695] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 2.1–3: Οὗτος τοιγαροῦν **ὁ μέγας καὶ περιφανὴς** ἐν πατράσι πατρίδος μὲν ἔφυ **τῆς μεγάλης** ἐν πόλεσι **καὶ περιφανοῦς**, ὅπερ ἔφην, Θεσσαλονίκης (my emphasis).
[696] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 3–5: λόγων καὶ σοφίας … μητέρα, ὅση τε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ὅση τῶν ἔξω, καὶ σπουδαίων ἀνδρῶν ἅμα καὶ γυναικῶν … τροφόν.

In the *v.G.Pal*., Kokkinos mentions first that Palamas' distinguished parents, hailing from the East (cf. Job 1:3), came to the city of Constantine, where they had sons and daughters, of whom Gregory was the first by birth.[697] The praise of Constantinople opens with a statement on her undisputed supremacy with regard to size, beauty, position, combination of elements, climate, and defence both on land and sea—which guarded her from the Hellenes and foreigners (*barbaroi*).[698] Interestingly, this is the sole hint to any architectural feature in the five panegyrics. However, at a later point in the *v.Nik*., Kokkinos mentions the walls of Thessalonike, stating that the citizens of Thessalonike "took no greater pleasure in the nature and location and good order of the city or in the strength of its walls than in this <holy man>."[699]

Similarly to Thessalonike in the *v.Germ*. and the *v.Isid*., Kokkinos hails Constantinople as "mother and dwelling-place of learning and wisdom of the Hellenes," that gathered in herself "the once talked about Stoa, the Peripatetics, and the Academy."[700] Moreover, she is acclaimed for having shown this wisdom as "a prudent servant and handmaiden of the true and first wisdom" (theology).[701] As is well known, this idea is recurrent in patristic literature and echoes the medieval dictum, *philosophia ancilla theologiae*.[702] Finally, Kokkinos stresses that the city rejected in the Kynosarges[703] disbelief in God, the myths, the nonsense, the lies and the false reasoning of Hellenic wisdom, replacing them and adorning herself with the belief in the Triune God, the Holy Cross, and the simplicity of the Gospel.[704] Later in the *v.G.Pal*., when covering the early stages of the hesychast debates, Kokkinos criticizes Constantinople for receiving Barlaam's heretic teachings. Echoing Gregory

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[697] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 3.1–6.
[698] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 3.10–16.
[699] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 7.23–24: Καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ θέσει καὶ τάξει τῆς πόλεως ἢ τῇ τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι χαρμοσύνως διετέθησαν. English translation by Talbot, "Nikodemos," 229.
[700] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 3.16–19: τὸ καὶ λόγων καὶ σοφίας ἄνωθεν χρηματίζειν ταύτην μητέρα καὶ οἰκητήριον Ἑλλήνων ἄντικρυς πεφηνέναι, τὴν πάλαι θρυλουμένην Στοὰν καὶ τοὺς Περιπάτους καὶ τὰς Ἀκαδημίας.
[701] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 3.25–27: κατακοσμήσασαν τὴν σοφίαν ἐκείνην καὶ δούλην εὐγνώμονα καὶ ὑπηρέτιν ἀναδείξασαν τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ πρώτης σοφίας. Cf. *v.Isid*. 9.32–33, *v.Sab*. 5.7–16.
[702] See, for instance, Clement of Alexandria, *Στρωματεῖς* 1.5 (*PG* 8, 721A–728A); Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 43.13. See also De Vries, "Philosophia Ancilla Theologiae," *The Bible and Critical Theory* 5.3 (2009): 41.1–41.19.
[703] *CPG* I.398, II.76, 381, 491. Kokkinos also uses this reference in the *v.Isid*. 29.30.
[704] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 3.20–25. Cf. Cribiore, "Why did Christians compete with pagans for Greek paideia?," in *Pedagogy in Early Christianity*, 359–374.

Nazianzen's *Orations*, he states that he praises the capital for her "greatness, beauty, wealth, wisdom and things like these," but "one thing alone I cannot praise," namely that she derides divine things [Palamas' hesychast theology] playing, as it were, with pebbles and dice, or as if in horse races and theatres.[705] Moreover, Kokkinos covertly criticises the credulity of the Constantinopolitans, stressing that Barlaam cunningly placed his teachings as a bait (*delear*) before the "gaping fools" of the capital, and subjected Constantinople to himself and persuaded her to think like him.[706]

As seen above, Kokkinos constructs elaborate, and often extensive, eulogies of his heroes' *patris*, especially Thessalonike. If Berrhoia is offered a brief and generic *laudatio* (*v.Nik.*), Thessalonike is praised at length for her wealth of wisdom and learning, as a humanistic city proud of her distinguished "offshoots" (*v.Sab.*, *v.Germ.*, *v.Isid.*). Kokkinos also underlines her virtue and wealth of holiness, styling her as a city of saints. His civic loyalty and strong connection to his *patris* is seen as much in the affectionate panegyrics (such as "my truly beloved and sweetest soil"), as in the virulent *psogos* against the Zealot revolt. Finally, he praises Constantinople for her learning and wisdom, as well as reverence towards God (*eusebeia*).

II.2.2.2. Parents

After praising their homeland, Kokkinos turns to the parents of his heroes. He treats this subject roughly equally in the *v.Sab.*, the *v.Isid.*, and the *v.Germ.*, dedicating between *ca.* 440 to 470 words. In the *v.G.Pal.*, however, he constructs an extensive portrait of Palamas' father of approximately 2000 words. He only reveals the names of Palamas' parents, Constantine and Kale, who later in life changed them to Konstantios and Kallone upon assuming the monastic garment.[707] In the *v.Isid.*, Kokkinos writes that Isidore's parents had ten children, five girls and five boys, of whom Isidore was the first. Palamas was also the firstborn of at least five children, whereas Germanos was the third of eight siblings. According to the literary commonplace, all the parents are portrayed as people of a high moral character and

[705] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 56.4–8: ἣν ἔγωγε καὶ μεγέθους καὶ κάλλους καὶ πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ τῶν τοιούτων … ἐπαινῶν, ἓν τοῦτο καὶ μόνον ἐπαινεῖν οὐκ ἔχω, τὸ καθάπερ ἔν τισι πεττοῖς τε καὶ κύβοις ἢ κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν εἰπεῖν θεολόγον, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἱππικοὺς καὶ τὰ θέατρα, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὰ θεῖα παίζειν.
[706] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 56.10–21.
[707] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 8.4–5, 9.1–2. On the practice of *metonomasia* in Byzantium, see Talbot and McGrath, "Monastic onomastics," 96–97.

devout Christians who live virtuous lives. Moreover, they make efforts to provide a sound Christian upbringing to their children through their advice and example. The level of biographical detail shows significant variations across the *vitae*. Thus, Kokkinos only praises Sabas' parents in generic terms, using commonplaces such as their virtue and nobility (*eugeneia*) and compensates for the lack of information with rhetorical embellishments. In the *v.Isid*., he traces Isidore's descent from a line of defenders of the Church, extolling the virtues of his parents and grandparents, whereas in the *v.Germ*., he focuses mainly on the figure of the father, presenting his religious zeal.[708]

Similar to other late-Byzantine saints, Kokkinos' holy men boast a high social status.[709] He is aware of the good stock from which they hail and proudly praises their distinguished lineage. In four of the *vitae*, the profession of their fathers is mentioned or hinted at. Thus, Sabas' father was most likely in the military service, Isidore's father was a priest from a well-known family, originally from Chios, while Germanos' father was a high official of Thessalonike, possibly her governor.[710] Kokkinos praises the latter as virtuous, just, sympathetic, and merciful towards the needy.[711] Finally, Palamas has the most distinguished descent, as his father was a member of the Constantinopolitan senate and a close associate of Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos.[712]

The narrative section on Constantine Palamas is the most extensive and the richest in biographical detail of those dedicated to the family of the saints.[713] Moreover, it is the most complex in terms of changes in narrative speed, with a rich variety of scenes, monologues, and descriptive pauses.[714] The account is also enlivened by a considerable amount of reported speech (*ca*. 300 words or 1/5 of the section).[715]

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[708] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 2.21–35; *v.Germ*. 2.38–43, 5.36–46, 6.28–35.
[709] Cf. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and society," 87–88.
[710] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 5.53–55; *v.Isid*. 3.1–2; *v.Germ*. 2.7–11. On Germanos' family, see Laurent, "La vie de saint Germain," 114–116, and Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and society," 87–89.
[711] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 2.14–38.
[712] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 4.5–11.
[713] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 4–9.
[714] According to Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 87, 94–95, a scene is a form of narrative movement, part of the narrative in which the story time is equal to the narrative time, as in the case of dialogue.
[715] Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 170, 172–173, uses the concept of "reported speech" to indicate the situation in which the words of a character are cited *verbatim* by the narrator. Kokkinos reports Constantine's words at the *v.G.Pal*. 5.25–36, 6.9–22, and 8.12–15.

In an almost hagiographic portrait, Kokkinos depicts Constantine as a deeply pious man and saintlike figure. He is also a highly learned man and trusted aid of the emperor, enjoying freedom of speech (*parrhesia*) at the imperial court. Given his exceeding virtue and recognition, Emperor Andronikos II chose him as "father and *didaskalos*" to his grandson, Andronikos III, who also deems him as a "good adviser, mystagogue, and guide."[716] Kokkinos includes a brief description of Andronikos III, noting that he is "intelligent and swift" and eager to be the first in everything.[717] Such short biographical or psychological sketches abound in the five *vitae* and are a distinctive feature of Kokkinos' style. He also captures elements of Emperor Andronikos II's psychology, and conveys his anger towards his associates (*oikeioi*) by comparing it to the "roaring of the lion."[718] Kokkinos highlights Constantine's *parrhesia* before the emperor reporting that he was the only one who appeased the latter's outbursts of anger, using biblical and patristic advice and reminding him of the "humility and modesty" of the human nature.[719] In turn, reports Kokkinos, Emperor Andronikos II held Constantine in greater esteem than even his own kin, praising his virtue, wisdom, purity of soul, and lack of ambition (*philotimia*).[720]

Kokkinos infuses Constantine's portrait with hesychastic elements and uses monastic language to describe his life. Although he spends every day in the company of the emperor and the senate, Constantine's official duties take nothing from his inner tranquillity. He has great vigilance of the mind (*nepsis*) and constantly turns towards God through attention (*prosoche*) and prayer (*proseuche*). When, on account of this, he displays what looks like absent-mindedness, the emperor understands that the real reason is not indolence or lack of zeal, but zeal and vigilance for the inner things.[721] Kokkinos also describes Constantine as a protector (*prostates*) of wronged

[716] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 4.8–11, 14–15: Τοσοῦτό γε μὴν τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς περιὸν ἐκείνῳ προσῆν … ὡς καὶ πατέρα καὶ διδάσκαλον τοῦ υἱωνοῦ τε καὶ βασιλέως … αὐτὸν ἑλέσθαι τὸν βασιλέα […] καὶ διδάσκαλον ἀρετῆς καὶ σύμβουλον ἀγαθὸν καὶ μυσταγωγὸν καὶ ὁδηγόν.
[717] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 4.12–14: συνετὸς καὶ ὀξύς τις πεφυκὼς ἐν ἅπασι καὶ ἀγχίνους καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα φιλοτιμούμενος ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φέρεσθαι κατὰ πάντων.
[718] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 4.16–20: Ἀμέλει καὶ σφοδρότερον ἔσθ' ὅτε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ θυμῷ κατὰ τῶν οἰκείων χρωμένῳ καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐξαγομένῳ καὶ ἀπειλὰς καὶ λοιδορίας ἐκείνων, πάντες μὲν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ συνθήματος ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑπεξίσταντο καὶ τῷ κράτει καὶ τῷ θυμῷ παρεχώρουν τὴν τοῦ «λέοντος ἐρυγήν», κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, ὑπεπτηχότες.
[719] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 4.20–27.
[720] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 4.27–37.
[721] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 5.1–12.

men and women.[722] Thus, he offers as example an occasion when Constantine helps a poor widow wrongly deprived of 300 golden coins by the emperor's second son, Constantine Palaiologos. When the woman attempts to reward his help with half of the sum, he urges her—in a response conveyed by Kokkinos in reported speech—to hold on to her gift of money and reward him instead with prayers. Kokkinos uses this scene to comment on Constantine's detachment from material possessions.[723]

Constantine's self-restraint is also shown in the interaction with his children. Kokkinos describes him as a parent who displays little affection towards his offsprings and apparently lacks an emotional connection with them. For instance, he does not hug, kiss, laugh or play with his children "according to the natural and common habit of parents," as Kokkinos notes, underlining the expectations of parental behaviour.[724] Moreover, when one of his youngsters dies, Constantine does not fall into the common despair of a grieving father and does not protest against God's will. Instead, he praises God, offering emotional support to other grieving family members.[725] As Talbot has pointed out, the loss of children brought great suffering to their parents, even though the incidence of death at a young age was high in middle and late Byzantium.[726] Therefore, Constantine's reaction to the demise of his child seems at first puzzling and closer to one professed by monks, who were expected to withdraw from any emotional connection with their families. Indeed, this seems to be the key to understand his reaction. His emotional control does not stem from an exercise of fatherly power and authority, but rather from a profession of faith. As Kokkinos reveals, Constantine fears that too great of an attachment to his children would lead him to question God in the case one of them would die, and thus show himself as loving his children (*philopais*) more than God (*philotheos*).[727] The wordplay on "*philotheos*" is certainly not accidental, as already seen in the *prooimia*, and as will be seen in other instances below. Thus, Kokkinos constructs Constantine's attitude towards the death of his child in line with the Christian ideal

[722] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 5.14–15: πολλῶν ἀδικουμένων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἦν προστάτης καὶ πλείστοις τὰς συμφορὰς ἔλυε καθ' ἑκάστην.
[723] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 5.16–36.
[724] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 6.7–9: […] κατὰ τὸ σχετικὸν πεφυκὸς καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν πατέρων ἔθος.
[725] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 6.23–34.
[726] Talbot, "Death of Byzantine children," in *Becoming Byzantine*, 283–308, at 294.
[727] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 6.9–22.

suggested by patristic literature, as seen, for instance, in John Chrysostom's homilies, or the letters of consolation of Basil of Caesarea and Theodore the Stoudite.[728]

Kokkinos also presents the great interest Constantine and his wife took in the spiritual development of their children, even from a very early age. He mentions that they offered the children the opportunity to spend time with monks and spiritual fathers, for their souls to be "impressed and moulded" by their holy teachings.[729] On their way to a hesychast monk, who was living in *hesychia* at the aforementioned "monastery of the divine Phokas," located in Galata (Pera), Constantine works a miraculous deed. While travelling across the Golden Horn by boat (*akation*; *lembos*) together with his family, he realizes that nobody has remembered to bring lunch to the monk. After his initial anger subsides, he prays, places his hand in the sea, and miraculously pulls out a sea bass. Kokkinos expresses wonder at this supernatural event, styles Constantine as "the new fisherman,"[730] and asks rhetorically, quoting Gregory Nazianzen's *Funeral Oration on St. Basil the Great*, "Who in our time or at any time has known of such prey?" Moreover, he draws a lengthy parallel between Constantine and Basil, showing that the former was worthy—"in the middle of the sea"—of the same gifts God offered the latter's family on land and in the mountains for seven years.[731] This *synkrisis* serves to reinforce the portrait of Constantine Palamas as a pious and saintly figure.

In the *v.Germ*., Kokkinos spells out clearly the spiritual influence that the parents exercise over young Germanos (George), calling them not only parents of the body, but especially of the mind and soul.[732] He describes them several times as "distinguished" (*periphaneis*), wise, virtuous, charitable towards the needy, and part of the "golden race," an expression also used in the *prooimion* of the *v.G.Pal*., as previously seen.[733] To some extent, Kokkinos styles Germanos' father similarly to

[728] See, for instance, Basil of Caesarea, *Letters* 5, 206, 269, 300, and Theodore the Stoudite's touching letter of condolence (no. 18, ed. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae epistulae*, 49–51) to the *spatharios* Staurakios on the death of his firstborn infant son. See Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, and, more recently, Harvey, "Guiding grief," in *Greek Laughter and Tears*, 199–216.

[729] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 7.8–10: ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς εἰς τὸν βίον εἰσόδου τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις καὶ ταῖς διδασκαλίαις εὐθὺς τυπῶνται καὶ πλάττωνται τὰς ψυχάς.

[730] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 7.28: ὁ καινὸς ἁλιεύς.

[731] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 7.35–46. "Τίς ἔγνω τοιοῦτον θήραμα τῶν νῦν ἢ τῶν πώποτε;" […]. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 43.7.

[732] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 2.47–48: οὗτοι δεικνύντες πατέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς πολλῷ πρὸ ἐκείνων.

[733] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 2.6–8, 27–38.

Palamas'. Thus, although holding a demanding office with "financial and judicial functions,"[734] nevertheless he shows great zeal for prayers, vigils, liturgical services, and vigilance of his mind and heart (*nepsis*).[735] Kokkinos includes interesting details about the prayer routine of Germanos' father: on a daily basis, very early in the morning, he offers psalms and incense to God in one of the small rooms (*oikiskos*) located on the upper floor of his house, which also functioned as a bedroom for Germanos and his older brother Demetrios. After these prayers, he also attends matins and communal prayers, which are announced by the bells of a nearby monastery.[736] As mentioned in Part I.1, Kokkinos may have gathered these details on the layout and location of the house from Iakobos Maroules. Kokkinos presents at length the spiritual profile and programme of Palamas' and Germanos' fathers in order to style them as models for people living in the world. Although this urban hesychastic programme resembles the exigency of a monastic lifestyle, it is assumed and carried out by regular people who also fulfil their family and occupational duties.

The praise of Sabas' parents especially stands in contrast to the *v.G.Pal*. through its lack of specifics. Not only does Kokkinos not disclose their names, but he also does not offer any specific scenes to show their interaction with their child. Instead, as customary, he praises their virtue (*arete*), nobility (*eugeneia*), "golden race," and builds a general moral portrait, interspersed with numerous quotations from Paul's letters. Moderation (*sophrosyne*), which Sabas will also perfect later in his life, is singled out as their crowning virtue, along others, such as simplicity and gentleness.[737] The birth of their child Stephen is presented as a reward for their numerous virtues and a crown (*stephanos*), Kokkinos making here, as well as throughout the *v.Sab*., a pun on Sabas' baptismal name.[738]

In the *v.Isid*., Kokkinos extends the discussion of the saint's good lineage to include not only Isidore's parents, but also his grandparents. He styles the latter as "confessors of Orthodoxy," who suffered trials, exiles and dangers, and died as

[734] Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and society," 87.
[735] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 2.38–43.
[736] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 6.2–4, 28–35. Cf. Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 52.
[737] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 4.11–15.
[738] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 4.33–35: τοῦτο μισθὸς αὐτοῖς τῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν γένοιτο σπουδῆς καὶ τῆς πολλῆς καλοκἀγαθίας καὶ τὸν τῆς δόξης ἀναδήσαιντο **στέφανον** τῇ τοῦ καλοῦ γεννήσει **Στεφάνου** (my emphasis).

martyrs, opposing Latin teaching concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit.[739] Kokkinos most likely included this additional information on Isidore's grandparents to build an even more distinguished lineage for him, given his later ecclesiastical office as patriarch. In a *prolepsis*, Kokkinos makes a *synkrisis* of Isidore's parents with Abraham and Sarah, underlining that they gave birth and offered their son to God (that is, Isidore is styled as another Isaac). In turn, Isidore gives spiritual birth to his parents, tonsuring them in their old age. Kokkinos stresses Isidore's spiritual lineage, a chain of descendants to whom he gave birth through the Gospel, that continues "in the present through his [spiritual] children."[740] This most likely constitutes a veiled self-display of Kokkinos, who was also part of this lineage following his appointment by Isidore as metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia.

If Kokkinos dwells extensively on the figures of the fathers and their influence on the upbringing and spiritual formation of their children, the mothers are less visible. Although he generally praises both parents in all the *vitae*, he only specifically mentions Palamas' and Isidore's mother. He describes the latter as exceedingly well-behaved (*kosmia*), of chaste mind (*sophron*) and an appropriate wife for such a man as her husband.[741] Moreover, she is later presented in specific scenes interacting with Isidore and supporting his early ascetic inclinations. Palamas' mother, on the other hand, is shown as worrying for her children's fortunes prior to the impending death of her husband, as will be discussed below.

Later in their lives, the parents of Sabas, Isidore and Palamas don monastic garments. Kokkinos covers this only cursorily in the *v.Sab*, where he briefly implies that Sabas' parents embrace the monastic life in their later years, as a culmination of their virtue. As already noted, in the *v.Isid*., he underlines that Isidore's parents are "remodelled," consecrated to God and sanctified by their "wonderful child," showing

[739] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 2.21–32. See also the *v.Germ*. 16.10–20, where Kokkinos criticizes the unionist policy of Michael VIII Palaiologos. On the Filioque controversy in Byzantium, see Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*; idem, "The Byzantines and the rise of papacy," in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History*, 19–42; Kolbaba, "Repercussions of the second council of Lyon (1274)," in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History*, 43–68.

[740] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 2.35–48: […] οὓς ἐκεῖνος ὁ μέγας ἐγέννησε δηλαδὴ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ γεννᾷ καὶ οὐδὲ παύσεταί ποτε τοῦτο ποιῶν ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι διὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τέκνων. Cf. 1 Cor 4:15.

[741] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 2.34–35: κοσμία δὲ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν καὶ σώφρων ἡ μήτηρ καὶ κατάλληλος ὄντως ἀνδρὸς συζυγία τοιούτου.

Isidore's influence in their pursuit of a "monastic and philosophical life."[742] Kokkinos also specifies that they turn their lives to God after they have lived beautifully together and have been absolved of their worldly duties, most likely a reference to their role as caregivers of their ten children.[743]

While these two couples enter the monastic life together, having fulfilled their parental duties, Palamas' parents take monastic vows under different circumstances. Thus, Constantine Palamas becomes a monk under the name of Konstantios shortly before his death and passes away while Gregory, the first-born of the family, was only seven years old.[744] Before Constantine's death, his wife, whom Kokkinos calls "the beautiful Kallone" (*kale kallone*, literally, "the beautiful beauty")—revealing her worldly (Kale) and monastic names (Kallone) by this pun[745]—, asks him to request the emperor's patronage (*prostasia*) for their children.[746] However, in a display of piety, Palamas' father refuses to leave his children to what he calls "earthly and partial emperors," entrusting them instead to the Theotokos, "the mother of the heavenly emperor."[747] Kokkinos follows this scene with a brief *prolepsis*, indicating that the Theotokos will indeed act as their guardian (*kedemon*), guide (*hodegos*), and saviour (*soteira*), convincing the earthly emperors to provide for them.[748] Thus, Palamas and his siblings enjoyed the patronage of Emperor Andronikos II and were raised at the imperial court. Interestingly, Kokkinos follows the story of Palamas' siblings throughout the *v.G.Pal*., underlining how Palamas acts as their spiritual guide.[749] Finally, Kokkinos reports that Palamas' mother was also eager to become a nun after the death of her husband. However, she postponed this until acquitting herself of her parental duties, as spiritual fathers advised her.[750]

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[742] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 2.37–38: ἐν γήρᾳ καλῷ πρὸς τὸν μοναδικόν τε καὶ φιλόσοφον βίον ὑπὸ τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ τούτου παιδὸς μεταπλάττονται.
[743] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 2.35–37, 3.2–4.
[744] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 9.1–3, 5–7: Κωνστάντιος μὲν οὖν ὁ καλός—οὕτω καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ Κωνσταντίνου μετωνόμασται πρὸς μοναχοὺς ἀποκλίνας ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου πατήρ—, ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ βίου … οὔπω καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἕβδομον ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπερβεβηκὼς ὁ καθ' ἡλικίαν δηλαδὴ πρῶτος Γρηγόριος ἦν ὁ καλός.
[745] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 8.4–5: ἡ καλὴ πρόσεισι Καλλονή· καὶ ἄμφω γὰρ ἡ ὁμόζυγος ταὐτὶ φερωνύμως ἐκκλήθη, τὸ μὲν κατὰ κόσμον, τὸ δὲ κατὰ μοναχούς.
[746] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 8.6–8.
[747] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 8.12–15: "Ἐγὼ γάρ … οὐ τοῖς ἐπιγείοις καὶ μερικοῖς τουτοισὶ βασιλεῦσιν, ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ τῶν ὅλων Δεσποίνῃ τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν οὐρανῶν […]."
[748] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 8.16–21.
[749] See, for instance, Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 13.4–13, 27.11–32, 28.
[750] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 9.7–14.

Kokkinos portrays his heroes' parents as devout Christians, who pass their virtues onto their children by actively instilling in them a love for Christ. Moreover, in three of the *vitae*, their virtous lives culminate in monastic tonsure (*v.Sab.*, *v.Isid.*, and *v.G.Pal.*). However, beyond literary *topoi*, the level of biographic detail on the parents varies greatly across the *lives*¸ most probably depending on the amount of information Kokkinos had. The parents of Nikodemos and Sabas are mentioned only in passing or, in the case of the latter, described in generic terms, while the rest of the *vitae*, and especially the *v.G.Pal.*, feature better defined characters. Moreover, the fathers of the holy men are offered more extensive portraits, particularly Constantine Palamas, while the mothers are usually described as matching the virtues of their husbands.

II.2.2.3. Childhood years and education

The narrative section on the childhood years and education usually covers the saint's life until his departure from home to embrace monastic life, which often occurred around the age of eighteen.[751] Two of Kokkinos' heroes are an exception to this rule: Palamas left Constantinople for Athos around the age of twenty, while Isidore remained in his parents' house in Thessalonike, working as a *didaskalos* and carrying out an urban hesychast apostolate until his mid-thirties, when he was tonsured by Palamas. Therefore, in this part, I include only the section of the *v.Isid*. that covers Isidore's life prior to his teaching activities.

Kokkinos dwells most extensively on the early years of Germanos (*ca*. 3000 words) and Isidore (*ca*. 2000 words). Palamas' childhood is covered in *ca*. 1400 words, Sabas' in *ca*. 650 words, while Nikodemos' is overlooked altogether, as previously mentioned (see Table 8). An analysis of narrative speed—which considers the length of the account relative to the number of years covered of a hero's life—shows that Kokkinos spends more than twice as many words to cover Germanos' early years (*ca*. 168 words per year) than Palamas' (*ca*. 64 words per year), while Sabas' childhood is presented at a high pace of *ca*. 36 words per year (see Fig. 5). As will be seen, in the *v.Sab*. this section is riddled with commonplaces, most probably due to a lack of information on this period of the holy man's life. On the other hand,

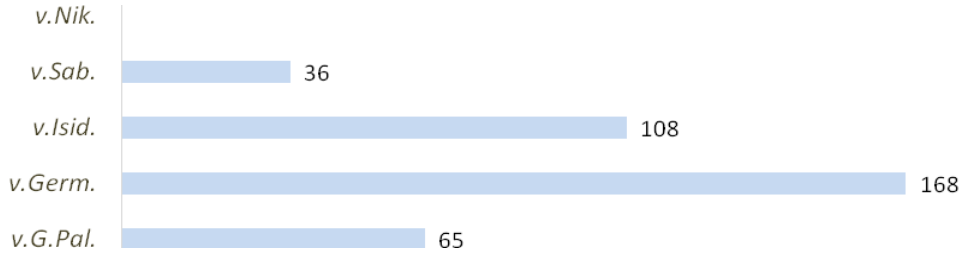
[751] See Talbot, "The adolescent monastic," 83–87.

in the *v.Isid*. and the *v.Germ*. Kokkinos enriches his account with numerous interesting details about the everyday activities, diet, and prayer routine of his heroes, capturing their interaction with their peers and parents.

Table 8. Length of the section on childhood years and education in Kokkinos' *vitae*

Vita	**Number of words**	**% of the *vita***
v.Nik.	–	–
v.Sab.	650	1,30
v.Isid.	2055	6,88
v.Germ.	3027	15,00
v.G.Pal.	1362	2,72

Fig. 5. Narrative speed: childhood years and education (average words per year)



As audiences expected early signs of a saint's future greatness, hagiographers adapted their narrative to meet this horizon of expectation.[752] Kokkinos also weaves numerous signs of the holy men's future greatness and precocious display of virtues. They show exceptional intellectual abilities, are more zealous than their siblings and surpass their parents in virtue. Moreover, they are free from the whims of childhood, show uncorrupted morals, and resist other people's negative influence. Isidore, Germanos, and Gregory lead an ascetic lifestyle from their childhood, and elicit the admiration of parents and teachers alike. In accordance to this hagiographic commonplace, Kokkinos asserts the saints' spiritual pre-eminence in their families. For instance, Isidore and Palamas confirm their status of first-born also in spiritual matters, while Germanos, although the third oldest child, was the first among his siblings with respect to religious zeal. The *topos* of the *puer senex*[753] is employed by Kokkinos in several of his *vitae*, and most extensively in the *v.Germ*, portraying his

[752] Caseau, "Childhood in Byzantine saints' lives," 128.
[753] Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos*, 88–90.

heroes refusing to join their schoolmates or other children in games or other pastimes that usually delight ordinary youth.[754]

Kokkinos portrays Germanos, George by his baptismal name, as "a statue of peace, moderation, and gentleness,"[755] and praises his display of adult qualities both in the midst of his family and among his schoolfellows.[756] He is hailed as "father and *didaskalos*" in matters of the spirit not only to his siblings, but also to his parents and teachers.[757] This reversal of the roles in the parent–child or teacher–student relationship is recurrent in saints' *lives*. Kokkinos employs other further hagiographic commonplaces. Thus, the young Germanos displays "from the very beginning" a level of discipline, reasoning, simplicity, moderation, restraint of tongue, and wisdom beyond his years (*polion phronema*). He does not rejoice like other children in childish games, drinking, banquets, superfluous conversation, and laughter. Instead, he is a diligent and wise student, who works assiduously and silently all day long, and is inclined towards himself and concerned only with God and the love of his neighbour, following Apostle Paul's teaching that "no one should seek their own good, but the good of others" (1 Corinthians 10:24).[758]

However, Kokkinos goes beyond these typical commonplaces of hagiography and contrasts Germanos' tranquillity to the "turmoil" from the classroom where his schoolfellows engage in "unproductive talks, childish plays and laughter"—in which the young habitually rejoice, as Kokkinos comments[759]—and often ridicule him "on

[754] Moffatt, "The Byzantine child," *Social Research* 53.4 (1986): 705–723, at 706. Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 52.
[755] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 3.13–14: εἰρήνης καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ πραότητος ἄγαλμα.
[756] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 4.22–23: πρεσβυτικοῦ τινος τοῦ φρονήματος.
[757] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 3.4–7: καὶ πατὴρ καὶ διδάσκαλος ἔργοις αὐτοῖς τε καὶ πράγμασιν οὐκ ἀδελφῶν, φημί, μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρων αὐτῶν καὶ ξυμπάντων ὁμοῦ παιδευτῶν τε καὶ διδασκάλων.
[758] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 3.7–9, 11–13, 18–20, 34–39; 4. 11–12: Οὐ γὰρ παιδιαῖς ἔχαιρε καὶ δρόμοις καὶ ἅλμασι, πότοις τε καὶ φιλοτησίαις καὶ τραπεζῶν ἀβρότησι ... ἀλλ' 'ἀπὸ γραμμῆς' ὅλος εὐθὺς ἦν εὐταξία τις καὶ σύννοια θαυμαστὴ καὶ ἁπλότης, εὔκαιρός τε σιωπὴ στόματος μετ' ἠρεμίας ψυχῆς καὶ ἤθους ὑποβεβηκότος τε καὶ μετρίου ... Σιωπὴν καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ πάντας ... πρὸς πᾶσαν περιττὴν ὁμιλίαν ἄκρως ἀσκῶν, ἑαυτοῦ μόνου τε καὶ τῶν μαθημάτων δι' ὅλης ἐγίγνετο τῆς ἡμέρας. [...] εἰς ἑαυτὸν νεύων ἦν καὶ Θεοῦ μόνου ... μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πλησίον ἐκ πολλῆς δή τινος τῆς ἀγάπης ἐγίγνετο, Παύλῳ ... χρώμενος, 'μὴ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ζητείτω' τις, λέγοντι, μόνον, 'ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου' ἕκαστος [...] πολιὸν ἐν οὕτως ἀτελεῖ πάνυ καὶ νέᾳ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ βλέπουσι φρόνημα. Cf. Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 52.
[759] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 3.32–34; 4.12–13: τῶν μὲν περὶ τὰ μαθήματα καὶ τὸ λέγειν ἢ γράφειν ὡς εἰκὸς σπουδαζόντων, τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου περὶ λόγους ἀργοὺς καὶ παιδιάς τε καὶ γέλωτας αὖθις ἀσχολουμένων, οἷς δὴ καὶ νεότης προσκεῖσθαι καὶ χαίρειν ἐπὶ πολὺ πέφυκεν […] καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν οὕτω χωρίῳ τε καὶ συλλόγῳ πλήρει θορύβων ἤρεμον πάντῃ καὶ γαλήνης μεστήν.

account of his studious ways."[760] He further describes how his hero is tormented physically by them. He reports that Germanos' "uneducated" and "unbridled" classmates find his restraint as "an occasion for laughter, jokes, and mockery."[761] Often, while Germanos is writing, they strike his hand with a stone so severely that drops of blood stream forth, but, in spite of the pain and humiliation, he endures everything patiently and silently.[762] Kokkinos explains that these acts of aggression are facilitated by the devil, which is angered by the child's virtue.[763] As Kokkinos writes, after looking at his wounded hand, Germanos continued his activity with the same zeal, as if nothing had happened.[764] His patient endurance (*karteria*) and steadiness (*enstasis*) will be later shown as his distinctive traits. As one of the distinctive characteristics of his hagiographic technique, Kokkinos spells the meaning of this anecdote. He underlines—echoing Paul's letter to the Colossians (2:20)—that Germanos was already "dead to the world" and concludes that this story epitomizes the years of studies of his hero, sketching as it were "the lion from his nails" and "the statue from its shadow."[765]

The portrait of the young Isidore is equally permeated with elements pertaining to the *topos* of the *puer senex*. From the very beginning he abstains from lying, foul language, laughter, or any childish games, which, Kokkinos again stresses, as in the *v.Germ.*, are normal for children and, as it were, a "nourishment" (*trophe*) of this age.[766] Instead, similar to other children who playfully imitate adult practices, Isidore passes time imitating his father. He censes, re-enacts the movements his father performs during the liturgy,[767] and sings psalms and holy hymns, "as much as he was able to retain in his memory listening to his father in church." This is fashioned as a sign of Isidore's spiritual inclinations and a harbinger

[760] Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 52.
[761] Kokkinos, *v.Germ.* 4.14–18: Τοῖς γε μὴν ἀπαιδεύτοις … γέλωτός τε καὶ χλεύης καὶ μυκτηρισμῶν ἀφορμὴ κατὰ τοῦ σώφρονος ἦν τὸ ὁρώμενον … καὶ εἰς πληγὰς … ἐτελεύτα τοῖς ἀκολάστοις.
[762] Kokkinos, *v.Germ.* 4.28–30: Πολλάκις γοῦν ἐν τῷ γράφειν καὶ λίθῳ τὴν χεῖρα πληγεὶς ὑπ' ἐνίων, ὡς καὶ ῥανίδας αἵματος ἐκεῖθεν ῥυῆναι. Cf. Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 52.
[763] Kokkinos, *v.Germ.* 4.30–32. As I discuss below, he also explains Nikodemos' deadly attack perpetrated against him by a group of men as a plot of the devil. See Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 6.1–13. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 228.
[764] Kokkinos, *v.Germ.* 4.33–38.
[765] Kokkinos, *v.Germ.* 42–44: 'ἐξ ὀνύχων τὸν λέοντα' καὶ 'τὸν ἀνδριάντα', φασίν, 'ἀπὸ τῆς σκιᾶς.' See *CPG* II.95, 409; Plato, *Republic* 7.514b–515a.
[766] Kokkinos, *v.Isid.* 3.26–28.
[767] Kokkinos, *v.Isid.* 3.32–34.

of his future as a priest and teacher. Kokkinos offers an interesting detail that Isidore lisped or stammered a little when singing psalms and hymns.[768] More interestingly, Isidore's future ecclesiastical office is foreshadowed in another scene in which he makes an early display of spiritual authority. He receives other children with fatherly prayers like a priest and a teacher, blessing them and touching their heads. To enhance the credibility of the scene, Kokkinos adds that the children show genuine reverence and piety towards Isidore.[769]

Kokkinos underlines that Isidore's saintly future was predicted even before his birth, as God protected his mother from any danger during her pregnancy as well as after she gave birth to him.[770] Moreover, he reports that the three-year-old Isidore was miraculously saved from an untimely death due to a life-threatening disease.[771] Kokkinos offers a poignant description of the mother's sorrow and emotional distress, who, convinced that her child's death was imminent, was weeping loudly by his sickbed in the company of other women.[772] However, the young Isidore rises unexpectedly, from sleep, as it were, to the great amazement of his mother and the other women, and he rushes into the church, where—with his faltering tongue—he sings: "O, master, they did bear all kind of tortures in order to see your glory and joyously partake of your light-giving radiance in heaven." This, adds Kokkinos, was "the remedy for his death-bringing disease."[773]

It is clear that Kokkinos fashions this episode as a prediction of Isidore's future ascetic toils and mortification of his body, and hails it as the foretaste of the future life and inheritance the holy man will receive after his demise.[774] The account of Isidore's childhood includes, as shown, a series of early signs of his monastic

[768] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 3.30–32: τὸ μέρη τινὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ὕμνων τε καὶ ψαλμῶν **ὑποψελλιζούσῃ τῇ καλῇ γλώττῃ** συνεχῶς ᾄδειν, ὅσα δηλαδὴ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἀκούων παρακατασχεῖν ἠδυνήθη τῇ μνήμῃ (my emphasis).
[769] Kokkinos, v.*Isid*. 3.34–40. Angelov, "Emperors and patriarchs as ideal children and adolescents," in *Becoming Byzantine*, 85–125, at 115, points out the sixth-century *Life of Patriarch Eutychios* which recounts a story of childhood games in which Eutychios chooses for himself the role of patriarch.
[770] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 3.10–17.
[771] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 4.2–4.
[772] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 4.5–7.
[773] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 4.12–15: […] 'ἵνα τὴν σήν, δέσποτα, δόξαν θεάσωνται καὶ τῆς αἴγλης σου τῆς φωτοδότιδος ἐν οὐρανοῖς τύχωσι φαιδρῶς, ἅπασαν βασάνων ἰδέαν φέρειν ὑπέμειναν.' Καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῆς θανατηφόρου νόσου τὸ φάρμακον […].
[774] Kokkinos. *v.Isid*. 4.18–24. In the posthumous account (*v.Isid*. 74), analysed below, Kokkinos reports the dream vision of a hieromonk describing Isidore's soul ascending to heaven.

vocation and sanctity, which range from his choice of childish pastimes and games, to miraculous protection and cure.

Sabas' early years are covered generically, with praises of his virtues which surpass those of his parents and earn him the respect of teachers and schoolmates alike.[775] Kokkinos also conveys the affection and love of Sabas' parents for their son employing a series of rhetorical questions.[776] One distinctive element of Sabas' portrait is a detail regarding his physical appearance. Kokkinos refers to Sabas' "strength of body, harmony of limbs, and comeliness of outward appearance."[777] Later in the *v.Sab*. Kokkinos mentions again Sabas' physical strength and the "beauty of his body."[778] These details are peculiar to the *v.Sab*., as Kokkinos does not make a habit of dwelling on the physical looks of his heroes to make them 'visible,' as it were, to his audience.

In addition to his heroes' extraordinary virtues as children, Kokkinos also shows their early inclination towards ascetic practices. Isidore adopts the lifestyle of an ascetic with fasting and vigils, which he strives to undertake surreptitiously.[779] Kokkinos extensively praises the greatness of his ascetic toils (all-night vigils, genuflections, and prayers), often employing exclamatory sentences.[780] These details were most likely inserted in order to refute the accusations brought against Isidore by a series of metropolitans at the synod of July 1347. As mentioned in Part I.1, shortly after Isidore's appointment as patriarch, around twenty bishops issued a synodal *tomos* expressing their opposition to his election and accused him of heresy. Among other allegations, they accused Isidore of ignorance and ascetic laxity as one who eats and drinks as he pleases, like a "barbarian," without observing the fasting periods.[781] Kokkinos, however, fashions Isidore as "a true monk even before the

[775] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 5.1–7.
[776] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 5.45–48.
[777] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 5.33–34: σώματος ῥώμη, καὶ μελῶν εὐρυθμία καὶ εἴδους εὐπρέπεια.
[778] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 12.30–31, 20.4–9.
[779] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 7.
[780] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 7.21–31: Ὢ νυκτερινῶν ἀγρυπνιῶν […] Ὢ στάσεων παννύχων καὶ γονάτων κλίσεων […].
[781] *PG* 150, 881C–882A.

[monastic] habit (*schema*) and the *anachoresis*," living "in the middle of the world" an urban hesychastic way of life.[782]

Germanos also undertakes all-night vigils, genuflections, and recitation of psalms. Kokkinos mentions that his hero accomplishes this surreptitiously, while his brother is asleep in the same bedroom. When his father comes up to the room for his prayer routine, as previously mentioned, Germanos would leap straightaway into his bed and pretend to be asleep and snore.[783] Kokkinos compares Germanos to Abel, as he offers the best food to the needy, and lives on an austere diet consisting of a little bread and half-boiled beans cooked with water and salt.[784] His mother, portrayed as loving both her child and the poor (*philopais kai philoptochos*), supports the charitable behaviour of her son and helps him distribute food to the poor.[785] The mother's supportive attitude is skilfully contrasted to that of the father. Kokkinos conveys the latter's emotional reaction to Germanos' refusal to partake in the regular meals of the family. The father is distressed, bitten in the heart, and even overtly rebukes his son, which Kokkinos deems a normal reaction from the part of a parent.[786]

In another picturesque scene, Germanos is shown helping with household chores. One early morning, his father sends him to supervise the labourers of the family vineyard. Kokkinos describes in detail and captures masterfully through Germanos' eyes the workers' distress caused by the physical work and intense noonday heat, as they are sweating abundantly and panting under the scorching rays that strike their heads.[787] Kokkinos also renders Germanos' reaction when he feels pity for the labourers and relieves their burden by giving them a noonday break. While he sits apart, talking to God in *hesychia* and reading from his "book of psalms," they proceed to either cook a meal, take a midday nap, or pick "annoying lice" from their clothes.[788] However, Germanos bears the brunt of his action and is punished severely when his father comes to check on the labourers in the afternoon

[782] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 7.34–48, 8.3–4, 21–23: μοναστὴς ἀληθὴς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἦν […] οὐκ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ μακρᾷ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναχωρήσει καὶ συχναῖς ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τῷ κόσμῳ.
[783] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 6.13–44. Cf. Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 52–53.
[784] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 5.13–36. Cf. Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 52.
[785] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 5.18–22.
[786] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 5.36–46.
[787] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 7.1–12.
[788] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 7.12–24. Cf. Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 53.

and finds them idle. Germanos accepts the punishment with humility and endurance. Running to his mother, he confesses his fault with tears, entreating her "with strong emotion" (*peripatheia*) to intercede for him before his father.[789] Kokkinos calls these preliminary contests of the noble man, which foreshadow his future ascetic toils.[790]

Germanos also shuns the joys of youth and does not take part in the three-day celebrations of his sister's wedding. Kokkinos describes the bustling atmosphere of the feast as filled with sounds of musical instruments, laughter, games, drinking and worldly pleasures.[791] Germanos escapes all this turmoil and seeks the company of ascetics in Thessalonike, where, by divine providence, he encounters the Athonite monk John, who will later become his first spiritual father.[792] Kokkinos describes John as "the great and steadfast pillar of *askesis* and *hesychia* of Athos" who often travelled from the Holy Mountain to Thessalonike to offer spiritual guidance.[793] As Kokkinos underlines, Germanos urges John to accept him as a disciple and take him to Athos. However, the latter appears mindful of Germanos' young age and advises him to return to his parents' house, finish his studies, and go to Athos only when he shows the first signs of a beard.[794]

Kokkinos' interest in the everyday activities of his heroes during their childhood is paralleled and finds reflection, as Talbot already noted, in the artistic production of the period.[795] Byzantine art historians, among whom Carr, Mouriki, and Pitarakis, have pointed out the presence of children playing in Palaiologan church mosaics and frescoes.[796] For instance, in the outer narthex of the Chora monastery (Kariye Camii) in Constantinople, there is a mosaic of the scene of the multiplication of loaves which depicts a group of children "scrambling about on the ground and snatching up what may be identified as knucklebones, nuts, pebbles or, less probably, pieces of bread."[797] The monumental decoration of church interiors in

[789] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 7.24–47.
[790] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 7.47–55.
[791] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 8.1–17.
[792] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 8.17–27.
[793] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 8.27–30: τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ στερρῷ περιτυχὼν τῆς ἀσκήσεως καὶ τῆς ἡσυχίας στύλῳ, Ἰωάννῃ φημὶ τῷ πάνυ, τοῦ Ἄθω […].
[794] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 8.30–49. Cf. Talbot, "The adolescent monastic."
[795] Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 54.
[796] Carr, "The murals of the bema and the naos," in *Asinou across time*, 211–312; Mouriki, "Revival themes with elements of daily life," in *Okeanos*, 458–488; Pitarakis, "The material culture of childhood," in *Becoming Byzantine*, 167–251.
[797] Pitarakis, "The material culture of childhood," 236.

Mistra and Berrhoia also features children's activities.[798] The picturesque details and the depictions of children in Palaiologan scenes most likely reflect, as Mouriki argued, "the humanist tendencies" prevalent among the members of the Constantinopolitan and Thessalonian elite.[799]

As Caseau noted, Byzantine hagiographers frequently pointed out the intelligence and education of the saints they praised.[800] Likewise, with the exception of Nikodemos, Kokkinos offers details about the *paideia* of his heroes who undertook elementary education (*hiera grammata*)—which entailed a preliminary study (which usually lasted for a period of about three or four years) of the divine Scriptures and essentially consisted of reading, writing and spelling—and general education (*enkyklios paideia*).[801] As Table 9 indicates, Kokkinos spends on average *ca*. 850 words on his heroes' education, with values ranging from *ca.* 650 (*v.Sab.*) to *ca*. 950 (*v.Isid*.). In the case of the *v.Sab*., the section on childhood consists almost exclusively of information on the holy man's *paideia*. In the rest of the *vitae*, education makes up *ca*. 30% (*v.Germ*.), 50% (*v.Isid*.), and 65% (*v.G.Pal*.) of the section on childhood.

Table 9. Length of the section on education in Kokkinos' *vitae*

Vita	**Number of words**	**% of the *vita***
v.Nik.	–	–
v.Sab.	650	1.30
v.Isid.	951	3.18
v.Germ.	911	4.51
v.G.Pal.	875	1.75

Kokkinos delineates the important benefits gained from the pursuit of "outside" *paideia*. For instance, he highlights that Sabas acquires it as a support (*synergos*) and assistant (*hyperetes*) for the scrutiny of higher things so that his mind would not be deficient in their knowledge. Kokkinos makes a short aside on the importance of

[798] Mouriki, "Revival themes with elements of daily life," 463.
[799] Mouriki, "Revival themes with elements of daily life," 473.
[800] Caseau, "Childhood in Byzantine saint's lives," 154.
[801] On education in Byzantium, see Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium*; Giannouli, "Education and literary language in Byzantium," in *The Language of Byzantine Learned Literature*, 52–71, esp. 53–65; Markopoulos, "Education," in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, 785–795; Mergiali, *L'enseignement*, 26–29.

"outside" education for grasping the meaning of the Scriptures.[802] A similar, but more extensive commentary is found in the *v.Isid.*, where Kokkinos argues along the same lines for the benefit of "outside" *paideia* in offering "strength and alliance" (*ischys kai symmachia*) in the contemplation of the divine Scriptures. He underlines that Isidore needed to acquire this support (*synergos*) and assistant (*hyperetes*) so that he would not stumble, especially since he would later become "interpreter and herald" of the Scriptures.[803] Although Kokkinos acknowledges throughout the *vitae* the importance of "outer" wisdom and learning as a necessary training ground for his heroes' development, he deems it—in remarkably similar terms to the Church fathers and other contemporary theologians—as a handmaid, preliminary, and subordinate (*parerga*) to theological education.[804]

In the *v.Sab.*, he points out Sabas' remarkable aptitude for study and his desire to be well-read in "outside" wisdom. Sabas completes the *hiera grammata* and the basics of the *enkyklios paideia*, or "little of the *enkyklios*" as Kokkinos puts it, quoting Gregory Nazianzen's *Oration on St. Athanasios of Alexandria*.[805] He studies "the best of the poets," grammar (including syntax), and dedicates much of his time reading a selection of poets and historians from whom he could derive profit (*opheleia*).[806] However, as Kokkinos reports, Sabas was eager to discard anything superfluous and legendary as nonsense and to throw it away "to the ravens."[807] Along similar lines, Kokkinos presents Germanos' aversion towards "the disgrace and falsehood of myths and their great nonsense, as well as the *amours* and

[802] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 5.9–16.
[803] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 5.10–17.
[804] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 7.1–8; 9.32–33. On the relationship between classical *paideia* and hesychasm, see Demetracopoulos, "The reception of Xenophanes' B34;" Congourdeau, "Nicolas Cabasilas," in *Gregorio Palamas e oltre*, 191–210, esp. 195–198; Tsirpanlis, "Byzantine humanism and hesychasm," *The Patristic and Byzantine Review* 12 (1993): 13–23; Sinkewicz, "Christian theology and the renewal of philosophical and scientific studies," 334–351; idem, "The doctrine of the knowledge of God," *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (1982): 181–242; Schirò, "Gregorio Palamas e la scienza profana," in *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos*, vol. 2, 81–96; Meyendorff, *Introduction*, 173–194. See also Bianconi, "La controversia palamitica," "Riflessione su cultura profana," and Cribiore, "Why did Christians compete with pagans for Greek *paideia*?" As Sinkewicz pointed out, hesychasm is not anti-humanist. For instance, in his *Triads* and the *Capita 150*, Palamas does not reject "outside" education, but confers it a secondary place, stressing that it contributes to the sharp-sightedness of the soul.
[805] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 5.7: *ὀλίγα* δέ τινα *τῶν ἐγκυκλίων φιλοσοφήσας*. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 21.6.
[806] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 5.8, 16–20.
[807] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 5.21–23: τὸ μυθῶδες ἅπαν καὶ περιττὸν ὡς κενὴν φλυαρίαν καὶ λόχον ἀτεχνῶς ὄντα ψυχῆς 'ἐς κόρακας' φιλοτίμως ἀπέρριψεν. Cf. *v.Isid*. 9.4–7. On the proverbial expression "to the ravens," see *CPG* I.52, 78, 486, II.146, 380, 421.

undignified weddings of gods."[808] While most *vitae* mention only the intellectual formation of the holy men, in the *v.Sab.* Kokkinos also refers to Sabas' physical training (*somatike gymnasia*) overseen by his father, who, as mentioned, was a member of the military.[809]

Among Kokkinos' heroes, the young Palamas was the only one to enjoy imperial patronage over his education and had "all expenses and allowances (*siteresia*) [covered] from the imperial treasuries and money."[810] Kokkinos underlines that his hero enjoyed the patronage (*prostasia*) of the Theotokos, who helped and guided him throughout his studies.[811] Although he later showed exceptional talent, Palamas faced memorizing problems during the *hiera grammata*. Such problems are common in saints' *lives* and are usually overcome with prayer or miraculous instruction.[812] Kokkinos reports that Palamas overcomes this difficulty to memorize by following a routine—which he performs before applying himself to study—consisting of prayers and three genuflections in front of the icon of the Theotokos. Whenever he skips this practice, he fails to perform in the classroom and is punished by his teachers.[813] Another instance of miraculous instruction is found in the case of Isidore, discussed below (*v.Isid*. 10).

After the *hiera grammata*, Palamas completed the *enkyklios paideia* and excelled in grammar, rhetoric, physics, and logic, all of which were surely meant to prepare him for a successful career in the imperial echelons.[814] To convey his hero's intellectual prowess, which was "eliciting excessive admiration from everyone," Kokkinos reports that Palamas displayed his expertise in Aristotelian logic in a discussion with the *megas logothetes* and polymath Theodore Metochites in the presence of Emperor Andronikos II.[815] Following their discussion, Metochites

[808] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 9.3–5: μύθων αἰσχρότητος καὶ ψευδολογίας αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν μακρῶν ληρημάτων ἐκείνων καὶ προσέτι θεῶν ἔρωτας καὶ γάμους ἀσέμνους μηδαμῶς ἀκούειν καταδεξάμενος. On the role of the classics in Byzantine *paideia*, see Cavallo, "Bisanzio e i classici," in *I Greci*, vol. 3, 593–628; idem, "A Bisanzio: pratiche intellettuali," in *L'autorité du passé*, 325–338.
[809] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 5.53–55.
[810] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 10.24–26: ἀναλωμάτων φημὶ παντοδαπῶν καὶ σιτηρεσίων ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ταμείων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων.
[811] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 10.4–11.
[812] See Kalogeras, "Miracle of learning," *BSl* 64 (2006): 111–124.
[813] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 10.11–21.
[814] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 11.1–5.
[815] Palamas refers to this discussion in his first *logos* against Gregoras 14, ll. 8–17 (PS 4, 242). This possibly served as Kokkinos' source of information for this episode, which he extended and worked into the *v.G.Pal*.

praised Palamas' familiarity with the works of the Stagirite.[816] Kokkinos also presents the reaction of the emperor, who takes pride in Palamas and makes great plans for his future, which are however thwarted by the young man's lack of interest in a position in the court hierarchy:

> [Theodore Metochites] could neither restrain himself nor conceal his wonder, but turning to the emperor he openly said full of marvel: 'Even Aristotle himself, I believe, if he had been seated here in our presence listening to the young man, would have bestowed more than a moderate praise on him […].' Therefore, the emperor took, as it were, pride in the noble young man, and was full of joy imagining great things for him and making plans in this regard. However, that one [that is, Palamas] having his gaze set on the Heavenly Emperor and His Kingdom and the imperishable and ageless senate [of angels], and being completely filled with that purpose and matter, spoke little about the other things, or rather he deemed them not worthy of interest or consideration even for a short time, saying together with the prophet 'You are my part, Lord. I have promised to obey your law' (Psalm 119:57).[817]

Kokkinos presents Palamas as well-versed not only in "outside" education, but also in Christian learning. Thus, in addition to the spiritual instruction arranged by his family, as previously seen, he also enjoyed the guidance of monastic fathers among whom was Theoleptos of Philadelphia.[818] Kokkinos writes that Theoleptos (d. 1322), "the luminary of Philadelphia," was Palamas' spiritual "father and mystagogue" teaching him "holy vigilance" (*nepsis*) and "the noetic prayer."[819] This has been recently questioned by Sinkewicz, who argues that Theoleptos "could not have been the spiritual father of Gregory, since the chronology of their lives does not allow for this."[820] However, Palamas resided in Constantinople until his early 20s, until around 1316, whereas Theoleptos' demise occurred only in 1322.

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[816] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 11.6–17.

[817] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 11.11–15, 18–25: μηδὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ κατασχεῖν μηδὲ κρύψαι δυνηθῆναι τὸ θαῦμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς μετ' ἐκπλήξεως τρέψαντα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, 'Καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης', εἰπεῖν, 'εἰ παρὼν ἀκροατὴς καθίστατο τούτου, ἐπήνεσεν ἂν οὐ μετρίως, ὥς γε ἐγὼ νομίζω.' […] Διὰ ταῦτα, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐγκαλλωπιζόμενος ἦν ὡσανεὶ τῷ γενναίῳ καὶ χαίρων καὶ μεγάλα τινὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ φανταζόμενος ἅμα καὶ βουλευόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος πρὸς τὸν ἄνω βασιλέα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον τὴν ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀγήρω βλέπων ἐκείνην καὶ ὅλος τοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνα σκοποῦ γιγνόμενος καὶ τοῦ πράγματος, βραχύν τινα λόγον ἐποιεῖτο τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοῦ πάντων, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲ φροντίδος οὐδὲ λόγου σχεδὸν ἠξίου κατ' ὀλίγον ἐκεῖνα, 'Μερίς μου εἶ, Κύριε, εἶπα τοῦ φυλάξασθαι τὸν νόμον σου', μετὰ τοῦ προφήτου καὶ αὐτὸς λέγων.

[818] See Constantinides Hero, *Life and Letters of Theoleptos*; Rigo (ed.), *Teolepto di Filadelfia*.

[819] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 12.1–8.

[820] Sinkewicz, "Gregory Palamas," 132.

Kokkinos devotes several pages (more than 2000 words) to present and praise the studies of young Isidore and his subsequent activity as a *didaskalos* in Thessalonike.[821] Isidore also refers to his studies in his testament (*diatheke*) written in February 1350.[822] The extensive attention given to the education of his protagonist in the *v.Isid*. was most likely motivated by Kokkinos' desire to refute and discredit the allegations and fierce criticism of Isidore's education couched in the aforementioned *tomos* of July 1347.[823] Moreover, as Angelov pointed out, given their responsibilities as leaders of their flock, education was an important part of the ideal childhood of patriarchs.[824] Thus, most likely constructing Isidore's legacy, Kokkinos emphasises the education of his hero from a young age, when the young Isidore undertook the *hiera grammata*, as well the study of church music—"the holy and divine songs"—and, as Kokkinos reports, became highly skilled in this discipline.[825]

According to Kokkinos, Isidore started the *enkyklios paideia* only at the relatively late age of sixteen.[826] He presents Isidore's fears and concern about starting at this age, "as it were to plough at harvest time and sow unwisely in thrashing season." However, after praying to God and the Theotokos, the latter appears in a dream vision and dispels Isidore's doubts, urging him to resume his education.[827] Consequently, like "a razor on a whetstone" or "a bird slicing the air," he swiftly undertook the *enkyklios paideia*, which included the study of poetry, rhetoric, and grammar. As Kokkinos notes, the latter included a systematic treatment of words and syntax, as well as determining the etymology and relation between all parts of speech. Finally, Kokkinos emphasizes that, although a late starter, his hero completed the *enkyklios paideia* within three years (it normally took around five to six years) and became, in his turn, a *didaskalos* for the sons of distinguished families in Thessalonike.[828]

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[821] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 5–7, 9–12.
[822] *PG* 152, 1297–1302, esp. 1297. Helfer, "Das Testament," and Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2309.
[823] *PG* 150, 877D–885A, esp. 881CD; Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2281. See Demetrios Kydones, *Letter* 43, ed. Loenertz, *Correspondance*, 77–78. In the *v.Isid*. 56, Kokkinos refers to the opposition Isidore faced at the beginning of his patriarchate.
[824] Angelov, "Emperors and patriarchs as ideal children," 121.
[825] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 5.1–6: […] τὰ ἱερά τε καὶ θεῖα μέλη, πᾶσαν ἁρμονικὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμην καὶ μέθοδον εἰς ἄκρον διεξελθών.
[826] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 5.8. Cf. Angelov, "Emperors and patriarchs as ideal children," 119.
[827] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 5.21–39: […] ἀροτριᾶν ὥσπερ ἐν ἀμητῷ καὶ σπείρειν ἀνοήτως ἐν ἅλωνι […].
[828] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 6.3–15: 'ξυρὸς εἰς ἀκόνην' ἦν, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, ἢ πτηνός τις ἀέρα τέμνων […]. *CPG* I.284, II.123, 549; *v.Isid*. 12.47–49.

II.2.3. Monastic life

Kokkinos spends most of each *vita* covering the different monastic trajectories of his heroes, from their departure from their parents' house to the moment of their death. This section covers the largest part of each saint's life, namely *ca*. 22 years in the case of Nikodemos, *ca*. 47 in the case of Sabas, *ca*. 31 for Isidore, 66 for Germanos, and *ca*. 42 for Palamas.[829] During this time, the holy men assume monastic habit and serve as disciples under the guidance of one or several spiritual fathers, engage in ascetic practices, work miracles, travel and undergo various trials and temptations in their pursuit of the Heavenly Kingdom. As shown in Table 10, the lengthiest accounts are found in the *v.Sab.* (*ca*. 46,000 words) and the *v.G.Pal*. (*ca*. 36,000 words). On average, Kokkinos dedicates around 74% of a *vita* to the monastic years of his heroes, the *v.Nik*. being at the lower end of the distribution with only *ca*. 52%, and the *v.Sab*. at the higher end with *ca*. 92%.

Table 10. Length of the monastic life account in Kokkinos' *vitae*

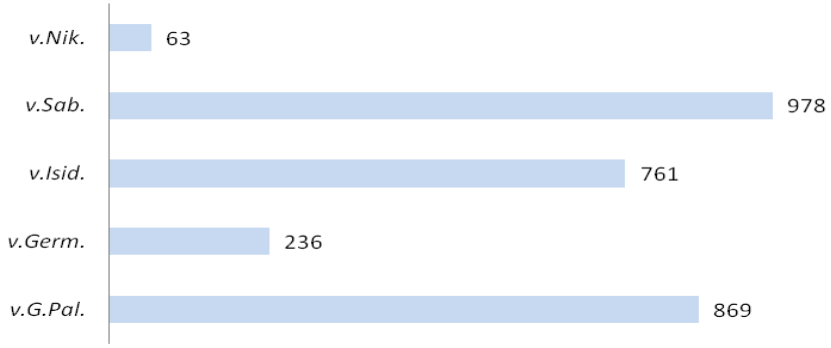
Vita	**Number of words**	**% of the *vita***
v.Nik.	1,393	52,23
v.Sab.	45,950	92,20
v.Isid.	23,587	78,98
v.Germ.	15,557	77,06
v.G.Pal.	36,505	72,82

Looking at narrative speed in each of the five *vitae* (see Fig. 6), one notices large variations. Kokkinos covers on average one year of Sabas' life as a monk in *ca*. 1000 words, whereas the 22 years of Nikodemos' monastic life are covered at the comparatively fast pace of 63 words per year. As will be discussed below, the *v.Sab*. has the most elaborate plot and the highest level of detail, whereas a sizeable part of

[829] If Nikodemos assumed the monastic habit at the age of 18, his monastic life spanned *ca*. 22 years until his death which, according to Kokkinos, occurred around the age of 40 (*v.Nik*. 6.21–22). Sabas entered the monastic life at the age of 18, around 1301, and died after *ca*. 47 years, around 1348. Isidore began his activity as a *didaskalos* in Thessalonike at the age of *ca*. 19 (after finishing the *enkyklios paideia* which he undertook at the age of 16 and completed in 3 years, according to the *v.Isid*. 5) and died 31 years later, in 1350. Although he was tonsured by Palamas around 1335 (and had a monastic career of *ca*. 15 years), Kokkinos underlines that Isidore lived as a monk long before his tonsure. Therefore, I consider that Isidore's monastic life spanned around 31 years. In the case of Germanos, Kokkinos writes that his hero went to Athos at the age of 18 and lived there until his demise at the age of 84, after 66 years of ascetic life (*v.Germ*. 45.5–7). Born in 1296, Palamas went to Athos around the age of 20, and had a monastic career of *ca*. 42 years, until his demise in 1357/9.

the prolixity of the *v.G.Pal*. is accounted for by extensive quotations from Palamas' writings, as well as other authors (*ca*. 7000 words).

Fig. 6. Narrative speed: monastic life (average words per year)



Sabas can boast by far the most complex monastic trajectory. As Kokkinos writes, the holy man revealed to him that he wanted to embrace as much as possible all types of asceticism and leave none unpractised.[830] Accordingly, under Kokkinos' pen, Sabas is presented as practising all types of monasticism: idiorrhythmic,[831] wandering asceticism, holy foolery, eremitic, cenobitic, as well as reclusive. In one of the first episodes of confrontation with the devil (*v.Sab*. 23), the holy man defends his way of life as a holy fool and sums up programmatically his understanding of monasticism:

> Since there are many abodes in the Kingdom of Heaven, the road of piety must be also divided in different pathways which lead there. Thus, it is appropriate for one to pursue this path, for another to walk another path, for a third one [to pursue] several of them, and for a fourth one [to embrace] all of them, if it is possible.[832]

The holy man begins his monastic life as an idiorrhythmic monk on Mount Athos, serving under a spiritual father for seven years (*ca*. 1301–1308). He then spends around twenty years as a vagrant ascetic with spells of holy foolery in Cyprus and in a cave near Thracian Herakleia, long periods of reclusiveness in caves (near the

[830] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 25.9–12: Ἐβούλετο μέντοι κἀκεῖνο, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἡμᾶς ἐδίδασκεν ὕστερον, τὸ διὰ πάσης πολιτειῶν ἂν ἰδέας ἐλθεῖν καὶ μηδέν τι τῶν ὅλων παραλιπεῖν, ὅσον τὸ κατ' αὐτόν, ἀνάσκητόν τε καὶ ἀβασάνιστον.
[831] Talbot, "Idiorrhythmic monasticism," *ODB* 981.
[832] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 23.72–76: Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὸ πολλὰς εἶναι παρὰ τῇ τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείᾳ μονὰς καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας εἰς διαφόρους τινάς, τὰς αὐτόθι φερούσας ἠνάγκασε τέμνεσθαι, τὸν μὲν ταύτην, τὸν δ' ἐκείνην ἀνάγκη μετιέναι πάντως, τὸν δὲ τὰς πλείους, τὸν δὲ τὰς πάσας, εἴπερ οἷόν τε. Cf. Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 229.

River Jordan, the Mar Sabas Monastery, and Herakleia) and in a monastic cell in Constantinople, and short stays at different monasteries in the Holy Land and Mount Sinai (St. Catherine's Monastery, St. John the Baptist) (*ca*. 1308–1328). He later assumes a cenobitic life for fourteen years at Vatopedi (*ca*. 1328–late March 1342) and spends the last six years of his life as a recluse at the Chora Monastery in Constantinople (March 1342–*ca*. 1348).[833] According to Kokkinos, Sabas is the only one of his heroes to have kindled a cult around him while still alive. His long travels are the most action-ridden part of the narrative and include contests with the devil, acts of extreme asceticism and several divine visions.

If Sabas embraces all types of monasticism, Nikodemos spends around twenty years as a wandering ascetic in "desert places and mountains" and towards the end of his life enters the Philokalles Monastery in Thessalonike, during which time he plays the holy fool, pretending to consort with prostitutes.[834] Kokkinos fashions Isidore as an urban hesychast saint who lived as a monk, not "in the desert and withdrawn from men, but in the middle of the world," long before his tonsure.[835] If the four other holy men leave their family and *patris* upon reaching adolescence (or slightly later in the case of Palamas), Isidore remains as *didaskalos* in Thessalonike. However, although he does not rush towards Athos like Sabas, Germanos and Palamas, or desert places like Nikodemos, Isidore still lives an ascetic life in terms of vigilance of the mind (*nepsis*), simplicity and moderation. Kokkinos styles him as reviving the society of Thessalonike through his example of virtue and drawing many people towards an ascetic lifestyle, enjoying a particularly high influence among the upper classes (*v.Isid*. 23). Thus, Kokkinos underlines that Isidore assumed an urban hesychast apostolate in Thessalonike for more than ten years (*ca*. 1325–*ca*. 1335), which he would continue in Constantinople (as bishop-elect of Monembasia, and subsequently as patriarch) offering spiritual guidance, especially to members of the aristocracy, both men and women, as well as imperial figures, such as Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina.

[833] See Appendix 2.
[834] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 2.10–11, 4.1–14.
[835] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 8.21–23: οὐκ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ μακρᾷ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναχωρήσει … ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τῷ κόσμῳ.

Germanos shows the least amount of variation over the course of his monastic life, as he lives as an idiorrhythmic monk on Mount Athos for more than six decades. Portrayed as a humble and obedient disciple, Germanos serves under no less than six spiritual masters and is styled as a model disciple. Kokkinos describes in greater detail the first 10 years of Germanos' monastic life—almost 7000 words and more than 30% of the whole *vita*—spent under the guidance of his first two spiritual fathers, the hieromonks John and Job, in the vicinity of the Docheiariou Monastery and the Great Lavra respectively.[836] At the persistent request of the abbot of the Lavra, he accepts one disciple, Ioannikios. However, even in this case, it is Germanos who serves his disciple, rather than the other way around, since the latter, as Kokkinos reports, was incapacitated in one of his hands.[837] Finally, the section covering Palamas' monastic life follows the major events of his life as monk on Athos and in a *skete* in the vicinity of Berrhoia, abbot of the Esphigmenou Monastery, and later metropolitan of Thessalonike. Kokkinos presents Palamas' involvement in the hesychast debates as defender of Orthodoxy against the anti-hesychasts at length. Moreover, he covers Palamas' imprisonment and Ottoman captivity.[838]

II.2.3.1. Early monastic life

II.2.3.1.1. Departure from home

Kokkinos' heroes leave their *patris* willingly, without being driven by adverse circumstances. Nikodemos, Sabas and Germanos left their families for the pursuit of a monastic life around the age of 18, whereas Palamas left to Athos slightly later around the age of 20. As previously mentioned, Isidore was an exception to this rule, since he remained longer in his parents' house. Kokkinos presents Nikodemos' departure from home succinctly. He mentions that the holy man "reached maturity during the reign of the most pious and celebrated Andronikos" and left behind his native city, "like a second Abraham or Moses," to embark upon the solitary life.[839]

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[836] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 9.16–26.11.
[837] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 28–29.
[838] See Appendix 2.
[839] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 2.5–9: ἤκμασε δὲ βασιλεύοντος τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ ἀοιδίμου Ῥωμαίων ἄνακτος Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ πάνυ … τὸν μονήρη βίον ὑπέρχεται καὶ τὴν ἐνεγκαμένην καταλιπών, ὡς ἄλλος Ἀβραὰμ ἢ Μωσῆς. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 224–225.

Sabas is the only one to stealthily flee to Athos as an adolescent (*ephebos*).[840] Kokkinos sets the stage for his hero's departure describing his strong spiritual inclinations, including the *topos* of being chosen in the womb and called by God to spiritual toils.[841] Kokkinos describes Athos as an arena of *askesis*, "*patris* of monks," and "heavenly Jerusalem," whereas Sabas' entry to the Holy Mountain is compared to Moses' ascent on Mount Sinai.[842] However, Kokkinos stresses that Sabas did not enter in a frightful fire and smoke, like Moses, but in heaven where he saw the assembly of angels and of those that see the face of God.[843] Thus, Kokkinos fashions his hero as a hesychast from the very beginning of his monastic life, pointing out that Sabas' entrance to Athos foreshadows his future experience of seeing God. In a short authorial aside, Kokkinos confesses that he also met Sabas, whom he calls "luminary and guide," on the Holy Mountain, but "envy" (*phthonos*) deprived him of the chance to remain under his guidance until the end, expressing his great distress with the ecphonesis, "Alas, what a loss!"[844]

As instructed by his future spiritual father John, Germanos leaves his parents and "the choir of siblings" only after his beard "bloomed forth," a requirement that made young men eligible to enter a monastic community.[845] His entrance to Athos is styled as an entrance to Paradise, in search of the "tree of life and knowledge" (cf. Genesis 2:8–9). However, unlike Adam, Germanos keeps God's command and eats its fruits at the right time, and thus sees God—who is invisible by nature (*kata physin*)—according to grace (*kata charin*), and becomes himself god (*theos*) through participation (*methexis*) in that grace.[846] Interestingly, Kokkinos offers details on how John welcomed Germanos. Thus, the Athonite hieromonk, living in the vicinity of the Docheiariou Monastery, sends one of his disciples to Karyes to find and bring

[840] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 6.6–8.
[841] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 6.1–12.
[842] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 6.17–22: τὴν πατρίδα τῶν μοναζόντων, τὴν οὐράνιον Ἰερουσαλήμ [...]. On the biblical figure of Moses as a model applied to saints, see Rapp, "Moses in hagiography," in *The Propaganda of Power*, 277–298.
[843] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 6.30–35.
[844] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 6.14–17: […] τὸν φωστῆρα καὶ ὁδηγὸν τοῦτον ἐγνώρισεν, εἰ καὶ τὸ μέχρι τέλους ἐκείνῳ συνεῖναι, φεῦ τῆς ζημίας, ὁ φθόνος ἀφείλετο.
[845] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 8.44–45: ἐψίλωτο καὶ γὰρ εἰσέτι τὸ παράπαν αὐτῷ τὰ τοῦ πώγωνος; 9.10–11: τὸν ἴουλον ἄρτι τότε φέρων ἐξανθοῦντά τε καὶ προκύπτοντα. See Greenfield, "Children in Byzantine monasteries," in *Becoming Byzantine*, 253–282, at 256–259; Talbot, "The adolescent monastic."
[846] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 9.16–28.

Germanos to him. Upon receiving his new disciple gladly with open arms, he places his hands on his head and says the "customary prayer."[847]

Palamas also shows strong early signs of a monastic calling. Therefore, after he convinces everyone in his family to assume the monastic habit, he leaves Constantinople in the pursuit of the spiritual trade (*emporia*).[848] He heads towards Athos accompanied by his two brothers (Makarios and Theodosios)—whose names Kokkinos will mention later in the narrative[849]—and spends the winter on Mount Papikion, briefly introduced as a holy mountain inhabited by monks.[850] Kokkinos covers his sojourn on Papikion in more than 1500 words.[851] This section includes a lengthy passage describing Palamas' encounters with the Bogomils, styled by Kokkinos as "Marcionites" and "Messalians."[852] Kokkinos portrays his hero as a staunch defender of Orthodoxy even from this early stage, reconstructing Palamas' dialogue with the heretics (*v.G.Pal*. 15.10–61). In a reported speech, his hero makes an exegesis of Matthew 6:5–13, arguing that the Lord's Prayer is not the only prayer befitting the Christians, as argued by his opponents, but rather it constitutes a "model" (*typos*) and "canon" (*kanon*) of prayer.[853] Kokkinos further reports that Palamas also spoke about "the mystery of the divine stewardship" and alludes to his hero's homily on the Holy Cross, thus revealing his familiarity with Palamas' writings.[854] Finally, he styles Palamas as a victorious general who withstood and ended the nonsense and wordiness (*glossalgia*) of the "Messalians" and reportedly led their leader and some of them to convert. Kokkinos presents this encounter as preliminary contests and harbingers of Palamas' future fights in the defence of hesychasm.[855] Finally, he reports the attempt of the "Messalians"—styled as "beasts" and a "wolf gaping in vain"[856]—to poison Palamas, which the holy man averted by his gift of clairvoyance (*v.G.Pal*. 16). Although it is uncertain whether Palamas' encounters with the "Messalians" hold a kernel of historical truth or are the work of

[847] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 9.36–42.
[848] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 14.1–13.
[849] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 28.8–11.
[850] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 14.15–19.
[851] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 14.15–17.7.
[852] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 14.29–31.
[853] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 15.22–61.
[854] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 15.62–68. Palamas, *Εἰς τὸν τίμιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν σταυρόν*, PS VI, 132–147.
[855] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 15.68–80.
[856] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 16.2, 8: τῶν θηρῶν ἐκείνων […] ᾽λύκος μάτην χανών᾽. *CPG* I.273, II.121, 510.

Kokkinos' imagination, the function of this narrative unit seems straightforward, namely to stress Palamas' opposition to heresy and refute any potential allegations of "Messalianism" levelled against him.[857]

II.2.3.1.2. Discipline to one's spiritual fathers

With the exception of Nikodemos, Kokkinos' heroes begin their monastic life by serving as disciples under one or more spiritual fathers. Sabas has a single master, whose name (Abraham) is mentioned only later in the *vita* in one of Kokkinos' explanatory digressions,[858] while Isidore and Palamas have two masters. Isidore enjoys the spiritual guidance of the renowned Gregory of Sinai (for a short period of time) and especially of his disciple Gerasimos, while Palamas practises *askesis* under the guidance of Nikodemos (of Athos) and Gregory Drimys. The outlier in this case is Germanos, who serves, as already mentioned, under six spiritual masters: John, Job, Myron, Malachias, Athanasios, and Theodoret.

Interestingly, Kokkinos writes that Sabas has a moment of introspection in which he ponders (*logisamenos*) whom to choose as master (*ca.* 200 words). In fact, throughout the *v.Sab*. Kokkinos fufills the function of an omniscient narrator and probes Sabas' mind, revealing his inner thoughts and feelings more than in the case of his other heroes. This is possibly due to their master–disciple relationship and perhaps to underline his intimate knowledge of Sabas' thoughts.[859] However, in the *v.Germ*., when he reports how a certain monk called Pezos lavishes Germanos with insults (*v.Germ*. 37), Kokkinos expresses ignorance on whether the monk's anger was genuine or if he simply wanted to test Germanos. Through this professed limited knowledge of his character's thoughts, Kokkinos might have sought to strengthen the representation of his account as a truthful (and hence limited) report of an incident from his hero's life. After careful consideration of several spiritual fathers, Sabas chooses an old monk, described as the most notable and unyielding (*anendotos*) with

[857] On the accusation of "Messalianism" of hesychast monks in the context of the fourteenth-century hesychast debates, see Rigo, *Monaci esicasti e monaci bogomili*; "Il Bogomilismo bizantino," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 32 (1996): 627–641; "Il Monte Athos."
[858] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 23.32–33.
[859] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 7.16–35. Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 189–194; *Narrative Discourse Revisited*, 72–78; De Jong, *Narratology and Classics*, 56.

regard to ascetic toils, who had his "ascetic house" in the vicinity of Karyes.[860] The seven years that Sabas spends under his guidance are covered in *ca*. 4300 words (more than 8% of the *v.Sab*.) Kokkinos describes the hardships, including beatings, that his hero endures due to his master's harsh character, and praises Sabas for his obedience (*hypakoe*) and humility (*tapeinosis*), in which he surpasses all the others as if they were "running on foot beside the Lydian chariot."[861]

Palamas is tonsured by his master Nikodemos, who was practising *askesis* close to Vatopedi. Kokkinos offers a biographical sketch of the latter (*ca*. 80 words) mentioning that prior to Athos he was a monk on Mount Auxentios, located opposite Constantinople, east of Chrysopolis.[862] Such biographical sketches, which he inserts in the narrative whenever he introduces the spiritual fathers, relatives, or friends of his heroes, are another distinctive feature of Kokkinos' hagiographic technique. Palamas' two years under Nikodemos' guidance are summarized at a high speed (*ca*. 300 words per year). Kokkinos highlights the ascetic programme, which consists of unceasing prayer, vigils and fasting under the protection of the Theotokos, but leaves out any specifics about the master–disciple relationship.[863] As mentioned, Isidore first enjoys the spiritual guidance of the Athonite monk Gerasimos and, after the latter's demise, that of Gregory of Sinai (*ca*. 4600 words). Interestingly, he is tonsured (by Palamas) relatively late, around the age of 35, although Kokkinos stresses that he was a "true monk" in the world, living under Gerasimos' guidance.[864]

The account of Germanos' years as disciple on Athos takes up close to 40% of the *v.Germ*. (*ca*. 7500 words).[865] This mainly focuses on the ten years he spends under the guidance of John and Job. The former suffers a martyr death for his anti-unionist standpoint, whereas the latter becomes the abbot of the Great Lavra and

[860] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 7.35–40.
[861] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 8.21–22: πεζοὶ «παρὰ λύδιον ἅρμα» πάντες οἱ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου δρόμον βλέποντες ἔδραμον. Cf. *CPG* I.274, II.38, 154.
[862] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 17.10–18. On Mount Auxentios and its monastic communities, see Talbot, "Saintes montagnes à Byzance," in *Le sacré*, 263–275, at 265.
[863] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 17.18–20, 18, 19. This section rather underlines Palamas' devotion to the Theotokos, as well as her alliance (*symmachia*) and protection of him, which Kokkinos endorses with a detailed account of Palamas' waking vision (*hypar*) of John the Evangelist (*v.G.Pal*. 18) and later testimony (rendered in reported speech), which Kokkinos claims to have learned from Dorotheos Blates (*v.G.Pal*. 19).
[864] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 8.3–4, 16.5–6, 18.16–18.
[865] Kokkinos, *v.Germ.* 9–27.

subsequently gives up the hegoumenate and leaves Athos. Kokkinos' account of his heroes' early years as monastics are analysed in more detail below.

Nikodemos' twenty years of vagrant asceticism are described in generic terms and are covered in a little under 500 words, or a fifth of the whole *hypomnema*.[866] Kokkinos focuses on the holy man's exercises: fasting, vigils, mortification of his flesh, and suppression of his passions, which lead to extraordinary spiritual accomplishments (*v.Nik*. 2–3). Nikodemos becomes "well girded with strength by God," "wisely surrounded himself with the cardinal virtues" and "came in the possession of the divine mysteries."[867] While most of the narrative is singulative,[868] there are several generalizing iterations in this section, which express the routine of his *askesis*: he "constantly mortified his flesh with fasting and vigils," "used to train on a daily basis in the law of the Lord," "constantly delighted in God's beauty," used suspension ropes during his all-night vigils, meditated, and contemplated the divine.[869]

II.2.3.1.2.1. Sabas

In the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos presents the scene of Sabas' tonsure, referring to the practice of changing name (*metonomasia*)—"he was called Sabas instead of Stephen"—, and offers a theological exegesis of this practice as a new baptism.[870] Kokkinos praises his hero in a long *apostrophe* (*ca*. 280 words), underlining the harshness of his master for which the "noble" (*gennadas*) Sabas was not prepared since he hailed from a noble family (*v.Sab*. 9). This is followed by an excursus on the relationship between the master and the disciple, in which Sabas is styled as a model disciple who manages to subdue the severity of his master (*v.Sab*. 10). Next, Kokkinos presents three of the holy man's exploits as disciple, which reveal his love for his master. The first scene presents Abraham's failed attempt to ordinate Sabas as priest (*v.Sab*. 11).

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[866] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 2.7–28, 3.
[867] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 2.20, 25–26, 3.1. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 225.
[868] In Genettian terms, "singulative" narrative refers to an equality between the repetitions in the narrative and those in the story, the common case being to narrate once an event that only happened once. See Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 114–115.
[869] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 2.11–26, 3.16, 23. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 225–226.
[870] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 7.45–57: […] Σάβας ὀνομασθεὶς ἀντὶ Στεφάνου […]. See Talbot and McGrath, "Monastic onomastics."

The holy man rejects ordination, according to the common tropes of unworthiness,[871] and runs away secretly, avoiding any contradiction with his master. After looking for him to no avail, the other monks take part in another ordination, scheduled together with that of Sabas. Details of the passage suggest that the community of whom Sabas was a part had an idiorrhythmic way of life, namely, they gathered for the liturgical services, and spent the rest of the time in their own cells.

The second scene shows Sabas' extraordinary physical strength (*v.Sab.* 12). One day, his master sends him together with another fellow monk to bring food and other necessities from the Esphigmenou Monastery. Kokkinos adds in an explanatory aside that it was customary for the hesychast monks living in *hesychia* to receive gifts (*proika*) for their daily needs from the nearby monasteries so that they would not disrupt their prayer and contemplation to acquire them.[872] Kokkinos does not name the monastery, but describes it as the second monastery located on the shore after entering Athos, whose fortified walls and gates are washed by the sea when the north wind blows.[873] He often offers descriptions of the Athonite monasteries or short explanations of their name in the *vitae*, which could suggest he is addressing an audience that is unfamiliar with the respective monasteries. Similarly, the detailed description of Esphigmenou's location seems targeted at an audience that is less knowledgeable about the layout of monasteries on Athos. Kokkinos further explains that Sabas and his companion make their way back from this monastery carrying the load like an animal under the yoke (*hypozygion*), as was the custom (*nomos*) in Athos for those who wanted to bridle their body and vanquish their "badly perishing vanity."[874] This explanation can also indicate that Kokkinos envisaged a broader audience, not necessarily familiar with what he calls the "custom" on Athos. Noticing that his fellow traveller has problems keeping up the pace, Sabas convinces him—in reported speech—to hand over his burden and subsequently his garment, which are weighing him down, and continues to walk as swiftly as before, despite the accumulated weight. The dialogue between the two characters is highly reminiscent of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, which suggests, as already mentioned in Part I.2, that

[871] Cf. Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 141–147.
[872] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 12.4–10.
[873] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*.12.13–15.
[874] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 12.20–22: ὥσπερ δὴ τοῖς ἐκεῖ νόμος, τὸ τοῦ σώματος χαλινοῦν αἱρουμένοις δυσήνιον καὶ προσέτι τὸν κάκιστ' ἀπολούμενον τῦφον κατασπᾶν.

Kokkinos was inspired by the "galleries of monastic portraits" included in this collection. Interestingly, in the codex *Lavras* I 50, the episode has been extended, possibly by the scribe. The additional section develops the plot of the scene further, showing that Sabas ends up carrying even his companion on his back, in addition to the weight already accumulated. Such a turn of the story, showing Sabas' extraordinary physical strength, is characteristic of the style of edifying stories from early Christian literature, in which certain characteristics of the heroes are often presented hyperbolically. Tsames offers this appendage in the *apparatus criticus*.[875]

Kokkinos writes that after seven years under the guidance of his master, Sabas, "the athlete of Christ," having acquired a "load" of virtues, leaves Athos for "higher contests" and "the great Olympic games."[876] He describes the events that led Sabas to abandon Athos and embark on a long pilgrimage to the Holy Land (*v.Sab*. 13). He vividly describes, using biblical imagery, the disastrous effects of the raids of the Catalans—called "the Italians from Sicily"—which turned cities in Thrace and Macedonia into cemeteries, fields of destruction and "cities of bloodshed" (cf. Nahum 3:1, Ezekiel 24:6).[877] Kokkinos presents the concern of Emperor Andronikos II for the fate of the Athonite monks and his wish to save "the choir of those saints" and thus "to also save the empire (*basileia*)."[878] Thus, Andronikos II sends a letter to Athos and urges the monks living in all corners of the Mountain in *hesychia* to take refuge in fortified monasteries or flee to the nearby cities. Kokkinos writes that while some monks decided to carry their work until the end, others listened to the emperor's advice.[879] Given his old age, Sabas' master goes to Thessalonike and settles in a monastery dedicated to the Theotokos, whereas Sabas remains behind in

[875] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 12.
[876] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 13.1–11: […] ἐκάλει δὲ ἄρα πρὸς ἀγῶνας ὑψηλοτέρους αὐτὸν ἡ χάρις καὶ τὰ μεγάλα πείθουσα τρέχειν Ὀλύμπια.
[877] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 13.14: ἐκ Σικελίας ἰόντες Ἰταλοί; *v.Sab*. 13.18: πόλεις αἱμάτων. Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 317, has aptly noted that Kokkinos' description of the raids of the Catalans in Thrace was most likely inspired by a passage found in Thomas Magistros' letter to Joseph, the so-called "philosopher" (PG 145, 432–445), dated to 1308/09. Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 13.13–14, 23–25 (οἱ δ' ἐπὶ κακῇ μοίρᾳ πρὸς συμμαχίαν Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ Σικελίας ἰόντες Ἰταλοί […] Ἀχαιμενίδας … προσλαβόμενοι …, κἀντεῦθεν τὸ θράσος καὶ μανίαν ἐπηυξηκότες) ≈ Magistros, *Letter to Joseph*, 437C–440A (οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ κακῇ μοίρᾳ Ῥωμαίων … ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἰόντες, Ἰταλικὴ δύναμις […] λαβόντες Ἀχαιμενίδας … καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ὕβριν τῷ παρὰ σφῶν θράσει … ἐπηυξηκότες). Tsames' edition of the *v.Sab*. makes no reference to the similarity between the two passages.
[878] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 13.28–29: τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Ἄθω τὸν θαυμαστὸν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔχων καὶ τὸ σῴζεσθαι τὸν χορὸν τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων περὶ πλείστου τιθέμενος, οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ σῴζεσθαι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν.
[879] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 13.12–57.

their abode in order to make the final arrangements and collect their books (*bibloi*) before joining his master in Thessalonike.[880] However, Sabas has conflicting thoughts (*logismoi enantioi*) about what to do next. Kokkinos probes the mind of his hero and presents his moments of introspection and hesitation in detail. Thus, he portrays Sabas as torn between obedience towards his master, which draws him to Thessalonike, and the fear of falling into the spiritual trap of his family and friends' love upon returning to his *patris*.[881] In a completing *analepsis* going back to the time of Sabas' flight from home, Kokkinos presents his hero's departure as a "tragedy" (*tragodia*) for his parents. This flashback reveals the importance of family ties. Kokkinos conveys the parents' lament (*threnos*) and sorrow while they look for Sabas in churches, caves and other places he used to visit. After some time, his father understands that their son has left them for Athos and stops searching, although Kokkinos mentions that their love and longing grew unceasingly.[882]

Interestingly, this is the only *vita* in which Kokkinos underlines his hero's desire to avoid his family at all costs after taking monastic vows. Although monks were expected to withdraw from a personal and emotional connection with their family, Sabas' desire to curtail all interactions could point to the extreme asceticism he will later undertake. On the other hand, Isidore, Germanos and Palamas maintain or make contact with members of their family. While he was under the guidance of his first master, Germanos meets and offers spiritual advice to his family (*v.Germ*. 13–14), and years later his brother Andronikos visits him on Athos (*v.Germ*. 31–32). As mentioned, Palamas goes to Athos together with his brothers (*v.G.Pal*. 14.12–13), attends his mother's funeral in Constantinople, and takes his sisters to Berrhoia, where he was practising *askesis* nearby (v.*G.Pal*. 27). The end of Sabas' indecision is brought about by the news about the raids of the "Achaemenides" (that is, the Ottomans) in Macedonia, who collect "Mysian plunder" with impunity and reach the outskirts of Thessalonike. As the road to his *patris* becomes barred, Sabas is released from the obedience towards his spiritual father. Therefore, he sets out on a journey to the Holy Land (*v.Sab*. 16), which marks the beginning of his wandering asceticism.

[880] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 14.1–13.
[881] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 14.13–21.
[882] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 14.21–47.

II.2.3.1.2.2. Isidore

Kokkinos presents Isidore's activity as a *didaskalos* at length (*ca*. 2000 words) and offers insights into his teaching activity in Thessalonike (*v.Isid*. 9–12). He reports that Isidore uses an innovative teaching method, combining elements of both "outside" and theological education. Unlike other *didaskaloi* of "outside" education from Thessalonike, his hero found inappropriate "to impress, as it were to mould, the souls of the young" with the myths of the Hellenes, foul-language fiction, and marvellous tales.[883] Therefore, the "wise" Isidore replaces some of the classical text models with the "writings and truly golden words" of "our three wise men," namely the Three Hierarchs (Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Nazianzen, and John Chrysostom).[884] Kokkinos extols the Three Hierarchs for their education, presenting them as philosophers, astrologers and rhetoricians, similarly to the more extensive eulogy he offers them in a *logos enkomiastikos* (*BHG* 748), as previously noted.[885] In an *analepsis* to Isidore's years of education, Kokkinos recounts that the hierarchs miraculously appeared to him in dream visions, either together or one at a time, and offered him instruction, which was imprinted in Isidore's mind "as a seal engraved in soft beeswax."[886]

Particularly interesting is the description of Isidore's exigency and tactfulness in his classroom (*syllogos*) (*v.Isid*. 11). Kokkinos offers insights into the atmosphere of a learning setting (*schole, phrontisterion*) in late-Byzantine Thessalonike where boys commonly spoke in a foul language, were insolent, laughed immoderately, and used swear words. However, Isidore does not accept such trespasses and ensures discipline in his classroom either by word or, at times, using the rod. As Kokkinos underlines, many students needed the latter as a second cure (*deutera pharmakeia*) because of their childish mind.[887] He styles Isidore as "the best *didaskalos* and

[883] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 9.4–7: ἀνάξιον ὡς μάλιστα τοῦτο Χριστιανοῖς κρίνων, τὸ μύθοις Ἑλλήνων φημὶ καὶ πλάσμασιν αἰσχρολογίαις τε καὶ τερατολογίαις τισὶν ἀλλοκότοις τὰς τῶν νέων τυποῦν ὡσανεὶ καὶ διαπλάττειν ψυχάς.
[884] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 9.11–30: τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς τρεῖς σοφοὺς τουτουσί … Τούτους ὁ σοφὸς καὶ ῥήτορας καὶ γραμματικοὺς καὶ ποιητὰς ἅμα καὶ φιλοσόφους τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπιστήσας μετὰ τῶν μεγίστων ἐκείνων λόγων καὶ συγγραμμάτων καὶ τῶν χρυσῶν ὄντως ἐπῶν.
[885] *PG* 154, 767A–820D.
[886] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 10.10–11: ὡσανεὶ κηρός τις μαλακὸς τὴν ἐντεθεῖσαν σφραγῖδα. On miraculous instruction, see Kalogeras, "Miracle of learning," 111–124.
[887] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 11.1–8.

guide,"[888] a "model" (*archetypos*) of conduct who cultivates virtue and teaches self-discipline, moderation, and restraint of tongue. Additionally, Kokkinos underlines the hesychastic programme that Isidore teaches his students, such as the singing of Psalms, prayer of the mind, genuflexions during the night, moderation, and compassion for the poor.[889] Thus, Isidore combines classical "outside" education with theological education in a "school of virtue and divine philosophy."[890] Kokkinos also makes a digression on the access of late-antique Christians to classical education (*v.Isid*. 12), writing about "the emperor traitor and persecutor of our faith" who barred Christians from teaching grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy.[891] Kokkinos refers to Emperor Julian the Apostate and his edict on teachers (June 17, 362),[892] most certainly inspired by Gregory Nazianzen's first invective against Julian where he eloquently protested against Julian's "tyranny over learning first and foremost."[893]

Kokkinos also offers a portrait of Isidore as a disciple under his *mystagogos* and guide Gerasimos, disciple of Gregory of Sinai, who lived in one of the monastic settlements of Thessalonike (*v.Isid.* 15–16). For instance, Kokkinos reports that, at the request of his master, Isidore carried on his shoulders food supplies (*epitedeia*) for Gerasimos and the other monks under his guidance through the middle of the city (*v.Isid.* 17). Kokkinos underlines that although Isidore was well-born and a notable citizen of Thessalonike, he undertakes these chores in the open for all to see, becoming a *didaskalos* of virtue for all, especially the aristocracy, although he had not yet donned the monastic habit.[894] In a chiastic structure with *polysyndenton*, Kokkinos styles Isidore as "both the greatest and the most humble" at the same time, "master, and *didaskalos,* and servant (*diakonos*) and slave of all for Christ's sake," as he also does when presenting his miracles, and thus constructing Isidore's legacy.[895] Seeing Isidore's zeal, Gerasimos names him leader (*kathegemon*) and teacher (*didaskalos*) to those under him (*v.Isid*. 18). Kokkinos makes a long *synkrisis* of

[888] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 11.29–30: διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁδηγὸς ἄριστος ἦν.
[889] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 11.9–17.
[890] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 12.37–38.
[891] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 12.1–2: προδότου τε καὶ διώκτου τῆς μεγάλης ἡμῶν πίστεως βασιλέως.
[892] See Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, 83–85.
[893] Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 4.6: τυραννήσας πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς λόγους.
[894] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 17.1–21.
[895] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 17.29–31: ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ μέγιστος καὶ ταπεινότατος ἦν, καὶ κύριος καὶ διδάσκαλος καὶ διάκονος πάντων διὰ Χριστὸν αὖθις καὶ δοῦλος.

Isidore with John the Baptist (*v.Isid*. 19–20)—weaving numerous biblical quotations—styling him "eyewitness, *didaskalos* and herald of the Holy Spirit," not to the Jews, but to the whole world.[896] Upon Gerasimos' demise, Isidore leaves his parents' house and resides with and leads the other monks. Kokkinos styles him as "the disciple Elisha," who inherited his master's [that is, Elijah's] mantle.[897] After a short time spent with the disciples of his former master, Isidore longs for the holy Athos and "the abodes (*skenai*) and cities of monks," which Kokkinos calls "the manifold laboratory (*ergasterion*) of virtue"—similar to what Isidore calls it in his testament—and "appropriate dwelling place of the soul and body of the zealous men."[898]

Isidore therefore departs to Athos, to be initiated in the rites of the divine mysteries of *hesychia* and contemplation and becomes the disciple of Gregory of Sinai at the *skete* of Magoula (*v.Isid*. 22). Kokkinos writes from the perspective *ek prosopou*, as it were, of Gregory of Sinai and reconstructs what he would have reportedly told Isidore. Thus, Gregory gives him an urban hesychast mandate, urging him not to spend time in the desert or mountains, but to live in the world, among monks and laymen, and be a model (*typos*) of moral conduct (*politeia*):

> O, my best friend, I wish that you stay neither in deserts nor in these mountains—for what reason?—, but rather in the world and among those who live there, monks and those married, so that you would be for those and for all a model of the good way of life according to Christ and of all sort of virtue, both keeping silent and speaking.[899]

As Gregory prophesizes, Isidore shortly leaves Athos and returns to the mingling (*epimixia*) and communion (*koinonia*) of men. This was prompted by the raids of the Ottomans (*ca*. 1325) called by Kokkinos "the worst and abominable neighbouring Hunnish tribe—they call them Achaemenides from one of their ancestors."[900] After

[896] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 19.15–17: τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτόπτης καὶ διδάσκαλος καὶ κήρυξ ἐσύστερον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐ τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει τῷ δὲ κόσμῳ παντί.
[897] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 21.4–6. Cf. 2 Kings 2.
[898] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 22.2–5: τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς παντοδαπὸν ἐργαστήριον … τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ σκηνάς τε καὶ πόλεις τῶν μοναζόντων. Isidore, *Diatheke*, *PG* 152, 1298A: τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐργαστήριον.
[899] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 22.33–37: Οὐκ ἐν ἐρήμοις οὐδ' ἐν ὄρεσι τούτοις ἐβουλόμην ἔγωγε τέως, ὦ βέλτιστε, διατρίβειν σε—διατί γάρ; —ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ μᾶλλον καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ ζῶσι, μονάζουσι καὶ κοινωνικοῖς, ἵν' ἐκείνοις ὁμοῦ πᾶσι τύπος εἴης τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν ἀγαθῆς πολιτείας καὶ παντοδαπῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ σιωπῶν δηλαδὴ καὶ φθεγγόμενος.
[900] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 23.2–4: Τοῦ γὰρ κακίστου καὶ μυσαροῦ γείτονος ἔθνους τούτου τοῦ Οὐνικοῦ—Ἀχαιμενίδας αὐτούς φασί τινες ἔκ τινος τῶν ἀρχαίων προγόνων.

reaching Thessalonike, together with Gregory and others of his disciples (among whom the future Patriarch Kallistos), Isidore returns to his former monastic cell. Kokkinos stresses his influence over the people of Thessalonike, who fall "prey" to his virtue and teaching, and many, including members of the aristocracy, assume the monastic habit or live in the world as if above it.[901] Kokkinos covers at a high speed the next ten years of Isidore's life (1325–1335), in which he remained in Thessalonike and carried out an urban hesychastic apostolate. According to Kokkinos, he was a model (*typos*) of conduct and virtue and imparted spiritual instruction as a guide (*hodegos*) and *didaskalos* to all, men and women, poor and rich. The section includes a passage of *ca.* 700 words in which his hero addresses, in reported speech, the people of Thessalonike. Built with biblical quotations, the passage presents Isidore's hesychast teachings, in which he urges people to lead a virtuous life and run away from sin.[902] After ten years, since the teaching of his fellow citizens disrupted his "beloved and wonderful *hesychia*," Isidore makes another sojourn on Athos, where he is "a disciple and servant to all."[903] At the Esphigmenou Monastery he is tonsured and ordained deacon by Palamas (*v.Isid*. 25), at that time superior of the monastery, praised by Kokkinos as "our conspicuous pillar of virtue and Orthodoxy."[904] However, he soon returns to Thessalonike, as his stay on Athos is again interrupted by Turkish raids.

II.2.3.1.2.3. Germanos

Germanos dons the monastic garment shortly after arriving on Athos and lives an idiorrhythmic way of life, residing with his master John for five years near the monastery of the "Archangels," as Kokkinos identifies the Docheiariou Monastery. Kokkinos covers this period in *ca*. 3800 words, at a speed of *ca*. 780 words per year (*v.Germ*. 9–17). This is the slowest-paced section of the *v.Germ*., compared to the fast-paced section on Germanos' childhood (*ca*. 200 words per year) and the average speed for the entire part covering his monastic life (*ca*. 235 words per year).

[901] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 23.19–20: ὅσοι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐν ὀλίγῳ γεγόνασι θήραμα.
[902] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 23.27–101, 24.1–10.
[903] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 24.29–30: μαθητήν τε καὶ ὑπηρέτην καὶ τῶν πάντων σχεδὸν ἐν πᾶσιν ἑαυτὸν ἀποδεικνὺς ἔσχατον.
[904] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 25.9: τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς περιφανῆ τῆς ἀρετῆς τε καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας στῦλον.

Kokkinos first refers to Germanos' tonsure and the practice of *metonomasia* by which his hero relinquishes the baptismal name George, taking up the monastic name Germanos.[905] His portrait as disciple is riddled with commonplaces. For instance, he is presented as the first of John's disciples, surpassing all the others in *askesis*, moderation and obedience, spending his time in vigils and fasting (*v.Germ*. 10). Kokkinos places a particular emphasis on Germanos' swiftness to fulfil his master's commands, making a *synkrisis* with Abba Markos, the disciple of Abba Silvanos. He refers to the source of this comparative material as "the holy words and books of the fathers," namely, the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. As already seen, Kokkinos is familiar with the early Christian literature, excerpts of which are included in *M**. Kokkinos writes that Abba Markos, who was a scribe, was so swift in submitting to his master's call that one time he did not even finish the letter "omicron" he was writing when he heard Silvanos calling. Interestingly, Kokkinos departs from the original version of the story which mentions that the letter was an "omega," possibly following a variant of the story.[906] He may have carefully selected this anecdote since he reports that Germanos also worked as a scribe on Athos.

Kokkinos briefly refers to Germanos' physical appearence mentioning that he had a thin body (*lepton soma*). However, despite his fragile bodily constitution and the fact that he was not accustomed to physical work, since he hailed from an aristocratic background, he undertakes harsh labours for his master. As an example, Kokkinos writes that Germanos travelled often to Vatopedi and fetched on his back a heavy cargo for his master, carrying it up the steep slope of the mountain where his cell was located. Kokkinos mentions that he also travelled up there on one or two occasions (most likely during his sojourn at Vatopedi under Sabas' guidance) and shares, in a short autobiographical aside, his impressions regarding the difficulties of that ascent. He reports that although he rested often, made use of a staff, and did not carry a burden, he found himself short of breath and was sweating abundantly upon completing the ascent.[907] Kokkinos writes that Germanos' feat of physical strength amazed his master and comments that the heavy cargo his hero carried on his

[905] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 9.44–50.
[906] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 10.24–37. For an English translation of this *apophthegma*, see *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, trans. Ward, 145–146.
[907] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 10.46–53.

shoulders was more suitable for a donkey.[908] Germanos' master John is also presented as a man of extraordinary endurance, described in hyperbolic terms with respect to his physical abilities. Kokkinos reports that John is able to cover the distance between his cell and Thessalonike on foot in just one day (*ca*. 80 miles), a journey which, as he explains, can only be done with difficulty at least in three days. Moreover, John is able to sail from Constantinople to Athos by himself in a light boat in just three days (*v.Germ*. 11).

Kokkinos presents Germanos as a canon (*kanon*) and model (*typos*) of moderation and humility. The holy man accompanies John on one of the latter's habitual visits to Vatopedi and offers an example of complete obedience to his master, although he transgresses the monastic rules. At John's request, he reads the Apostle during the Divine Liturgy, although he is not carrying the required scapular. John subsequently explains to the monks, vexed by Germanos' trespassing of the monastic rule, that his disciple obeyed his order (*v.Germ.* 12).

As previously mentioned, if Sabas avoids any contact with his family after leaving for Athos, Germanos has one more encounter. John arranges for the holy man to meet his family in Thessalonike at the monastery of St. John the Baptist (*v.Germ*. 13–14).[909] Kokkinos constructs a dialogue between Germanos and his father, in which the former asks his son's advice on matters related to material possessions, namely what to do about two men who defrauded him of money and an inherited house. In an extensive reply (of *ca*. 470 words), which includes a high concentration of biblical quotations from St. Paul's letters and the Gospels, Germanos advises his father to be detached from ephemeral material possessions.[910]

The next section (*v.Germ.* 15–17) covers John's martyr death together with Gregory, one of his disciples, in the context of the Filioque controversy.[911] The passage is an intricate mesh of present and future temporal references. John foretells their unjust death to Gregory, while they travel together with Germanos to the Xeropotamou Monastery—introduced as the Monastery of the Forty Martyrs [of

[908] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 10.57–62.
[909] Janin, *Grands centres,* 406.
[910] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 14.14–60.
[911] On the Filioque controversy, see Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*; idem, "The Byzantines and the rise of papacy." Kolbaba, "Repercussions of the second council of Lyon (1274)."

Sebaste].[912] Kokkinos offers details on the broader context of John's death and presents him as a defender of Orthodoxy against Latin teaching concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit. He also refers to the unionist policy of the "tyrants," most likely alluding to Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos.[913] When predicting his own death, John also foretells that Germanos will spend the rest of his life at the Great Lavra. Kokkinos reveals in a *prolepsis* that John and Gregory later find their end in Thessalonike, according to the prophecy, murdered during the night by one of John's former disciples styled as "Judas."[914] Thus, in the fifth year of his stay on Athos, Germanos loses his first master and mourns his violent death together with the other disciples.[915]

After John's demise, Germanos—then in his early twenties—takes Job as spiritual father for another five years (*ca*. 1275–*ca*. 1280), covered in *ca*. 3100 words (*v.Germ.* 18–25). Kokkinos assumes that the latter is a familiar figure to his audience and portrays him in generic terms as humble and steadfast in *askesis*.[916] This portrait (*ca*. 250 words) also foreshadows Job's later departure from Athos and end of life in Hellas. Kokkinos reports that Germanos had met Job previously, while still under John's guidance, and was captivated by the "sirens of his words and traits."[917] Germanos thus moves for a short time into the cell of his new master at Karyes, leading an idiorrhythmic way of life. Kokkinos details that Karyes is located in the middle of the Holy Mountain and hosts the leader of Athos, which seems to indicate, as already mentioned, that he is addressing an audience unfamiliar with these places.[918] According to John's prophecy, Germanos and Job soon move into the vicinity of the Great Lavra, in a grotto overlooking the sea dedicated to the Theotokos, where, as Kokkinos reports, numerous ascetics had previously practised *askesis*. This section also includes a brief description of Germanos' way of life and diet, consisting of dry bread, seeds and plants.[919]

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[912] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 15.12–21.
[913] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 16.1–20.
[914] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 16.21–48.
[915] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 17.18–41.
[916] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 18.8–29.
[917] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 18.34–35: εἶλον καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον ἰσχυρῶς αἱ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν ἠθῶν ἐκείνου σειρῆνες.
[918] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 19.1–7.
[919] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 19.8–39.

Germanos is separated from Job when the latter becomes *hegoumenos* of the Great Lavra. Kokkinos shifts the focus of the narrative to Job and pauses extensively on his hegoumenate. He describes Job's hesitation prior to accepting the leadership of the Lavra and underlines the internal dissensions of the Lavriote community. The wealth of detail Kokkinos includes in this section betrays a great familiarity with the Great Lavra, which is unsurprising given that he spent a considerable period of time there, during which he also served as abbot.[920] During Job's hegoumenate, Germanos resides at the grotto where he continues his daily routine consisting of prayers, reading of the Scriptures and his work as a scribe. Kokkinos stresses that his hero did not keep anything he earned from his labour, giving instead all the money to his master or to those in need.[921] He underlines the master–disciple relationship and mentions that Job continues to visit his disciple at the grotto in order to offer him spiritual guidance and serve the Divine Liturgy.[922]

Kokkinos styles Job as a model abbot who guides his flock with love, moderation, clemency, and wisdom. He includes a dialogue between Job and Germanos during one of the former's visits to the grotto in which the latter asks his master why he travels alone and on foot, instead of coming accompanied by other monks and on horseback, as would be customary for the abbot of such great monastery.[923] As one would expect, Job's response showcases his humility and detachment from worldly glory, despite the authority he enjoyed. However, as already mentioned in Part I.1, Job gives up the leadership of the Great Lavra around 1280, due to the difficulties and internal dissension he faced during his hegoumenate (*v.Germ*. 24). Moreover, after a short period of time, due to "badly perishing envy" (*phthonos*), Job departs from Athos and goes to Hellas. Kokkinos dwells on Job's departure, praises him as "the most steadfast pillar of courage and patient endurance," like his biblical namesake, and stresses that Germanos suffers "the second orphanhood" (*orphania*), as it were, being deprived of his "great father, guide

[920] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 20, 21, 24.
[921] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 22.1–15.
[922] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 22.15–26.
[923] Cf. the late tenth-century *typikon* of Emperor John Tzimiskes, edited by Papachryssanthou, *Actes du Prôtaton*, 209–215, English translation by Dennis, "*Tzimiskes*," in *BMFD*, 235–242.

and luminary."[924] The narrative section covering the five years spent by Germanos under Job's spiritual guidance seems particularly focused on the monastic trajectory of the master. In fact, Kokkinos presents him in a detailed portrait, which constitutes one of the most extensive he pens for characters other than his heroes, and adds therefore to the length of the *v.Germ.*

In his late twenties, at the end of the five years spent with Job, Germanos deems himself again disciple of a series of spiritual fathers, out of his great humility. If Kokkinos presents the first two masters at length, as seen, he portrays the next four masters very briefly: a certain Myron, Malachias from Thessaly, abbot of the Lavra and subsequently metropolitan of Thessalonike,[925] Athanasios (Metaxopoulos), superior of the Lavra, and Theodoretos, described as aged both in years and virtue.[926] Moreover, if Kokkinos previously offered temporal markers, pointing out that Germanos served John and Job for five years each, he does not indicate how long his hero spends under his next spiritual fathers, most likely more than a decade. While the first ten years of Germanos' monastic life are covered in *ca*. 7000 words, that is, 35% of the *vita* (*v.Germ*. 9–25), the undefined period he spends under the four masters is covered in under 600 words (*v.Germ*. 26–27), at a much faster pace than the previous ten years. The section lacks any specifics of the master–disciple relationship, most likely due to a lack of information. Kokkinos adds generically that these masters do not teach Germanos anything unknown to him, and are instead "admired and envied by others for being [his] fathers and teachers."[927] "Like the wise theologian" (Gregory Nazianzen) in his *Oration on St. Athanasios of Alexandria*, Kokkinos enumerates a series of virtues Germanos strives to imitate and store in himself from these spiritual fathers, such as gentleness, endurance in ascetic toils, zeal, simplicity, and love of poverty.[928]

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[924] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 25.8–12: τὸν γενναῖον Ἰώβ, τὸν τῆς ἀνδρίας καὶ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καρτερικώτατον στῦλον μετὰ τὸν ὁμώνυμόν φημι καὶ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνον, τῷ δὲ θείῳ Γερμανῷ δευτέραν ὡσπερεὶ τὴν ὀρφανίαν ἐπαγαγόντος τῇ στερήσει τοῦ μεγάλου πατρὸς καὶ ὁδηγοῦ καὶ φωστῆρος.
[925] Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2228. Preiser-Kapeller, *Der Episkopat*, 444; Rautman, "Metropolitan succession," 152–153.
[926] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 26.13–23.
[927] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 26.27–28: ὅσον ἑαυτοὺς περιβλέπτους καὶ ζηλωτούς τινας ἀποδεικνύντες τοῖς ἄλλοις τῷ γ' ἐκείνου πατέρες καὶ καθηγηταὶ χρηματίσαι.
[928] Kokkinos, *v.*Germ. 27.9–25; Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 21.4, 9.

II.2.3.1.2.4. Palamas

Palamas spends three years under Nikodemos' guidance in the vicinity of Vatopedi (*v.G.Pal*. 17.7, 18–19). Kokkinos covers this period at a high speed in *ca.* 600 words. The focal point of this section is Palamas' wakeful vision (*hypar*) of John the Evangelist, enlivened by a fast paced dialogue between the two. John inquires why Palamas summons the Theotokos with the words, "shine upon my darkness" and reassures him of her support, not only "now, in the present, but also in the future."[929] As Kokkinos points out, Palamas later reveals this vision to his friend Dorotheos Blates. Finally, Kokkinos renders Palamas' words in reported speech, as it were, his hero's *ipsissima verba*, recounting how he used to pray to the Theotokos during his childhood (*v.G.Pal*. 19.7–18).

Following the death of his spiritual father, Palamas spends the next three years at the Great Lavra (*v.G.Pal*. 20–21), a period summarized at a relatively high pace (*ca*. 150 words per year). Kokkinos notes that Palamas receives duties in the refectory and the choir, and praises his virtues. He also describes Palamas' ascetic toils, which included all-night vigils for three months, which he undertook, as it were, without a body (*asarkos*). However, Palamas does not reach the extreme *askesis* found in the *v.Sab*. As Kokkinos mentions, his hero reserved a little time for sleep in the afternoons, so that he would not suffer irreparable damage in his brain (*v.G.Pal*. 21.7–9). This explanation displays Kokkinos' medical knowledge, which will be highlighted in Part III.1 where I analyse his accounts of healing miracles in which he often includes detailed descriptions of the diseases healed by his saintly heroes.

After three years spent at the Great Lavra, Kokkinos reports that Palamas moved to the *skete* of Glossia, where he spends two years among the anachorites led by Gregory Drymis, whom Kokkinos portrays in a biographical sketch and calls "my friend and fellow combatant."[930] The short section covering the stay at Glossia (*ca.* 600 words) is a general praise of Palamas' virtues, and includes an aside on the love of God and neighbour, built with scriptural quotations from St. Paul's letters (*v.G.Pal*. 22–23).

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[929] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 18.16–17, 27–28: 'Φώτισόν μου τὸ σκότος, φώτισόν μου τὸ σκότος.' … 'Καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν, κἀν τῷ παρόντι … κἂν τῷ μέλλοντι.'
[930] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 23.9–10: Γρηγόριος ὁ προρρηθείς μοι συναγωνιστὴς ἐξεῖπε καὶ φίλος.

II.2.3.2. Later monastic trajectory

Kokkinos' heroes pursue widely different monastic trajectories later in their lives. Nikodemos assumes a cenobitic way of life at the Philokalles Monastery, after his years of wandering asceticism; Sabas embarks on the most complex and difficult course of monastic life of the five holy men; Germanos remains on Athos, in the grotto dedicated to the Theotokos in the vicinity of the Great Lavra and becomes in his turn the master of a young monk; and Palamas and Isidore hold prestigious ecclesiastical offices—the former becomes superior of Esphigmenou for a short time and is subsequently appointed as metropolitan of Thessalonike, while the latter is elected bishop of Monembasia and later patriarch of Constantinople—and become actively involved in the hesychast combats, as will be discussed below.

II.2.3.2.1. Nikodemos

Kokkinos writes that Nikodemos enters Philokalles "towards the end of his life"—a hint at his premature death—out of a desire to practise obedience (*hypotage*).[931] Although he shows submission to the abbot to an extent that elicits the astonishment of his fellow monks, he engages in scandalous activities that clash on the surface with his monastic vocation, namely conversing with prostitutes. Kokkinos does not include any particulars about Nikodemos' encounters with prostitutes, apart from mentioning that he "pretended to participate in boisterous revelry," while secretly offering them food to keep them from defiling their beds, and was found "reclining in the midst of the prostitutes" before his death.[932] This affront to decent behaviour, interpreted in scholarship as an act of holy foolery,[933] earns him criticism and he is even thrown out of the monastery on several occasions by the superior. However, Kokkinos does not use any term denoting holy foolery anywhere in the *vita*, such as "*salos*," "*moros*," or "*moria*" (the last two are employed in the *v.Sab*.). He only mentions that Nikodemos "chose to be considered and called *anathema* (cf. Romans

[931] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 4.1–4. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 226.
[932] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 4.11–14: πόρναις ἀεὶ διαλεγόμενος καὶ κώμοις διὰ παντὸς ἐνδιατρίβειν ὑποκρινόμενος; 6.11–12: Ἀμέλει καὶ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκεῖσε ταύταις ἀνακείμενον εὑρόντες. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 226, 228.
[933] Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 223–225; Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 57–59.

9:3) by everyone for the sake of his fellow men."[934] Ivanov describes Nikodemos as a "negligent and dissolute monk, whose provocative behaviour the author adjusted to the hagiographic canon."[935] Kokkinos indeed extensively justifies his hero's conduct, as someone who strives to suffer all hardship with adamantine will, in secret, "so that he might thereby attain greater glory from God,"[936] and compares him to Old Testament figures, especially Joseph the Patriarch, as well as Abel, Abraham, Moses, Joshua and Elijah. In the *v.Sab.*, Kokkinos explains Sabas' acts of holy foolery to an even greater extent, as discussed below.

The account of Nikodemos' life at Philokalles includes only one distinctive scene, which shows one of his feats of asceticism. Upon being sent to check on the fields from one of the estates of the monastery, he reportedly spends almost an entire week working while completely abstaining from food (*v.Nik.* 5). Kokkinos explains that his hero used to give all the food he received from the monastery to the poor or to prostitutes "as payment, to keep them from defiling their beds,"[937] striving to imitate "the divine Vitalios, whose lifestyle and character he loved excessively."[938] Vitalios was a hermit from Gaza whose story is narrated in the *Life* of St. John the Merciful, patriarch of Alexandria (610–619).[939] According to this *Life* (*BHG* 886d), at the age of sixty Vitalios went to Alexandria where he worked as a day-labourer; at the end of each day he gave his wage to harlots in order to save them from fornication. In this way, as the story goes, many prostitutes abandoned their profession and married or became hermits. Vitalios' activity and behaviour caused him to suffer insults and physical assaults, which ultimately led to his death. Kokkinos artfully introduces the comparison with Vitalios, whose story was most likely familiar to his audience, fleshing out the life of his hero, as well as announcing, as it were, Nikodemos' similar end of life narrated in the next chapter.

[934] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 5.14–16: ἀνάθεμα παρὰ πάντων κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον καὶ οὗτος ἑλόμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμογενῶν καὶ λογίζεσθαι καὶ καλεῖσθαι. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 227.
[935] Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 225.
[936] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 2.12–14: καὶ τοῦτο μάλα κρυπτῶς ποιεῖν σπουδάζων ὡς οἷόν τε ἐφαίνετο, ἵνα κἀν τούτῳ μείζονος εὐκλείας πρὸς Θεοῦ τύχοι. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 225.
[937] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 5.6–9: μισθοῦ ταῦτα χάριν ἐκείναις ἀποδιδούς, εἰ μόνον … τὴν κοίτην αὐτῶν ἀρρύπωτον διατηρήσαιεν. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 227.
[938] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 5.9–12: Καὶ τοῦτο προθύμως ποιῶν ὁ καλλίνικος ἐφαίνετο διὰ παντὸς μιμητὴς κἀν τούτῳ τοῦ θείου Βιταλίου σπεύδων ὀφθῆναι, οὗ τὸν βίον ἐκτόπως ἐφίλει καὶ τοὺς τρόπους. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 227 (translation slightly modified).
[939] See *Léontios de Néapolis*, ch. 38 (Festugière, 387–391).

Kokkinos' familiarity with this *Life* is also evidenced in the *v.Germ*. where he compares Germanos to John the Merciful.[940]

II.2.3.2.2. Sabas

The account of Sabas' monastic life following his departure from Athos can be roughly divided into three large sections: 1) the twenty-year travels, which include periods of wandering asceticism in Cyprus, travels and sojourn in the Holy Land, Mount Sinai, and Constantinople; 2) life at Vatopedi; and 3) the last six years of his life spent in the capital. The text follows Sabas' progression of achievements in the ascetic life and *hesychia*, and is organized chronologically, with multiple *analepses* and *prolepses*, most of them going to the time Kokkinos and Sabas spent together at Vatopedi.

Sabas travelled mostly outside Byzantine borders, in territories under Latin (Cyprus, Athens) and Muslim rule (Patmos, the Holy Land). Before recounting the course of his travels, Kokkinos brings the narrative to a halt for a quite extensive metanarrative digression (*ca.* 230 words), in which he reflects on the difficulties of narration, as he did in the *prooimion* of the *vita*. He expresses his hesitation and inability to narrate the rest of the events, due to their greatness—in keeping with the *topos* of *rerum magnitudo*. However, with Sabas' help, he resolves to make the life of his hero known to all, to the best of his ability (*v.Sab*. 15).

Sabas' travel itinerary, based on Kokkinos' indications, is shown in Table 11, which lists each location he visited and the amount of time he spent there. After passing through the islands of Lemnos, Lesbos, Chios, Ephesus and Patmos, a journey summarized briefly in *ca*. 130 words,[941] Sabas reaches Cyprus. He spends there *ca*. 1 or 2 years, presented by Kokkinos at length in more than 8000 words or *ca*. 16% of the *vita*.[942] This is, in fact, the period of Sabas' life covered most extensively. Kokkinos first reports that his hero offered a prayer to God, after reaching the island. The text of the prayer—most likely the addition of a later scribe—is only transmitted in *Lavras* I 50, and features in Tsames' *apparatus*

[940] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 39.52–57.
[941] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 16.23–34, 17.1–2.
[942] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 17–29.

criticus.[943] Kokkinos describes Sabas' wanderings on the island and his extreme asceticism. He gives up his clothes and, as it were someone without a body (*asarkos*) and immaterial (*aulos*),[944] travels from one place to another or retires to secluded places to contemplate God. Kokkinos inserts a digression on almsgiving in which he extols people who offer alms to those hiding their need (*v.Sab*. 17.38–58). Using common tropes of asceticism, Kokkinos reports that Sabas subsists on a meagre diet of plants, eating every three or four days, or even once a week. Moreover, he endures the violence of the elements: rains, snowstorms, pungent winds, the cold, and the scorching sun, which produce severe pain (*v.Sab*. 17.58–75). Kokkinos styles Sabas as "superhuman" and deems him superior to John the Baptist and the prophet Elijah (*v.Sab*. 18).

Table 11. Sabas' travel itinerary in Kokkinos' *v.Sab*.

	Place	**Duration**	**Tsames**		**Place**	**Duration**	**Tsames**
1	Vatopedi	*ca*. 1308	16–17	16	St. John the Baptist Monastery	n/s	48–49
2	Lemnos	not specified (n/s)		17	Jerusalem	n/s	50
3	Lesbos			18	Damascus	n/s	51
4	Chios			19	Antioch (Syria)	n/s	
5	Ephesus			20	Crete	2 yr	52
6	Patmos			21	Euripos	2 yr	53
7	Cyprus	1 yr	17–29	22	Peloponnesos	2 yr	
8	Jerusalem	n/s	30	23	Athens	n/s	
9	River Jordan	n/s	31	24	Patras	1.5 yr	
10	Jerusalem	n/s		25	Tenedos	n/s	
11	Sinai	2 yr	31–32	26	Thracian Chersonesos	n/s	
12	Jerusalem	n/s	32	27	Thracian Herakleia	n/s	53–54
13	River Jordan	3 yr	32–36	28	Constantinople	n/s	54–57
14	Jordan desert	3(+1?) yr	37–41	29	Vatopedi	*ca.* 1328	57
15	Mar Saba Monastery	3 yr	41–48				

In Cyprus, "Christ's athlete" takes up a vow of complete silence and pretends to be a fool for Christ's sake (*moros*). Kokkinos thoroughly explains his actions and emphasizes their feigned nature: "he pretended the [holy] foolery (*moria*), he who was overflowing with wisdom more than any other man."[945] Moreover, Kokkinos indicates that some people understood Sabas' contrived actions and could glean the

[943] Tsames, *Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἅγιοι*, 189–190.
[944] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 17.13–14; cf. the *v.Sab*. 52.16–17.
[945] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 19.4–5: μωρίαν δῆθεν ὑποκρινόμενος ὁ τῆς ἀληθινῆς σοφίας εἴπερ τις ἔμπλεως.

fact that his mind was sound and "concealing in the clay jar the treasure of the [Holy] Spirit."[946] In his analysis of Sabas' holy foolery, Ivanov points out that "the rudeness of his antics" is reserved in comparison to that of previous holy fools.[947] Although present in the *v.Sab*., the element of provocation which characterizes holy foolery is quite subdued. Moreover, Ivanov remarks that Kokkinos' hero lacks a certain spontaneity and charisma, and sees holy foolery just as one form of *askesis* among many others and not necessarily the best.[948] The first of Sabas' acts of holy foolery takes place in an unspecified city of Cyprus, where he throws himself in a pit of foul-smelling mud and worms in order to alienate the carnal desires of a woman—styled by Kokkinos as "a little woman" (*gynaion*)—who admired the beauty of his body. In the evening, he comes out of the pit, covered in mud and foul odour, so that his body would not be a cause of temptation anymore (*v.Sab*. 20.1–35). Kokkinos offers an exegesis of this episode as a ploy of the devil and presents it as an example (*deigma*) of Sabas' care to ensure spiritual benefit for people (*v.Sab*. 20.36–48). His next trials are also presented as machinations of the devil. In fact, Kokkinos presents several encounters with the devil and offers considerable space to demonology in the *v.Sab*.

Sabas also comes in contact with a local wealthy Latin ("*Italos*") who suspects him of espionage and has him beaten nearly to death (*v.Sab*. 21). As this scene is revealing of Kokkinos' representations of the Latins in his *vitae*, it will be discussed in Part III.3. After recovering from this first brush with death, the holy man retreats for a short time in the desert to converse with God, then resumes his wandering throughout Cyprus. The devil, however, plans another attack and raises an "irrational mob" against Sabas, who beat and mock him without provocation (*v.Sab*. 22). Kokkinos fashions the mob similarly to the one that attacks the house of Nicholas of Monembasia (*v.Isid*. 42) and describes it using an enumeration with *asyndeton*, writing that "no one from the mob, no man, no woman, no child, no adolescent" refrained from maltreating Sabas.[949] They call him mere trash, an impostor, a fool, a frenzied man, the worst omen, and the insult of their city,

[946] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 19.14–15: κρύπτων ἐν ὀστρακίνῳ σκεύει τὸν θησαυρὸν τὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. Cf. 2 Cor. 4:7.
[947] Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 230.
[948] Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 232.
[949] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 22.24–25: τοῦ πλήθους οὐδείς, οὐκ ἀνήρ, οὐ γυνή, οὐ παιδίον, οὐκ ἔφηβος.

showering him with invectives: "Let him be stricken! Stone him! Let him be quickly driven away! Let him go away in mountains, deserts, and pits!"[950]

These two fights are followed by the first direct confrontation with the devil, who launches a spiritual attack on Sabas (*v.Sab*. 23). Kokkinos includes an extensive dialogue between the two (more than 1000 words) in which the devil questions Sabas' way of life, suggesting that it is not in line with the forefathers and has only been successfully pursued by one or two people, most likely referring to the holy fools Symeon and Andrew. Ivanov calls the devil's temptation the "first detailed argument in repudiation of holy foolery as a form of asceticism."[951] Sabas, however, defends the path he has chosen for himself, refutes the devil's lure to slacken his asceticism and return to his previous way of life, and self-identifies as a fool for Christ's sake. Later in the *vita*, Kokkinos claims that Sabas revealed to him his desire to espouse all forms of ascetic conduct (*politeiai*), leaving none unpractised.[952]

Sabas endures a second brush with death when he chances to enter an unnamed monastery of Latin monks, who beat him even more savagely than the aforementioned Latin, a section (*v.Sab*. 24–26) which will be analysed in Part III.3. The account of this trial is interrupted by a *prolepsis* in which Kokkinos recounts what Sabas later told him about his "mad love for martyrdom." Kokkinos fashions himself as Sabas' friend, to whom the latter explains—in reported speech—that he would shed his blood for Christ, showing him his cupped right hand, an image reminiscent of Symeon Metaphrastes' tenth-century *vita* of Stephen the Younger (*BHG* 1667).[953] Moreover, this aside includes Sabas' explanation of the importance of silence and *nepsis* as prerequisites for assuming the "path" (*hodos*) of holy foolery.[954] Returning to the scene of Sabas' encounter with the Latin monks, Kokkinos presents his miraculous healing through a sudden outpouring of light and

[950] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 22.28–31: "Ὁ λῆρος, ὁ πλάνος, ὁ μωρός, ὁ τὰς φρένας παράκοπος, ὁ κάκιστος ἡμῖν οἰωνός· ἡ κοινὴ τῆς πόλεως λύμη, τυπτέσθω, λιθολευστείσθω, τῶν ὁρίων ἡμῶν ὅτι τάχος ἀπεληλάσθω που, εἰς ὄρη καὶ ἐρημίας καὶ βάραθρα!"
[951] Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 228.
[952] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 25.9–12: Ἐβούλετο μέντοι κἀκεῖνο, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἡμᾶς ἐδίδασκεν ὕστερον, τὸ διὰ πάσης πολιτειῶν ἂν ἰδέας ἐλθεῖν καὶ μηδέν τι τῶν ὅλων παραλιπεῖν, ὅσον τὸ κατ' αὐτόν, ἀνάσκητόν τε καὶ ἀβασάνιστον. Cf. the *v.Sab*. 23.72–76.
[953] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 24.58–67: καθάπερ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἐμοὶ δεδήλωκεν ὕστερον … τὴν δεξιὰν ἐκεῖνος ὑποκοιλάνας … "μανικόν τινα τρέφω τὸν πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ μάρτυρας ἔρωτα." Cf. Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita* of Stephen, 1091–1094.
[954] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 25.14–30.

radiance, which gives him a foretaste of the future inheritance and divine grace.[955] This is the first of several healings by divine intervention, which fill the *v.Sab*. with light imagery. As will be seen in Part III.1, Sabas is more often a beneficiary of miraculous healings, than the one who brings them about. Although Kokkinos makes it seem like Sabas' contests with the devil have ended after this confrontation, as will be shown below, his greatest contests are still to follow.

The final part of the narrative section covering Sabas' wandering in Cyprus presents the emergence of his cult and one of his miracles of nature. Sabas ceases his wanderings and remains for a short time in the house of a man, who offers him his garden as a place appropriate for *hesychia*, like the Shunammite woman did for Elijah (cf. 2 Kings 4:8). At the fervent entreaties of the man, Sabas breaks his vow of silence and reveals his name, turning him into a loud herald who helps spread Sabas' fame in Cyprus.[956] Interestingly, Kokkinos writes that Sabas kindled a cult around him during his lifetime. Thus, the people of Cyprus call him "the great ascetic Sabas, like the wonderful saints of old, the immense joy of the souls, the swiftest physician of the sick, and the manifold consolation (*paraklesis*) of those distressed,"[957] and touch his hands, feet, and clothes for blessing. Kokkinos reports that they are delivered from sickness only by touching and looking at the holy man, or simply by calling his name. Kokkinos underlines that even the Cypriot aristocracy run to Sabas and ask for his help, touch his feet, kiss his hands, and offer him money. As one would expect, Sabas refuses all the gifts and gives them instead pebbles and dust, since he has nothing else to offer.[958]

Kokkinos traces further the geographical spread of Sabas' fame to Byzantium, the Aegean, Thessalonike and Constantinople (*v.Sab*. 28). However, Sabas rejects this fame and flees Cyprus for the Holy Land. His travels in the Holy Land and Mount Sinai make up the most sizeable part of the narrative, more than 12,000 words or a quarter of the *vita* (*v.Sab*. 30–49). Congourdeau briefly discusses Sabas' travels through the Holy Land, as presented by Kokkinos, focusing on the

[955] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 26.1–28.
[956] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 26.33–61, 27.1–27.
[957] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 27.33–36: "ὁ μέγας ἐν ἀσκηταῖς Σάβας, ὁ τῶν πάλαι θαυμαζομένων ἁγίων ὁμότροπος, ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄρρητος εὐφροσύνη, τῶν ἀσθενούντων ὁ ταχύτατος ἰατρός, ἡ ποικίλη τῶν λυπουμένων παράκλησις."
[958] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 27.28–57.

accuracy of the geographical details included in the account, as well as Sabas' encounters with the local people.[959] Noticeably absent in this section is a *laudatio* of Jerusalem. Kokkinos focuses instead on capturing Sabas' actions. Upon reaching Jerusalem, the holy man first visits Christ's tomb and offers a prayer—in reported speech (*ca*. 150 words)—which dwells on the mystery of Christ's Incarnation (similarly to Kokkinos' programmatic *Logos* on All Saints) and adds to the prolixity of the *vita*.[960] Kokkinos offers touching details on how his hero hugs the earth and the stones as if they were Christ's feet. His gesture is compared to that of mad lovers who embrace the clothes and objects of the people they miss, as a sign of their affection.[961] After tracing Christ's footsteps to the River Jordan, and after a short visit of the monastic abodes and caves in the Jordan desert, Sabas sets out on a twenty-day journey to Mount Sinai in the company of a Muslim ("*Ismaelites*") (*v.Sab*. 31). The account of their travel to Sinai is discussed in Part III.3. At Sinai, Sabas joins the monastic community (St. Catherine's Monastery) for a period of two years (*v.Sab*. 32), which Kokkinos summarizes in less than 100 words, offering no details on Sabas' cenobitic life there, except that he acquired virtues like "an industrious bee."[962]

After returning to Jerusalem, styled as "the mother of Christ's mysteries,"[963] Sabas retires as a recluse (*aproitos*) to a cave in the vicinity of the Jordan, where he dedicates himself to unceasing prayer and contemplation of the divine (*v.Sab.* 32–36). As Talbot notes, hermits favoured caves as places of refuge due to the combined benefits of protection from the elements and an inaccessible location, which fended off pilgrims, disciples and other people who disturbed their peace.[964] Sabas experiences in this cave one of the fiercest confrontations with the devil, which Talbot calls "one of the most developed narratives of the spiritual enlightenment of a solitary cave-dweller."[965] Before narrating the battle scene, Kokkinos makes a theological aside (*ca*. 300 words), using biblical and patristic arguments regarding fear of God, the cornerstone of any bodily and spiritual virtue, and the first step on a

[959] Congourdeau, "La Terre Sainte," 121–133.
[960] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 30.15–29.
[961] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 30.40–45.
[962] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 32.9: καθάπερ τις φιλεργὸς μέλισσα.
[963] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 32.10–11: τὴν τῶν Χριστοῦ μυστηρίων μητέρα.
[964] Talbot, "Caves, demons, and holy men," in *Le saint, le moine*, 707–718, at 708.
[965] Talbot, "Caves, demons, and holy men," 714.

ladder of perfection, which culminates with a vision of God, not only in the age to come, but also during life on earth.[966]

To interrupt Sabas' *hesychia*, one night the devil takes the form of a serpent to wage a fierce physical war against him (*v.Sab.* 33). Kokkinos describes the physical confrontation that ensues and likens the devil's tactics to flies that swarm on the wounds, as the bodily condition of the holy man is weakened as a result of his continued fasting and hardships. On the other hand, he compares Sabas to a furnace that chases the enemy as if mosquitoes, flies and insects.[967] The devil first takes on a frightful appearance and rocks the cave—tactics which Kokkinos calls childish bogies that do not scare the lion (Sabas)—, and engages next in direct attack, striking the holy man repeatedly and knocking him to the ground.[968] After a fierce battle, Sabas prevails using the Lord's name, but is left sorely wounded and half-dead. However, Kokkinos stresses that his hero is rewarded for his battle by receiving already "the deification of human nature" and the "foretaste of the future inheritance."[969] Most importantly, at the end of his trial with the devil, Sabas has his first all-night vision of Christ's glory and beauty, described using a vocabulary of light and its cognates (*v.Sab*. 34–36).

After spending three years as a recluse, Sabas crosses the Jordan and goes into what Kokkinos calls the inaccessible and interior desert.[970] Kokkinos makes a *synkrisis* of his hero with St. Mary of Egypt.[971] During this time, Sabas undertakes a feat of extreme *askesis*, in which he goes for fifty days without food or a drop of water, and experiences a second vision of Christ. Sabas returns closer to the Jordan three years later, in the parts described as more forgiving (*v.Sab*. 37–39).

Following a dramatic encounter with two Muslims ("*Arabes*") (*v.Sab*. 40), to be analysed in Part III.3, Sabas enters the monastery of his namesake, Mar Sabas, where he lives again as a recluse (*aproitos*) and has his fiercest encounter with the devil (*v.Sab.* 41–48). Prior to the account of Sabas' final confrontation with the devil,

[966] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 32.24–51.
[967] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 33.14–17.
[968] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 33.17–38.
[969] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 33.97–100: τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως θέωσιν εἰς ἀμοιβὴν ἤδη λαμβάνει, τὸ προοίμιον … τῆς μελλούσης κληρονομίας.
[970] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 37.8–9: τὴν ἐνδοτάτω καὶ πᾶσιν ἄβατον ἔρημον εἴσεισιν.
[971] Congourdeau, "La Terre Sainte," 127, suggests that Kokkinos used the *vita* of St. Mary of Egypt as inspiration for this section of the narrative.

Kokkinos draws the attention of his audience in an *apostrophe*. He urges them to pay attention to the holy man's next trial, which he calls the culmination (*kephalaion*) of his struggles.[972] Interestingly, this is the only instance in the five *vitae* in which Kokkinos specifically indicates the climatic point of the account. For instance, towards the end of the *v.Germ*., Kokkinos states that he cannot "award the first prize" to any of the good things accomplished by Germanos, underlining that he has made a selection of his hero's deeds.[973]

After several failed attempts, presented metaphorically using the proverbial expressions "writing on water," "combing the clouds" and "shooting with a bow at the sky,"[974] Kokkinos writes that the devil "throws the last anchor," preparing for one last confrontation with Sabas.[975] This is presented using military vocabulary: the devil lines up its phalanx for battle and leads it like a general; they first shake the grotto with an uproar and question Sabas why he wages war against them. As the holy man offers no answer, praying instead to God and considering their uproar like the "babbling of children,"[976] the devil pounces on him as if one, and throws him head on into a chasm. However, Sabas reaches the bottom unharmed, held by the hands of an angel, as in Luke 4:10 (*v.Sab.* 42). Sabas then spends forty days in rapture and divine contemplation, unmoved and unbent like a statue (*v.Sab*. 43–45).

After forty days of rapture, the monks of the Mar Sabas discover Sabas and carry him to his grotto, where he spends another two years, continuing his divine contemplation (*v.Sab.* 46–47). He spends the first year lying on one side and the second on a chair, having forgotten his condition altogether out of his love for God. Kokkinos urges his audience not to doubt Sabas' extraordinary achievements and explains them as the work of God's grace that poured abundantly upon the holy man.[977] Finally, Kokkinos alludes to the polemical context surrounding hesychasm

[972] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 41.37–39: Ἀλλ' ἄθρει μοι πάλην ἑτέραν ἀγωνιστοῦ· ἥκει καὶ γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἤδη πρὸς αὐτὸ τῶν παλαισμάτων φημὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ κεφάλαιον.
[973] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 39.8–9: ὡς μηδ' εὐχερῶς ἔχειν ἡμᾶς ᾧτινι τῶν ἐκείνου καλῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τέως παρασχεῖν τὰ πρωτεῖα.
[974] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 42.2–3: 'καθ' ὑδάτων ἐδόκει γράφειν', ἢ 'ξαίνειν νεφέλας', ἢ 'τοξεύειν τὸν οὐρανόν.' *CPG* I.46, 267, II.27.
[975] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 42.7–8: 'τὴν ἐσχάτην', ὅ φασιν, 'ἄγκυραν.' *CPG* I.256.
[976] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 42.30: ψελλίσματα παίδων.
[977] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 47.38–71.

and rebukes those who do not believe the words of the forefathers and who stand outside the right faith.[978]

Sabas embraces cenobitic life again after three years of living in the grotto as an "angel in flesh" (*ensarkos angelos*). He enters for an unspecified period of time as a novice in the Monastery of St. John the Baptist, near the River Jordan (*v.Sab*. 48–49). This period is covered in more detail than Sabas' former episode of cenobitic life at Mount Sinai (*ca*. 1300 words). Kokkinos reports that the monks of the monastery receive the holy man, falling at his feet, kissing his hands and wiping their faces with his garments, as if they were holy. Moreover, they praise his perfection and call him "the best of teachers," and "a second Moses."[979] At the monastery, Sabas is entrusted with care of the church. This relatively short narrative section also includes a miracle of nature, which shows his power over animals (*v.Sab*. 49). This miracle will be discussed in Part III.1.

After presenting his sojourn in the Holy Land, Kokkinos covers in *ca*. 2300 words Sabas' journey back to Athos, which spans more than seven years (*v.Sab*. 50–54). This section has noticeably fewer theological asides. Sabas first travels to Jerusalem, where numerous people, including Muslims, revere him. Kokkinos also refers to his hero's encounter with a Muslim leader (*v.Sab*. 50), to be discussed in Part III.3. Sabas follows next the road to Damascus and Syrian Antioch, performing a resurrection on the way (*v.Sab*. 51.12–38). This miracle, analysed in Part III.1, is one of the few *thaumata* that Kokkinos includes in the *v.Sab*. After reaching Damascus and Syrian Antioch, Sabas embarks on a ship bound for Constantinople. His ship is, however, detoured by a strong wind and reaches Crete, where he remains for two years, wandering through mountains and ravines (*v.Sab*. 52). Kokkinos describes him again as "one without body" (*asarkos*) and "immaterial" (*aulos*), as he previously did while covering his hero's sojourn in Cyprus. The particularity of Sabas' stay in Crete is that he reportedly did not sit, nor did lie down to sleep. Kokkinos includes Sabas' testimony—in reported speech—who describes this period as the greatest trial of his life, during which his feet swelled up like pillars.[980] Kokkinos reportedly learned these details from Sabas' disciple, whom he repeatedly

[978] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 47.72–86.
[979] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 48.60–61: ὁ τῶν διδασκάλων ἄριστος … ὁ καθάπερ ἄλλος Μωσῆς.
[980] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 52.39–49.

endorses throughout the *v.Sab*. as a trustworthy witness of Sabas' life.[981] Moreover, as mentioned, Kokkinos drew inspiration for describing Sabas' asceticism from early Christian literature, especially the *Philotheos Historia*, the *Historia Lausiaca*, and the *Apophthegmata Patrum*.

The next *ca*. five years of Sabas' life are covered cursorily in *ca*. 300 words. Kokkinos follows his hero's travels through Euripos—where he spends another two years leading the same lifestyle as in Crete—, Peloponnesos, Athens, Patras, Tenedos and Thracian Chersonesos (*v.Sab.* 53.1–28). Kokkinos mentions that Sabas also reaches "our Herakleia," which suggests, as I argued above, that he composed the *v.Sab.* when he was metropolitan of the city. The holy man spends some time as a recluse in a grotto in the vicinity of Herakleia, the third and last instance in which he lives in a grotto (the previous two were near the River Jordan and at Mar Sabas). If Kokkinos does not describe the previous two grottos, he stresses the complete silence of this particular one. Moreover, he offers a short description of a large-scale icon of Christ found in the church of the grotto, pointing out the exquisite depiction of Christ's face. He would describe this icon later in his *Logos historikos*.[982] During this period, Kokkinos reports that Sabas again displays outbursts of holy foolery (*moria*) in order to evade worldly glory.[983]

Upon reaching Constantinople, Sabas enters St. Diomedes Monastery, located in the vicinity of the Golden Gate, where he practises *askesis* and *hesychia* as a recluse.[984] The central scene of this narrative section is Sabas' encounter with members of the Constantinopolitan senate (*v.Sab.* 55–56). He brings upon himself suspicions of unorthodoxy by refusing to meet the emperor (Andronikos II) and the patriarch (Isaiah). Therefore, members of the senate inquire into Sabas' Orthodoxy. As in the case of his encounter with the wealthy Latin in Cyprus, Sabas' vow of silence prevents him from offering answers, making him liable to punishment. However, he expresses himself through gestures. Kokkinos reports that his hero kisses the feet, hands, faces and even the eyes of the men who are questioning him; he takes their hands and places them on his head as if asking for blessing; finally, he

[981] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 52.49–54.
[982] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 53.41–51; *Logos historikos* 4.42–44.
[983] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 53.28–56; 54.1–10.
[984] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 54–57. On the monastery, see Janin, *Églises CP*, 95–97; Nesbitt, "The Monastery of Diomedes," in *Byzantine Religious Culture*, 339–345.

makes a written confession of faith (*homologia*), and expresses his reverence for both *ekklesia* and *basileia*.[985] Kokkinos captures the powerful effect of Sabas' written confession on the members of the senate, who prostrate before him, kiss his hands, mouth, eyes, and limbs.[986] Moreover, Kokkinos stresses that Sabas' Orthodoxy is also confirmed through divine grace, which pours over those present. Following this event, Sabas is recognized and praised by everyone, and especially his fellow citizens, old friends and acquaintances from Thessalonike, whom Kokkinos describes metaphorically as "hunting dogs" that trace the holy man, as it were, paparazzi avant la lettre.[987] He includes a monologue of the crowd as a collective actor, calling Sabas "the delight of our *patris* and the fame of our people," and praising him as a miracle-maker and physician, renowned not only in Jerusalem and Palestine, but also in Syria.[988]

The fame and praise he attracts in the capital make Sabas secretly flee the city and return to Athos, where he joins Vatopedi as an apprentice. After twenty years of silence, he finally gives up his vow. He spends *ca*. 14 years at the monastery (*ca*. 1328–March 1342), covered in *ca*. 7000 words, that is to say *ca*. 13% of the *vita* (*v.Sab*. 58–66). Kokkinos presents his hero's daily programme in detail, revealing his intimate knowledge of cenobitic life at the monastery. He mentions that Sabas divides his time between three chores, namely, looking after the church, the refectory, and the sick. As discussed above, in this section Kokkinos rhetorically constructs and conveys his close friendship with the holy man from the moment of their first encounter at Vatopedi.[989] He also fashions himself as the leader of a group (*choros*) of disciples that benefitted from Sabas' teachings.

During this time, Sabas rejects ordination as priest for a second time. However, unlike his previous escape from ordination, Kokkinos includes in this scene a long explanation of the reasons of his hero. The main one, his fear of losing his *hesychia*, is commonly brought up by monks in such circumstances.[990] To argue his case, Sabas offers a parable, the first embedded narrative or story-within-a-story

[985] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 56.12–20.
[986] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 56.21–30.
[987] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 57.13: θηρατικοὶ κύνες.
[988] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 57.18: ἡ κοινὴ τῆς πατρίδος ἡδονή, τὸ τοῦ γένους κλέος.
[989] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 59.9–11.
[990] Cf. Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 141–147.

included by Kokkinos in the *v.Sab*. Thus, Sabas tells the edifiying story of the shrub, which accepts the leadership of the trees, after the grapevine, the fig tree, and all the other fruit-bearing trees decline this honour, so they can enjoy their fruits.[991] In reported speech, Sabas draws a parallel between his case and that of the fruit-bearing trees, but also explains that holding office is not a sign of barrenness, praising the high calling and duty of priesthood using quotations from the Scriptures.[992]

The rest of the section presents two episodes from the life of the monastic community of Vatopedi. In the first, a monk who wanted to become Sabas' disciple devises a trap to test his obedience and humility. He therefore persuades the abbot to berate Sabas in front of the flock gathered in the refectory. Kokkinos describes Sabas' reaction during this staged drama and records his body language: instead of justifying himself, he slightly bows his head, lowers his gaze to the ground and stands still, turning inwards towards himself, as if he were attending the celebration of the Eucharistic mysteries. These movements are recorded through the eyes of the disciple, who is watching the scene unfold with great curiosity. After the abbot finishes his critique, Sabas replies with humility, aware of the plot of his disciple, and reveals his love and humility, embracing and kissing the abbot's feet.[993]

On another occasion, the *hegoumenos* is deeply angered by the disturbance created by a few monks in the refectory and berates them harshly during the meal. As a consequence, some monks judge him for this anger and harsh words. Sabas' inquisitive disciple does not understand the abbot's behaviour and therefore asks his master to explain what had occurred. Sabas then reveals to him the vision he had during the abbot's speech, which constitutes Kokkinos' finely crafted allegory of the benefits of monastic obedience. Sabas recounts that he saw two angels of light distributing marvellous gifts of rare fruits, Indian and Italian pastries, other delightful food, as well as roses, violas, and other sweet smelling flowers, as well as incense, from golden baskets to the monks who bore the superior's reprimand with humility and patience. While the obedient monks were rewarded by the angels, the other monks unknowingly tossed away their gifts. Moreover, Kokkinos stresses that the richness of the gifts imparted was commensurate with the harshness of the abbot's

[991] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 61.33–45.
[992] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 61.46–65.
[993] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 62–63.

criticism. Following Sabas' explanation, the disciple decides to remain by his side and serve him until the end of his life.[994]

Sabas is also drawn into the tumult of the confusion and disorder brought by the civil war. Kokkinos describes how his hero becomes part of the Athonite embassy sent to Constantinople on 23 March 1342 to plead for the end of the conflict. Sabas accepts to join the embassy after arduous requests, but predicts its failure. This is the only case of an internal actorial *prolepsis* in the *v.Sab*., which takes the form of an ominous prophecy. In terms of specific temporal markers, the account of Sabas' participation in the Athonite embassy is one of the best documented episodes in the *v.Sab*.[995] Kokkinos mentions that the embassy leaves Athos six months after the start of the civil war, on the 23rd of March—which Kokkinos calls "Dystros," using the Macedonian name—and the sea voyage lasts for three days. As Sabas predicts, the Athonite plea for peace was unsuccessful, which Kokkinos describes using the proverbial expressions "to shoot with a bow at the sky" and "to weave ropes of sand."[996] Kokkinos follows this with a commentary on the political situation, in which he describes the civil war as a "common shipwreck and utter destruction of the inhabited world" (*oikoumene*).[997]

Sabas remains in the capital and retires to a cell at the Chora Monastery for the last six years of his life (1342–1348).[998] He lives as a recluse (*aproitos*), practising *askesis* and praying for the restoration of peace. During this time, his cell becomes a magnet for people. Kokkinos mentions that Sabas receives at some point visitors from Thessalonike, from whom he inquires about the disorder brought by the Zealot revolt in their *patris*. Before continuing the account, Kokkinos makes an explanatory *analepsis*, which goes back ten years into the story to *ca*. 1336, when Sabas was at Vatopedi (*v.Sab.* 70). At that time, Andrew Palaiologos, who would later become the leader of the Zealot revolt, travelled to Vatopedi and asked to see the holy man. Kokkinos portrays him as completely unworthy to see Sabas because of the malice and savagery hiding in his soul. Although the *hegoumenos* interceded

[994] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 64–66.
[995] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 67–69.
[996] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 68.26–28: 'εἰς οὐρανὸν γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς ἐδόκουν τοξεύειν,' ἢ τὸ 'ἐξ ἄμμου πλέκειν σχοινίον.' *CPG* II.114, 229; Kokkinos, *Antirrhetikos* 1.628.
[997] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 69.12–13: τὸ κοινὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ναυάγιον καὶ τὴν πανωλεθρίαν.
[998] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 70–82.

on Andrew's behalf, Sabas staunchly refused to receive him and urged the abbot to throw him out of the monastery. Back in the present story time, as Kokkinos reports, Sabas reveals to the people from Thessalonike that he refused to meet Andrew because he had foreseen the crimes the latter would commit in his *patris* and he asks them to relate this message to Andrew. Kokkinos' deep opposition to the Zealot revolt surfaces again, as it did in his *laudatio* of Thessalonike at the beginning of the *v.Sab*. Thus, he describes Andrew in a powerful image as a bloodthirsty and untamed beast that eats the flesh of his kinsmen and drinks their blood greedily like a dog, spreads poison out of his mouth and nostrils and is girded with a serpent.[999]

The following narrative section includes an excursus on Akindynos and an account of Sabas' vision of Akindynos' condemnation, the second embedded narrative of the *v.Sab.*[1000] Kokkinos first inserts a long invective against Barlaam, Akindynos, and Patriarch Kalekas, referring to political and ecclesiastical disorder.[1001] If so far in the *v.Sab.* Kokkinos styled his hero as a hesychast saint, who espoused the hesychastic way of life, with unceasing prayers and visions of the divine, he also fashions him towards the end of the *vita* as a defender of hesychasm. Thus, he places him among the "guardians of Orthodoxy" and likens him to Saints Peter of Alexandria and Alexander of Constantinople, who fought against Arius. Sabas' vision is presented as a divine sign and is also referred to in the *v.G.Pal.*[1002]

Kokkinos further presents Sabas' refusal of ordination as patriarch of Constantinople. This long narrative section covers the encounter between the holy man and the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos.[1003] The latter is offered a detailed portrait, which will be analysed in Part III.2. Prior to the account of the holy man's death, Kokkinos offers him a final praise. This includes an example of Sabas' love for his neighbour, recounting his care for a sick man, whom he tended night and day for four months, in an *analepsis*.[1004]

Arguably Kokkinos' hagiographic masterpiece, the *v.Sab.* displays a complex narrative structure. Fig. 7 shows the length of each narrative section. In addition to

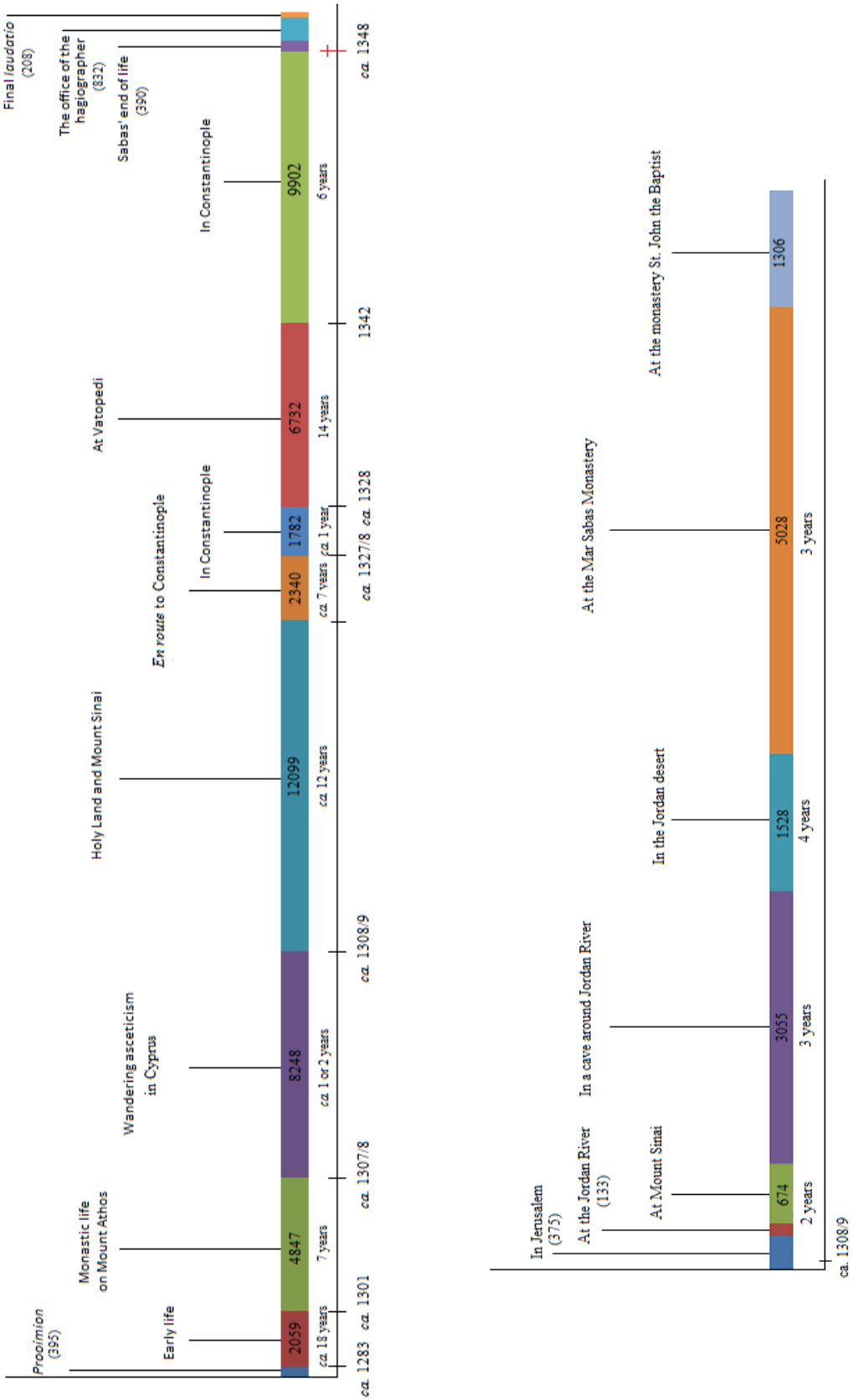
[999] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 71.32–41.
[1000] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 73.
[1001] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 72.
[1002] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 72.54: τοῖς τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας προβόλοις; *v.G.Pal*. 75.14–22.
[1003] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 74–78.
[1004] Kokkinos, *v.Sab.* 79–82.

the lively and touching account of Sabas' numerous trials, including spectacular descriptions of his near-death experiences, the sophistication of the *vita* can be seen in the extensive and finely crafted dialogues, frequent anachronies and authorial interventions, such as Kokkinos' *psogos* against the Zealot revolt. The account follows Sabas' progression of achievements in the ascetic life and *hesychia,* as he experiences all types of monasticism.

A look at the variations in narrative speed across the account of Sabas' monastic life (see Fig. 8) reveals interesting insights. Kokkinos seems to cover most extensively the one or two years of his hero's stay in Cyprus. As seen, this section includes detailed descriptions of Sabas' wandering asceticism, acts of holy foolery, encounters with Latins, and the emergence of his cult in Cyprus. Moreover, Fig. 8 reveals what seems to be a clear pattern of alternation between faster and slower paced sections. Through this technique Kokkinos indicates the relative importance of the different sections and breaks the monotony of a constant pace. The latter function is especially relevant in the case of the *v.Sab.* given its prolixity.

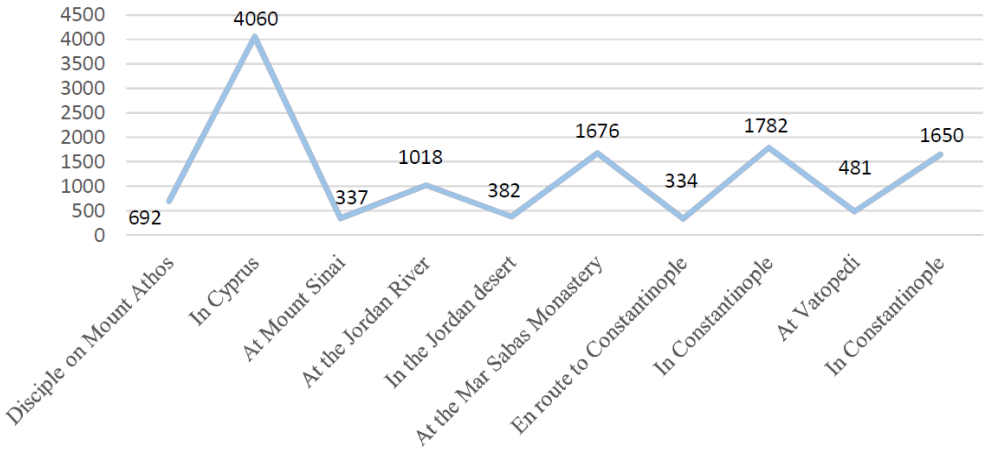
The study of time in the *v.Sab.* shows that Kokkinos occasionally disrupts the chronological flow to provide narrative back story or offer Sabas' insights (gathered at a later time) on certain events (see Fig. 9). Kokkinos also has a strong authorial presence and pauses the narrative quite often to offer comments. As previously discussed, in the *v.Nik.* his interventions are mainly confined to occasional exclamations. In the *v.Sab*., however, his statements are more diverse, including numerous *apostrophes* both to the saint and to his audience, statements on the importance of the narrative act, the veracity and length of the account, as well as excursuses on theological subjects, such as the vision of God, hesychast theology, fear of God, the stewardship of salvation, miracles, or humility.

Fig. 7. Narrative structure of the *v.Sab.* and Sabas' travels in the Holy Land



Kokkinos shows great concern for displaying his narrative as a truthful account of Sabas' life. This occurs by explicitly stating his sources (different witnesses, most often Sabas' faithful disciple) or giving voice to the holy man himself. As seen, there are several passages in which Kokkinos reports excerpts from what Sabas allegedly confided to him, presumably during the time they spent at Vatopedi. In other cases, the verbatim passages come from discussions and explanations allegedly offered by Sabas to his disciple.

Fig. 8. Variations in narrative speed: Sabas' monastic life

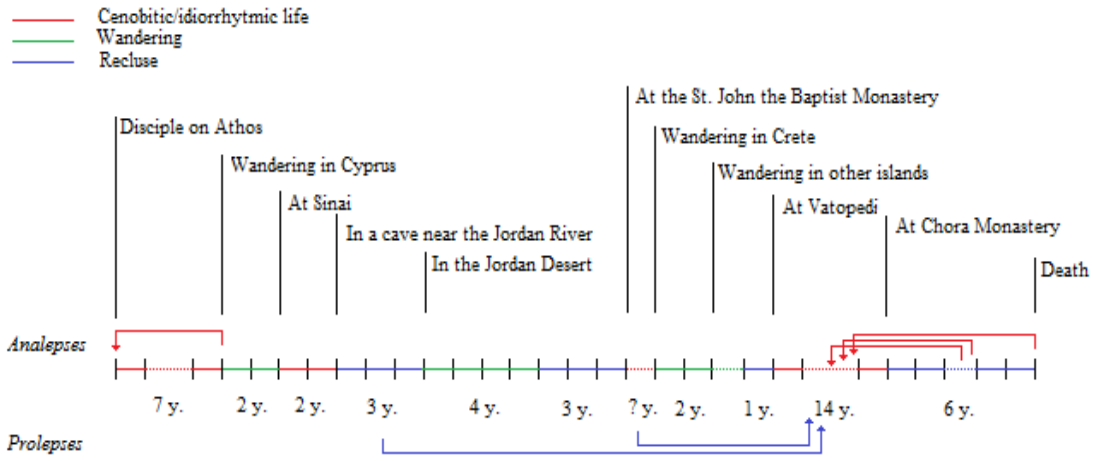


Although saints are widely considered one-dimensional characters who do not develop throughout their *vita*, it seems that, to a certain extent, this does not apply to Sabas. Kokkinos offers insights into his youthful vacillations, between the duty of obedience towards his master and fear of being derailed from his monastic pursuits by his parents' love. Later, Sabas turns into a steadfast ascetic who defeats the devil and resists the will of the emperor to ordain him patriarch. Moreover, even outside his antics as a holy fool, Sabas does not seem to be entirely predictable. Even if keeping his vow of silence nearly costs him his life several times, he breaks it in the most unexpected way. Thus, as seen, while residing in a man's dwelling in Cyprus, he breaks the vow at the latter's entreaties and reveals his name.

Kokkinos sheds more light on Sabas' inner life than he does on any other hero in his *vitae*. The high proportion of direct speech in the form of dialogues with a wide array of characters (his disciple, fellow monks, the abbot of Vatopedi, visitors, the emperor, the senate), as well as with the devil, offer character depth and reveal

Sabas' subjectivity. Particularly noteworthy is the extent to which Kokkinos focuses on his hero's gestures, especially in the part of the narrative that covers his years of silence. He carefully records Sabas' body language in the tensest points of the narrative, for instance, when Sabas escapes ordination as patriarch, resurrects a boy or is scolded by the abbot of Vatopedi. Moreover, the detailed description of the gestures is coupled with explanations that reveal the thoughts and intentions that Sabas chooses not to express in words during his twenty years of silence.

Fig. 9. Anachrony (*analepses* and *prolepses*) in the *v.Sab*.



II.2.3.2.3. Germanos

Germanos' years as disciple, during which he gathered as a "good merchant" a "cargo of virtue" from his masters, are followed by an indefinite *ellipsis*.[1005] Without offering any specific temporal markers, Kokkinos mentions next that his hero docked, as it were, in "the harbours of *hesychia*" in the same grotto near the Great Lavra where he used to live with Job.[1006] There, he dedicates himself to God and is sought after by numerous monks from the Great Lavra and all Athos. Although Kokkinos reports that many longed to become his disciples, Germanos rejected everyone out of piety and humility, considering himself unworthy to provide guidance for the soul.[1007] After countless supplications, he is swayed to accept

[1005] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 28.1–2: μετὰ τοιούτου τοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς παντοδαποῦ φόρτου πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ἡσυχίας λιμένας, οἷά τις καλὸς ἔμπορος.
[1006] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 28.2–6.
[1007] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 28.7–23.

Ioannikios as his disciple "since he did not cease to entreat the man with many tears, having at the same time their common abbot of the Lavra as his collaborator in this request."[1008] Kokkinos writes that Germanos

> was moved by his [Ioannikios'] tears and the affliction of his hand, and opened to him all the doors of his soul and his dwelling, he who was formerly unyielding and unbending in these matters ... and moreover musing on this in his mind, that he himself would rather be providing physical necessities to that man, since he had lost a limb and by all necessity required the guidance and cooperation of another.[1009]

Thus, Germanos tends to his disciple's daily needs and bears his burden. Using *polysyndeton*, Kokkinos writes that Germanos was Ioannikios' "both father and lawgiver and instructor and *didaskalos* ... brother, servant and slave."[1010] He also describes their way of living, styling them as examples of moderation and frugality in material affairs.[1011] For instance, he offers an interesting detail about Germanos' 'rule' imposing austere clothing, namely that each of them should have only one cloak and one tunic, that is, two outer garments, made of (goat?) hair, as well as the third spare tunic, which they could use in turns when washing their own. Moreover, Kokkinos reports that they washed or soaked their clothes only in cold water—and not as is customary with warm water and soap—to maintain their coarse texture in order to increase their ascetic toils when wearing them and thus "escape the noetic serpent which conceals itself in softness."[1012]

The section next gathers several stories on Germanos' miracles and exploits, with little chronological specificity or interdependence. This includes three miracle

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[1008] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 28.30–32: Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνος σὺν πολλοῖς τοῖς δάκρυσι δεόμενος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀνῄει, καὶ τὸν κοινὸν τῆς Λαύρας ἔχων ἅμα καθηγεμόνα.

[1009] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 28.34–41: Κάμπτεται καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου δάκρυσι καὶ τῷ τῆς χειρὸς πάθει, καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς τοῦ οἴκου διανοίγνυσι θύρας ὅλας, ὁ πρότερον ἀκλινής τε καὶ ἄκαμπτος περὶ ταῦτα … πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἅμα στρέφων, ὡς ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἐξυπηρετούμενος ἔσται τὰ πρὸς τὴν σωματικὴν χρείαν, οὕτως ἐστερημένῳ τοῦ μέλους καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην δήπουθεν δεομένῳ τῆς παρ' ἑτέρου κυβερνήσεώς τε καὶ συνεργίας.

[1010] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 29.27–30: καὶ πατὴρ καὶ νομοθέτης καὶ παιδαγωγός τις καὶ διδάσκαλος ἦν ἐκείνῳ … καὶ ἀδελφὸς … ὑπηρέτης … καὶ δοῦλος.

[1011] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 29.10–11.

[1012] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 29.10–26: [...] τὸν ὑποκρυπτόμενον ταῖς λειότησι νοητὸν ὄφιν χρὴ διαφεύγειν. Cf. the tenth-century "*Rule* of Athanasios," trans. Dennis, in *BMFD*, 221–228, at 228: "It should be known that each brother ought to have two undergarments, two outer garments, one woolen garment, one cowl, two monastic cloaks, a shorter one for work and another more copious one which according to custom must be used in church, a heavy cloak, shoes, boots, and his bed clothing." I thank Dr. Alice-Mary Talbot for kindly helping me to better understand this passage.

accounts (*v.Germ*. 30–32, 35), which will be analysed in Part III.1. The beneficiary of the first miracle is Ioannikios, who is saved by his master from falling off the edge of a steep cliff and later informs Kokkinos of this miraculous event (*v.Germ*. 30). The second beneficiary is Germanos' nephew, John Maroules, the first-born of his brother Andronikos Maroules. The child is saved from the grip of a life-threatening fever, which he catches while travelling together with his father to Athos in order to see Germanos (*v.Germ.* 31–32). This extensive miracle account (*ca*. 1000 words) is followed by two testimonies in praise of Germanos, first from Hyakinthos Kerameus, the abbot of the Karakallou Monastery where the miraculous healing was effected, and second from Sabas the Younger (*v.Germ*. 33). The former deems himself entirely charmed by Germanos and praises him—in reported speech (*ca*. 150 words)—for having greatly exceeded his masters. As mentioned in Part I.1.2, Kokkinos also includes a slightly shorter (*ca*. 110 words) testimony of Sabas the Younger, who praises Germanos as a "great citizen" of Athos and "second Antony," famous for his *askesis* and wisdom.[1013] Kokkinos reports that he learned these from Sabas while he was his disciple at Vatopedi. The beneficiary of the third miracle is Kokkinos' friend and Germanos' nephew, Iakobos Maroules, healed of a severe facial pain (*v.Germ*. 35). As mentioned in Part I.1, Kokkinos does not hesitate to offer an intellectual and spiritual portrait of his friend and former schoolfellow, praising Iakobos for his education and medical expertise, and refers to the years he spent on Athos under Germanos' spiritual guidance (*v.Germ*. 34).

The final scene in the account of Germanos' monastic life offers another example of his great humility (*v.Germ*. 36–37). Kokkinos reports that on one of his visits to the Karakallou Monastery, Germanos unwittingly fails to greet and therefore offends a hieromonk named Pezos. Kokkinos assumes that his audience is familiar with this hieromonk, who he reports was a disciple of Germanos' first master, John.[1014] After Pezos' virulent complaints reach his ears, Germanos returns to Karakallou three days after the incident to make amends. Familiar with Pezos' harshness of character, the abbot Hyakinthos Kerameus offers to mediate the conflict, an offer which Germanos however refuses. The holy man then seeks Pezos and humbly throws himself at his feet in penitence, while the latter lavishes him with

[1013] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 33.28–38.
[1014] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 36.7–9.

insults and reproaches, calling him a hypocrite who feigns virtue, and who is arrogant and vainglorious.[1015] Kokkinos highlights the reaction of the internal audience of the scene, who are exceedingly amazed at Germanos' display of humility. After describing their reconciliation, Kokkinos styles Germanos once again as a "good merchant" who gathered a great cargo of virtues.[1016] This scene bears a similarity to one found in the *v.Sab*., during Sabas' stay at Vatopedi, when he is openly rebuked by the *hegoumenos* (*v.Sab*. 61–62). As Kokkinos later notes, Germanos lived for 66 years on the Holy Mountain. If, as already seen, the first ten years are covered in greater detail at a speed of *ca*. 700 words per year, in a section that makes up *ca*. 35% of the *v.Germ*., the later 56 years, including the unspecified period spent under the four spiritual fathers (*ca*. 40% of the *vita*), are covered comparatively faster, at *ca*. 150 words per year, probably due to a scarcity of information.

II.2.3.2.4. Palamas

Palamas left Athos after five years, due to the Turkish raids of *ca*. 1325, which Kokkinos also mentions in the *v.Germ*. and the *v.Isid*.[1017] He reaches Thessalonike together with eleven other monks, with a view to travel to Jerusalem. However, a divine vision prompts him to give up his plans and remain in Thessalonike (*v.G.Pal*. 24). Kokkinos uses this vision as a way of foreshadowing and underlining the divine legitimacy of Palamas' future office (*proedria*) as metropolitan of Thessalonike. Unlike the previous waking vision (*hypar*) of John the Evangelist, Kokkinos writes that this was a dream vision, set in the imperial palace in the presence of the emperor, senate and high officials.[1018] Palamas sees a military commander (*doux*), later revealed to be St. Demetrios the Myroblytos, who approaches and tells him that he will keep him by his side at the emperor's orders.[1019] Kokkinos thus emphasizes the endorsement of his hero as future metropolitan of Thessalonike by the patron

[1015] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 37.24: τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑποκριτήν, τὸν ἀλαζόνα, τὸν κενόδοξον.
[1016] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 37.53–54.
[1017] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 24.3–4 ("the Achaemenides"), *v.Germ*. 35.56–60 ("the Hunnic tribe"), *v.Isid*. 23.1–4 ("the worst and abominable neighbouring Hunnic tribe").
[1018] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 24.21–27.
[1019] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 24.28–33.

saint of the city.[1020] Interestingly, after the vision, Palamas does not immediately decide to remain in the city, but also probes God's will about his future and opens the apostolic book (*apostolike deltos*). Thus, Kokkinos further enhances the divine legitimacy offered by the vision of St. Demetrios, writing that Palamas chances upon the passage from Galatians 1:1 ("Paul, an apostle—sent not from men nor by a man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father").[1021]

Kokkinos reports that Palamas received the priesthood after this vision.[1022] If he styles Sabas as a monk who repeatedly and stubbornly refuses ordination (cf. *v.Sab*. 11, 61–62), he does not indicate any doubts or reluctance from the part of Palamas in accepting priesthood. The holy man then spends the next five years in a *skete* on a mountain in the vicinity of Berrhoia, where he establishes what Kokkinos calls a "school of divine philosophy" together with other ten fellow ascetics.[1023] The five years are covered quite briefly in *ca*. 1300 words. Kokkinos offers details about Palamas' idiorrhythmic way of life: he spends five days in complete solitude and on Saturdays and Sundays attends the Divine Liturgy and converses with the rest of the brothers. He also describes his hero's hesychastic programme, which included harsh fasting, vigils, vigilance of the mind, tears and unceasing prayer.[1024] Kokkinos finally praises Palamas in an *apostrophe* and styles hims as a model (*archetypos*) and icon (*eikon*) of conduct not only for his fellow hermits, but also for the inhabitants of Berrhoia.[1025]

Kokkinos also includes more information on Palamas' family. Following the death of his mother, mentioned briefly and without any details on her funeral, Palamas travels to Constantinople with his brothers and takes his sisters, Epicharis and Theodote, back with him to Berrhoia (*v.G.Pal*. 27). Epicharis dies shortly after, having foreseen her death ten days in advance, the death of her brother Theodosios, as well as Palamas' future (*v.G.Pal*. 28). By way of Epicharis' gift of clairvoyance,

[1020] In his forthcoming article on the politics and poetics of the miraculous in the early Palaiologan period, which he kindly shared with me before its publication, Gaul discusses another example of rhetorically constructed legitimacy, namely the miraculous healing of Andronikos III Palaiologos by St. Demetrios the Myroblytos, as reported by John VI Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* I.53 (I.267–272).
[1021] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 25.5–25.
[1022] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 25.1–5.
[1023] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 26.4–6: φροντιστήριον θείας φιλοσοφίας ὁ Γρηγόριος συστησάμενος σὺν δέκα τοῖς ἑταίροις καὶ τῶν ἴσων σπουδασταῖς τε καὶ κοινωνοῖς.
[1024] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 26.7–21.
[1025] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 26.21–29.

Kokkinos foreshadows Palamas' departure to Athos and the ensuing challenges he would face. After five years spent in the vicinity of Berrhoia, due to Serbian raids, Palamas returns to the Great Lavra and settles in its proximity at the hermitage of St. Sabas, continuing his hesychastic way of life for another three years (*v.G.Pal*. 30–37). Interestingly, only in the case of the *v.G.Pal*. does Kokkinos quote extensively from the works of his hero, which adds to the length of his account. For instance, he weaves into the narrative an extensive passage of *ca*. 1200 words from Palamas' *antirrhetikos* 7 on the leisure of the mind (*schole*), *hesychia*, divine illumination, and deification.[1026] This section includes a scene on Palamas' discussion with a certain monk Job, who opposed the practice of unceasing prayer for all (*v.G.Pal*. 29).

The narrative next presents three visions. The first is a waking vision, which occurs on a Maundy Thursday, while Palamas sings in the choir at the Great Lavra (*v.G.Pal*. 34.1–25). Disturbed by the noise caused by some of the monks, he turns towards himself and, surrounded by divine light, sees the abbot Makarios dressed as a hierarch. This vision foreshadows Makarios' appointment to the metropolitan see of Thessalonike, which Kokkinos mentions would occur eleven years later. Based on the temporal marker offered by Kokkinos and the year of Makarios' rise to the metropolitan see (1342), Palamas' vision can be placed around 1331. The second is also a waking vision (*hypar*) of the Theotokos (*v.G.Pal*. 34.26–42)[1027] and the last one is a dream vision that occurs in the third year of Palamas' stay at St. Sabas, prompting his literary debut (*v.G.Pal*. 35). About the latter, Kokkinos writes that:

> Two years passed since the great Gregory had been living […] in St. Sabas' hermitage and in the third year, while he was alone, as it was his habit, and was turning his mind to God through *hesychia* and prayer […] a shadow of sleep brought him this vision: he seemed to be holding in his hands a vessel full of milk which started suddenly to gush forth, overflowing the vessel; then the milk suddenly turned into a very good wine with a fine bouquet which poured so abundantly over his garments and hands that these

[1026] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 32.11–129 = Palamas, *Antirrhetikos* 7.11, 34–40 (PS III, 486–492). At the end of Part II, where I offer several considerations on Kokkinos' literary style, I analyse how Kokkinos quotes from Palamas' writings.

[1027] Kokkinos offers a brief portrait of the Theotokos, mentioning that she appeared girded solemnly as depicted in her icons. Interestingly, Kokkinos refers to visual representations of the Theotokos several times throughout the *v.G.Pal*. On his deathbed, Constantine Palamas looks towards her icon as he entrusts his children in her protection (*v.G.Pal*. 9). The young Palamas makes genuflections in front of her icon to overcome memorisation problems (*v.G.Pal*. 10). Kokkinos also extensively describes Isidore's vision of the Theotokos who fortells Isidore's election as patriarch (*v.Isid*. 47).

> became soaked and full of fragrance. "And while I was rejoicing," said Gregory, "a man full of light stood next to me and said: 'Why don't you give to others a share of this divine drink so miraculously pouring forth, instead of leaving it to be wasted? Don't you know that this is God's gift and it will not cease to pour forth? […] For you know exactly the commandment, the <story of> the talent (cf. Matthew 25:14–30), as well as the condemnation of the servant, who neglected commerce and did not work according to the order of his master.' Then that illustrious man left, while I, getting rid of the shadow of sleep, sat there the whole night and most part of the day, richly and entirely surrounded by the divine light."[1028]

This scene can be interpreted as a turning point, marking Palamas' transition to the status of man of letters whose literary debut was divinely prompted. This is also reflected in the *antonomasia* Kokkinos employs to refer to his hero, namely "the wise man."[1029] He reports that he learned the details of this vision from Palamas' friend and disciple, Dorotheos Blates (*v.G.Pal*. 36). He also mentions Palamas' first writings, namely two hagiographic compositions, the first dedicated to St. Peter of Athos and the second on the Entrance of the Theotokos into the Temple.[1030]

Kokkinos further notes that after three years at St. Sabas, Palamas was appointed as *hegoumenos* of the Esphigmenou Monastery, where he had 200 monks under his supervision (*v.G.Pal*. 37–39). This short spell as abbot is covered in *ca*. 1000 words. As he often does throughout the *vitae*, Kokkinos comments on the name of the monastery, writing that he does not know whether the name "Esphigmenou" is derived from its founder, position, placement, or something else.[1031] He introduces

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[1028] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 35: Δύο μὲν ἔτη παρῄει τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐν τούτοις γε ὄντι καὶ παροικοῦντι τὸ ῥηθὲν φροντιστήριον, τοῦ δὲ τρίτου παρόντος ἰδιάζων αὐτόθι ποτὲ συνήθως καὶ Θεῷ διὰ νοερᾶς ἡσυχίας καὶ προσευχῆς προσέχων τὸν νοῦν ... ὁ δὲ καὶ ὄψιν αὐτῷ τοιαύτην εὐθὺς ὑποδείκνυσι. Σκεῦος ἐδόκει τι κατέχειν ἐν χεροῖν πλῆρες γάλακτος, τὸ δ' ἀναβλύζειν ὥσπερ αἴφνης ἀρξάμενον ἐξέρρει τε καὶ ὑπερεχεῖτο τοῦ σκεύους. Εἶτα καὶ εἰς οἶνον κάλλιστόν τινα καὶ ἀνθοσμίαν δόξαν ἀθρόον μεταβαλεῖν, οὕτω δαψιλῶς κατὰ τῶν ἱματίων ἐχεῖτο καὶ τῶν χειρῶν, ὡς καὶ διάβροχα ταῦτα θέσθαι καὶ τῆς εὐωδίας τῆς οἰκείας μεστά, "Ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον ἡδομένῳ μοι", φησί, …"καὶ χαίροντι, τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τις ἀνὴρ ἐπιστὰς πλήρης φωτός," "Ἵνα τί', φησί, 'τοῦ θαυμαστῶς ἀναβλύζοντος οὑτωσὶ θείου τουτουὶ πόματος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ μεταδίδως, ἀλλ' ἐᾷς οὕτως ἐκχεῖσθαι μάτην; Οὐκ οἶσθα Θεοῦ δῶρον ὃν τοῦτο καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐκλείψει βρύον οὑτωσὶ καὶ ἀναδιδόμενον;' ... 'οἶσθα καὶ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς πάντως καὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ τὸ τάλαντον καὶ τὴν καταδίκην τοῦ τῆς ἐμπορίας καταρραθυμήσαντος δούλου καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ δεσποτικὸν ἐργασαμένου πρόσταγμα'. Εἶτ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὁ λαμπρός φησιν ἔδοξεν ἀπιέναι, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὴν σκιὰν ἐκτιναξάμενος ἐκείνην τοῦ ὕπνου, τήν τε νύκτα πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ πλεῖστον ἐκαθήμην ἐκεῖ τῷ θείῳ φωτὶ πλουσίως ὅλως περιλαμπόμενος."

[1029] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 36.7.

[1030] Cf. Mitrea, "Palamas' *Logos* on Saint Peter of Athos."

[1031] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 38.2–5.

Palamas' hegoumenate using biblical quotations. As in the *prooimion* of the *v.Germ.*, he echoes Gregory Nazianzen, writing that it was impossible for "the conspicuous blaze of the word and virtue" to be hidden under the *modius* of silence.[1032] This section includes a portrait of Palamas as an ideal *hegoumenos* whose example leads several of the monks under his command to leave the monastery and live in *hesychia* and *anachoresis*.[1033] Palamas' hegoumenate at Esphigmenou marks the beginning of his miracle-making powers. His first act of healing is a spiritual one having as a beneficiary one of the monks under his supervision, called Eudokimos, who did not accept his authority (*v.G.Pal.* 38.7–29). Kokkinos also works two miracles of nature, discussed in Part III.1: he multiplies olive oil, like Elijah in Zarephath, and cures the sickness of the olive trees of the monastery (*v.G.Pal.* 39).

II.2.4. Hesychastic elements

Kokkinos' *vitae* reflect the political and especially the ecclesiastical climate and polemics at the moment of their composition. As seen, Kokkinos was directly involved in the debates surrounding hesychasm, and wrote numerous works in support of it. He also promoted and defended hesychasm through his hagiographic compositions. In his engaging narratives, he translated hesychast theology into living examples of the hesychastic way of life. Hesychastic elements make up a significant part of his *vitae* and include extensive descriptions of visions of the divine and Tabor light, invectives against the anti-hesychasts, and (dream) visions of the holy men (or their associates), which foretell or legitimize the condemnation of the anti-hesychasts, as well as excursuses on hesychast theology. Kokkinos weaves hesychastic elements into the description of his heroes' way of life and presents Isidore's and especially Palamas' involvement in the hesychast debates at length.

Kokkinos' heroes live in *hesychia*, lead a contemplative and virtuous life, practise strict asceticism with fasting, vigils and prayers, and seek mystical union with God. Kokkinos describes Nikodemos' continuous contemplation during his years of wandering asceticism and stresses he had the vision of the divine, writing

[1032] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 37.15–16: οὐδ' ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς σιωπῆς μόδιον τὸν τοῦ λόγου διαφανῆ πυρσὸν καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ πολὺ κρύπτεσθαι. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 43.17; *v.Germ.* 1.2–4; Mark 4:21.
[1033] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 37.45–49. It seems that Joseph Kalothetos was also under his guidance. See Tsames, *Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου συγγράμματα*, 22. As mentioned, while abbot at Esphigmenou, Palamas tonsured Isidore.

that he "approached the mountain of impassivity," "mystically saw God through the perception of his soul," and "constantly delighted in God's beauty."[1034] Isidore also dedicates himself to God by "the imperial cubit" (or "with leaps and bounds"),[1035] undertakes *askesis* and all-night prayers, and prays to the Theotokos with hands outstretched towards heaven (*v.Isid*. 13). However, the most extensive and elaborate description of the mystical vision of the uncreated light is found in the *v.Sab*. Kokkinos presents three instances in which Sabas has the vision of the divine. These occur during his stay in the Holy Land and are preceded each time by an episode of extreme asceticism or contest with the devil.

Sabas' first vision of Christ's glory and beauty occurs after one of his fiercest confrontations with the devil in a cave in the vicinity of the River Jordan.[1036] As he is lying on the ground unable to move, he suddenly sees the roof opening and letting in a brilliant light that fills the entire cave. Kokkinos writes that Sabas partakes, like Peter and those who accompanied Christ on Tabor (James and John), of the highest and first light[1037] and is transformed by it (*v.Sab*. 34). Kokkinos also includes eschatological valences of hesychasm,[1038] highlighting that Sabas sees the mystery of the age to come, which the worthy can see not only after their demise, but also while alive.[1039] Moreover, Kokkinos compares his hero to St. Stephen the Protomartyr, who also had a vision of Christ (cf. Acts 7). Kokkinos constructs this scene using biblical and patristic quotations (for example, Gregory Nazianzen, Maximos the Confessor, and John of Damascus). He relates that Sabas remains on the ground the entire night, overjoyed by God's radiance. After his rapture ends at daylight, he resumes his usual way of life, since he is imbued with the odour of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which gathers streams of people to his cave (*v.Sab*. 36).

The second vision occurs while Sabas is wandering through the Jordan desert, where he undertakes a period of extreme asceticism, without food or water for fifty days (*v.Sab*. 37–38). At the end of this period, Kokkinos describes how Christ's

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[1034] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 3.1–3: τῷ γε μὴν ὄρει τῆς ἀπαθείας θαυμαστῶς πάνυ προσπελάζει καὶ θεὸν ὁρᾷ μυστικῶς ἐν συναισθήσει ψυχῆς; *v.Nik*. 2.21: Θεοῦ λοιπὸν τῷ κάλλει διὰ παντὸς ὑπῆρχε κατατρυφῶν. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 225.
[1035] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 13.2–3: πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν βασιλικῷ φασι τῷ πήχει.
[1036] Kokkinos, *v.Sab.* 34–35.
[1037] Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 40.5–6.
[1038] Cf. Guran, "Jean VI Cantacuzène, l'hésychasme et l'empire," 73–121; idem, "Eschatology and political theology," *RESEE* 45 (2007): 73–85.
[1039] See Kokkinos' *Logoi dogmatikoi* which he composed before writing the *v.Sab*.

radiance turns into nourishment, strength and comfort to his athlete. Moreover, through participation in the divine grace, Sabas' body is sanctified together with his soul. Kokkinos styles Sabas as a citizen of heaven, whose mind remains there, even after the end of his vision, and compares him to the Apostle Paul, who was raptured to the third heaven (cf. 2 Corinthians 12).

Sabas sees Christ for a third time after his final confrontation with the devil (*v.Sab.* 44–45). Thrown into a chasm, Sabas remains there for forty days, raptured, unmoved, unbent like a statue, and in unceasing prayer. Kokkinos contrasts Sabas' unmediated experience of God to that of common people:

> We still seem to draw water from cisterns and deserted streams, while neglecting the great ocean of the sea, and we still observe the reflection and the shades of the sun on water, while we remain far from its natural ray and brightness.[1040]

After three days and nights spent at the bottom of the chasm, Sabas is lifted up to heaven and has a vision of Christ, surrounded by choirs of angels and heavenly light. Kokkinos includes here an excursus on the economy of salvation and dwells again on the eschatological aspects of hesychasm, echoing his *Logos* on All Saints. He fashions Sabas as a second Peter, John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, and Antony the Great, to whom the mysteries of the age to come are revealed while still in body, and whose visions are a foretaste (*prooimia*) of the Heavenly Kingdom.

Kokkinos shows great concern for convincing his audience of the veracity of his account of Sabas' divine visions. Aware of the extraordinary nature of the events he recounts, he makes an aside in which, taking God as witness, he states that he will neither add to, nor willingly leave out anything from, the truth (*v.Sab.* 38). Moreover, before presenting Sabas' first vision, he summons the attention of his audience in an *apostrophe* and raises awareness about the mysteries he will present, as well as sternly warning disbelievers to stay away or face "the sling of the truth."[1041]

Germanos also experiences the vision of God, as Kokkinos recounts at the end of the section covering the monastic life of his hero (*v.Germ.* 44). He reports

[1040] Kokkinos, *v.Sab.* 43.19–22: ἔτι λάκκους ὑδάτων τινὰς ἢ καὶ χειμάρρους ἐκλείποντας ἀντλεῖν δοκιμάζομεν, τὸ μέγα τῆς θαλάττης ἀφέντες πέλαγος, ἔτι τὰς καθ' ὑδάτων ἐμφάσεις τε καὶ σκιὰς τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ περισκοποῦμεν ἡλίου, τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκτῖνος καὶ τῆς λαμπρότητος πόρρω κείμενοι.
[1041] Kokkinos, *v.Sab.* 34.13–14: τῇ σφενδόνῃ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐλέγχων βαλλόμενον.

how Iakobos stealthily observes Germanos' rapture "in the dead of the night."[1042] Iakobos sees his uncle with hands outstretched towards heaven, removed from himself in conversation with God. He describes Germanos' face as set on fire and illuminated "as if an ineffable radiance and gleam poured over him," while an unspoken fragrance surrounded him.[1043] Although the *v.Germ*. does not include other descriptions of Germanos' hesychast experiences, Kokkinos portrays him as the most humble of his heroes with regard to his knowledge of hesychast theology (*v.Germ*. 42). For instance, Kokkinos reports that when he asked for his guidance in matters of *hesychia*—when Germanos was already in his old age—, the holy man described himself as uninitiated in such mysteries in a self-abasing manner, due to his spiritual flaws:

> "My best friend," he says, "I have achieved nothing of the mysteries of *hesychia* whatsoever. For although I inquired with great and wonderful guides and fathers, as you know, they did not entrust me with anything of such things, judging me as someone unprepared and not inclined towards this, because of a great stupidity which by all means is present in my soul from passions. Hence, they used me as one who appears [to be] just like a donkey, only for service, ordering to bear burdens and to carry the necessary from near and afar, which I always accomplished according to their commands. And I stood," he says, "by dullness and that first sluggishness, as you see, until old age, acquiring nothing at all of the great and wonderful things."[1044]

Although Kokkinos' heroes are monastics who practise *hesychia* at times as recluses, in caves, on Athos, or at various monasteries, they promote hesychasm as a way of life for everyone, including those married and with demanding offices. As seen, Kokkinos styles Isidore's and Palamas' father as espousing an urban hesychastic way

[1042] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 44.15: ἀωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν.

[1043] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 44.25–27: οἱονεί τινος αἴγλης ἀπορρήτου καὶ μαρμαρυγῆς κατακεχυμένης ἐκείνου καὶ θείας τινὸς εὐφροσύνης καὶ θυμηδίας ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ εὐωδίας ἀρρήτου πληρούσης ὅλον τὸν μέγαν.

[1044] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 42.27–38: "Ἐμοί", φησίν, "ὦ βέλτιστε, τῶν τῆς ἡσυχίας μυστηρίων οὐδὲν οὐδοπωσοῦν κατωρθώθη· εἰ γὰρ καὶ μεγάλοις καὶ θαυμαστοῖς τισιν ἐχρησάμην ὁδηγοῖς καὶ πατράσι καθάπερ ἀκούεις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὐδοπηοῦν ἐπίστευσαν ἔμοιγε τῶν τοιούτων, ἀνάρμοστόν τινα καὶ ἀποπεφυκότα κρίναντες πρὸς ἐκεῖνα, διὰ πολλήν τινα τὴν ἐκ παθῶν τῇ ἐμῇ ψυχῇ προσοῦσαν πάντως ἀβελτηρίαν· ὅθεν καὶ τοιούτῳ μοι πεφηνότι καθάπερ ὄνῳ τινὶ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐχρῶντο μόνην, ἀχθοφορεῖν ἐπιτάττοντες καὶ τἀναγκαῖα πόρρωθέν τε καὶ ἐγγύθεν διακομίζειν· ὃ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐκείνων ἐντολὰς ἀεὶ δρῶν διετέλουν. Καὶ διέμεινα," φησίν, "ἐπὶ τῆς παχύτητος καὶ τῆς νωθείας τῆς πρώτης ἐκείνης καθάπερ ὁρᾷς μέχρι γήρως, μηδοτιοῦν κτησάμενος ὁπωσδήποτε τῶν θαυμαστῶν καὶ μεγάλων."

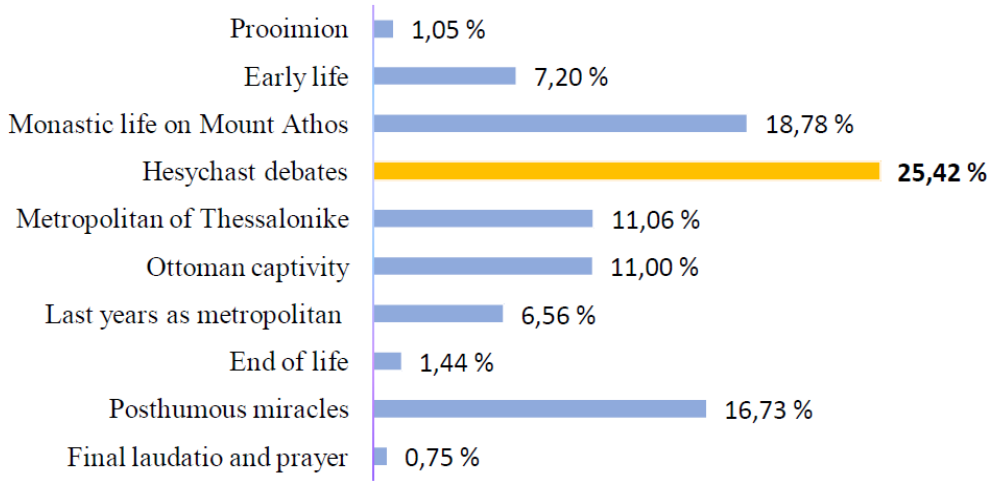
of life. Palamas himself is shown as teaching and arguing for the importance of the practice of unceasing prayer—taught by the Apostle Paul (1 Thessalonians 5:17)—not only by monks, but by everyone, men, women, children, people with or without education.[1045] In order to enhance the legitimacy of Palamas' teaching, Kokkinos reports that a certain monk, Job—one of Palamas' friends and associates practising *askesis* in the same *skete* in the vicinity of Berrhoia—counters Palamas' standpoint, claiming that unceasing prayer does not befit everyone, only monastics. Since Palamas cannot convince him, Kokkinos underlines that God mediates their disagreement, sending an angel to Job in order to instruct him not to speak or think differently than "the holy Gregory."[1046]

Isidore is the leading example of urban hesychasm. As already mentioned, following Gregory of Sinai's advice, he undertakes an urban hesychast apostolate in Thessalonike for ten years, teaching his fellow citizens to lead a virtuous life. Kokkinos mentions that his hero's example prompts numerous people, including members of aristocracy, to don the monastic habit or to live a virtous and ascetic life in the world.[1047] Sabas also lives in *hesychia* in an urban environment, choosing, however, to be a recluse. Kokkinos mentions that the holy man lived undisturbed in a cell in the Constantinopolitan monastery of St. Diomedes, living in the desert and solitude as it were, and far away from the unrest of the city.[1048] Thus, Isidore and Sabas seem to be fashioned at opposite ends of the urban hesychast experience. If the former is presented as a *didaskalos* and guide to the Thessalonian society, the latter prefers seclusion from urban matters.

Hesychastic elements and the burning theological issues of the day feature most extensively in the *vitae* of Palamas and Isidore, both protagonists of the hesychast controversy. Kokkinos documents in detail their role in the hesychast synods and quotes extensively from Palamas' theological writings. His involvement in the hesychast debates is the lengthiest section of Palamas' monastic life covered in *ca*. 13,000 words or a quarter of the *vita* (*v.G.Pal*. 40–78), as seen in Fig. 10.

[1045] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 29.17–21: μὴ τοὺς ἔξω κόσμου καὶ μοναστὰς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ πάντας ὁμοῦ ταὐτὰ διδάσκειν ὡσαύτως καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐνάγειν πάσῃ σπουδῇ.
[1046] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 29.
[1047] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 23.
[1048] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 54.30–34.

Fig. 10. Narrative structure of the *v.G.Pal.*



This section follows the beginning and development of the controversy, the condemnation of Barlaam and Akindynos at the synods of June and July 1341 respectively, and later, until the hesychast synod of 1351.

After briefly mentioning Palamas' return to the vicinity of the Great Lavra, Kokkinos makes an *analepsis* in which he introduces Barlaam (*ca*. 400 words). He styles Barlaam as a deceitful person and "a bait to the simple, concealing the hook of impiety," quoting Gregory Nazianzen's *Oration on St. Athanasios*, in opposition to Palamas, "the pillar of theology."[1049] Kokkinos documents Barlaam's activity and attacks against Orthodoxy based on the trifles (*bracheatta*) the latter heard about the preliminaries of the noetic prayer.[1050] He resembles Barlaam to shameful dogs tearing apart the dogmas of the Church, and places him in line with the previous heretics Arius, Eunomius, Eutyches, Dioscorus, and the "*akephalos*" Severus.[1051]

Kokkinos reports that Palamas was summoned to Thessalonike by Isidore to counter the heresy and defend the Church against Barlaam's attacks.[1052] Interestingly, Kokkinos offers insights into the circulation of writings during the early stages of the hesychast controversy, styling Isidore as a hunter of Barlaam's

[1049] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 41.16–18: "δέλεαρ," κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα, "τοῖς ἁπλουστέροις τῷ τῆς δυσσεβείας χαλκῷ περικείμενον" ... τὸν τῆς θεολογίας στῦλον. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 21.22.
[1050] A quick search on the *TLG* shows that this word occurs only 4 times. In addition to Kokkinos, it is used by two other Byzantine authors, twice by John Actuarius and once by George Metochites.
[1051] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 42.6–9: βραχέαττα τῶν περὶ νοερᾶς προσευχῆς εἰσαγωγικῶν ... κατὰ τοὺς ἀναιδεῖς κύνας; 42.32–35: Ἀκινδύνου τοῦ κάκιστ' ἀπολωλότος τὴν τοῦ Βαρλαὰμ διαδεξαμένου μὲν λύμην, καθὰ δήπου πάλαι καὶ Εὐνόμιος τὴν Ἀρείου ἢ καὶ τὴν Εὐτυχοῦς τε καὶ Διοσκόρου Σέβηρος ὁ ἀκέφαλος.
[1052] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 43–44.

heretical works.[1053] The same episode is covered in the *v.Isid*., where Kokkinos fashions Isidore as a warrior who gathers an army against Barlaam. Taking up the "suit of armour" (*panoplia*), prophylactic and defensive to reject "the bastard" (*nothos*) [Barlaam], Isidore summons the fellow combatants and assembles a "spiritual army" (*pneumatikos stratos*) made up of centurions, leaders, and commanders for the war in defence of the Spirit.[1054] Kokkinos underlines Palamas' special role, highlighting that Isidore requests especially the "leader and noble general and teacher, and this new David of ours, I mean Gregory." Palamas is extolled as the highest mind, which overthrows "the arrogant Goliath" with the great power of the Holy Trinity compared to three stones in the sling of Palamas' words.[1055]

Kokkinos writes in the *v.G.Pal*. that through his blasphemy Barlaam "moved the lion [Palamas] to battle."[1056] Thus, as Kokkinos reports, Palamas attempted to convince Barlaam to retract his teachings. This section includes a dialogue between the two (*ca*. 600 words), most likely fictitious, as Tsames noted, since none of their works attest to Kokkinos' rendering of the dialogue.[1057] Palamas tries to persuade Barlaam to stop writing about *hesychia* and prayer, as well as to refrain from criticising and insulting hesychast monks, while the latter replies with flattery (*kolakeia*) and hypocrisy (*hypokrisis*), praising Palamas and deflecting responsibility for his actions.[1058] Kokkinos conveys his view on his hero's opponent, writing that "Barlaam was nothing less than Barlaam."[1059]

Kokkinos showcases his familiarity with Palamas' theological works, offering an extensive review and praise of Palamas' *Triads* in defence of hesychasm, touching

[1053] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 43.17: τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ἐκείνου καθ' ἡμῶν συγγραμμάτων τεθηρευκότος.
[1054] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 27.10–17: Συγκαλεῖ τοὺς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ συμμάχους ἐγγύθεν καὶ πόρρωθεν … τὰ τάγματα πανταχόθεν συνάγει … συναριθμεῖ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ στρατοῦ· λοχαγοὺς καὶ καθηγεμόνας καὶ τῶν ταγμάτων ἀρχηγοὺς … τοὺς πάντας σχεδὸν πρὸς τὸν ἴσον ἐκείνῳ ζῆλον καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πνεύματος πόλεμον.
[1055] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 27.17–22: καὶ πρὸ πάντων τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντας κοινὸν τῆς Χριστοῦ παρατάξεως καθηγεμόνα καὶ γενναῖον στρατηγὸν καὶ διδάσκαλον, τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς νέον Δαβὶδ τουτονί, Γρηγόριόν φημι τὸν ὑψηλότατον νοῦν, οὗ δὴ καὶ προλαβόντες ἐμνήσθημεν, τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς τριάδος δυνάμει καθαπερεί τισι λίθοις τρισὶ τῇ σφενδόνῃ τοῦ λόγου Γολιὰθ τὸν ὑπερήφανον καταστρέψαντα.
[1056] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 44.25–26: τῇ βλασφημίᾳ τε καὶ τῇ ἔριδι καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὡς εἶχεν ἀνῆπτε καὶ πρὸς μάχην τὸν λέοντα κινῶν οὐκ ἠσθάνετο.
[1057] Tsames, *Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἅγιοι*, 478, n. 187.
[1058] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 45–47.
[1059] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 46.3: ὁ Βαρλαὰμ οὐδὲν ἧττον Βαρλαάμ.

on their content and date of composition.[1060] In an *apostrophe,* he extolls these writings as "sacred *logoi*," "true *manna*," and "more embracing and authoritative, just as the Holy of Holies and the Song of Songs," quoting Gregory Nazianzen's *Oration on Holy Baptism*.[1061] Kokkinos presents the writings of his hero as a synthesis and exegesis of patristic theology, which he also underlines at the end of the *vita* where Palamas is portrayed in the company of the Church fathers.[1062]

Kokkinos documents Palamas' trip to Athos in Isidore's company, during which the *Hagioreitikos tomos* was endorsed by the Athonite community.[1063] He next covers the preparations for, and the development of, the first hesychast synod of June 1341.[1064] Summoned by Patriarch Kalekas, Palamas travels to Constantinople together with Isidore and the brothers Mark and Dorotheos Blates. Palamas' entry in the city is described metaphorically as the light that dispels the night of impiety, the rays of the sun that assault the frost of the night, when soul-damaging beasts withdraw into their dens (cf. Psalm 104:22).[1065] After discussing Palamas' writings, the patriarch and the synod acknowledge his theology and praise him as a "holy mind, or rather mind of Christ."[1066] Kokkinos includes a criticism of Patriarch Kalekas for his later change of position, which he attributes to "badly perishing envy (*phthonos*) and impiety."[1067]

The narrative section includes biographical sketches of Palamas' supporters, among whom were David Disypatos and a certain Dionysios. Kokkinos presents "my David" as a highly educated disciple of Gregory of Sinai, living in *hesychia* at Paroria. Another supporter is his "friend Dionysios," a former member of the Constantinopolitan aristocracy, "lover of *hesychia*," and fellow ascetic of

[1060] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 48–51.
[1061] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 50.2, 5–7; 51.50: ἱεροὶ … λόγοι … "ὥσπερ ἅγιά τινα ἁγίων καὶ ᾆσμα ᾀσμάτων," φησί τις τῶν ὑψηλῶν θεολόγων, "ἐμπεριεκτικώτερα γὰρ καὶ κυριώτερα." Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 40.3.
[1062] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 51.1–11; 134.
[1063] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 54. In the *v.G.Pal*. 55, Kokkinos describes the demise of Palamas' sister Theodote in a scene which offers important chronological details about the moment of signing the *Hagioreitikos tomos*. Kokkinos writes that Theodote died eight days after the Feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos (August 15, 1340), after Palamas' return from his trip to Athos. Thus, according to these temporal makers, the Athonite monks endorsed Palamas' *Hagioreitikos tomos* in August 1340.
[1064] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 56–62.
[1065] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 57.17–23.
[1066] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 57.43: νοῦν ἱερόν, μᾶλλον δὲ νοῦν Χριστοῦ. Cf. 1 Cor. 2:16.
[1067] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 58.4: ὑπὸ τοῦ κάκιστ' ἀπολουμένου φθόνου τε καὶ τῆς δυσσεβείας.

Disypatos.[1068] Kokkinos reports a dream vision of Dionysios in which Palamas is presented as a prosecutor of heretics and defender of the Church. Moreover, the vision foreshadows Palamas' ordination as metropolitan. Kokkinos presents Dionysios' words, who recalls that he was heading towards the Church of the Theotokos at Blachernai, together with other people, including Palamas. After they entered the church and stopped in front of the sanctuary, some men dressed Palamas in a bright vestment (*stole*) and gave him a staff. Palamas then walked around the church, chasing away a swarm of black-faced little men.[1069] Subsequently, he was enthroned and thrice proclaimed worthy (*axios*). Kokkinos offers an exegesis of the vision and spells out that the little men represent Barlaam and Akindynos and their supporters. Moreover, the vision also foretells Palamas' ordination in the Church of Blachernai as metropolitan of Thessalonike and his fights against heretics. Kokkinos makes a *synkrisis* of Akindynos with Judas Iscariot, the "friend and enemy and disciple and traitor," and criticises Barlaam as a hypocrite who simulated repentance and ran off to the Latins, taking "the helmet of Hades," as it were.[1070] On the other hand, he styles Palamas as "our Herakles," who defeats the Hydra and praises him as "the teacher of piety, *kanon* of the holy dogmas, pillar of Orthodoxy, champion of the Church, and pride of the empire."[1071]

Kokkinos introduces the second hesychast synod (July 1341) with an exclamation of woe, "O, the wretched succession and return and impudence of the falsehood!"[1072] He follows this with a critique of the "ill-omened" (*skaios*) Akindynos and compares him to Simon of Samaria and Nicholas of Antioch.[1073] Moreover, Kokkinos styles him as a second Barlaam and makes a pun on his name (literally, "without danger"), writing that he boldly endangered the truth of piety.[1074] Kokkinos conveys his incorrigible nature using the suggestive proverbial expresions

[1068] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 59. Cf. Palamas' letter to Dionysios, PS II, 479–499.
[1069] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 60.19–20: ἀνθρωπίσκων ἐδόκει τι σμῆνος ἐλαύνειν ἐκεῖθεν αἰσχρὰν ὁμοῦ πάντων κεκτημένων τὴν ὄψιν καὶ μέλαιναν.
[1070] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 61.17: τοῦ φίλου καὶ ἐπιβούλου καὶ φοιτητοῦ καὶ προδότου; 62.32: καὶ λαβὼν δῆθεν τὴν Ἅδου κυνήν. Homer, *Iliad* 5.845; *CPG* I.15–17, II.4, 649. Karathanasis, *Sprichwörter*, 24 (no. 10).
[1071] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 61.27–29; 62.41–43: διδάσκαλον εὐσεβείας καὶ κανόνα δογμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ στύλον τῆς ὀρθῆς δόξης καὶ πρόμαχον ἐκκλησίας καὶ βασιλείας εὐσεβοῦς καύχημα.
[1072] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 63.1–2: Ἀλλ' ὢ τῆς πονηρᾶς διαδοχῆς καὶ τῆς ὑποστροφῆς καὶ παρρησίας αὖθις τοῦ ψεύδους.
[1073] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 63.11–13. Cf. Acts 8:9–24.
[1074] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 63.20–21: τῆς κατ' εὐσέβειαν ἀληθείας εὐψύχως προκινδυνεύοντι.

that "the Ethiopian does not become white" and "the crab was not instructed to walk straight."[1075] Akindynos is also harshly criticized by Theophanes of Vatopedi in his *Life of St. Maximos Kausokalybites* (*BHG* 1237). Theophanes stresses that Maximos "held many things against Akindynos, and called him Kakokindynos, and a demoniac, and an adherent of every heresy, and a servant of the Antichrist."[1076]

Kokkinos reports in the *v.Sab*. that Sabas reflects on the ecclesiastical situation and the debate over hesychasm, underlining that the fight turns from one against the creature (*plasma*), to one against the creator (*plastes*).[1077] Kokkinos embeds in the narrative a vision concerning the synod of 1347, which he calls the synod of the "guardians of Orthodoxy."[1078] Towards the end of his life, Sabas reportedly has a vision in which he finds himself in a church where he notices a "choir of archpriests" coming out of the sanctuary and aligning on both its sides, in front of the iconostasis. In the centre of the church, a deacon then reads the condemnation of Akindynos, calling him a second Judas and Arius, apostate, and enemy of the truth. Finally, the deacon proclaims Akindynos "anathema," a phrase subsequently repeated by everyone in the church, including Sabas. The word lingers on Sabas' lips even after the end of his vision.[1079]

In the *v.G.Pal*., Kokkinos criticises not only the anti-hesychasts, but also Patriarch Kalekas. He dedicates a substantial part of the narrative to Kalekas' actions as patriarch, described as kindling division and discord within the Church.[1080] Kokkinos comments on the role of a patriarch as father and protector of the people, pointing out Kalekas' failure to fulfil these duties. This description stands in stark contrast to Isidore's portrait in the *v.Isid*., where he is fashioned as a model patriarch, who restores ecclesiastical order in the aftermath of the civil war. As Kokkinos writes, Palamas was pleading for peace and concord, advising Kalekas to act according to his role, and therefore drew upon himself the anger and hostility of the

[1075] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 64.14–15: "ὁ γὰρ αἰθίοψ οὐκ ἐλευκαίνετο" καὶ "ὁ καρκῖνος ὀρθῶς βαδίζειν οὐκ ἐδιδάσκετο." *CPG* I.426, II.198, 258, 472.
[1076] Theophanes, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ Μαξίμου* 20, ed. Halkin, "Deux vies de S. Maxime," 91–92: Πολλὰ γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀκινδύνου ἐφέρετο οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος, καὶ Κακοκίνδυνον αὐτὸν ἐπωνόμαζε καὶ δαιμονιώδη καὶ κοινωνὸν πάσης αἱρέσεως καὶ ὑπουργὸν Ἀντιχρίστου. English translation in *Holy Men of Athos*, 515.
[1077] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 73.13–14: ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τοῦ πλάσματος μάχης ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ πλάστου.
[1078] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 73.
[1079] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 73.68–73. Cf. Gouillard, "Synodikon," 81.
[1080] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 65–66.

patriarch, which ultimately led to his imprisonment. Using powerful animal imagery, Kokkinos styles Palamas as "lion" and "distinguished ram of Christ's flock."[1081] In contrast, Kalekas is "the new contender with God" (*kainos theomachos*) who supports Akindynos tacitly and later openly, or, as Kokkinos put it, "with bare head," ordaining him deacon and priest.[1082] Kokkinos expresses disapproval and indignation at Kalekas' ordination of Akindynos—"the wicked traitor of the Church"—through the interjection, "O, earth and sun and divine laws, and contests and struggles of martyrs and confessors and holy fathers!" Moreover, as Kokkinos writes, Kalekas strives through this act to show "Hades as teacher, the death as nourisher, to the fire, the hurricane of the evil, and to the sheep, the wolf."[1083] This is followed by a theological excursus on the stewardship of salvation, which echoes Kokkinos' *Logos* on All Saints (*v.G.Pal*. 69). He also quotes extensively from Palamas' second letter to his brother Makarios (*ca.* 800 words) in which his hero writes about Akindynos' ordination and the intervention of the emperors against this act.[1084]

Kokkinos refers to the circulation and diffusion of anti-hesychast writings. For instance, in the *v.G.Pal.*, he offers an extensive account of a dream vision, which leads one of Akindynos' supporters and promoters to abandon heresy (*ca*. 770 words).[1085] Kokkinos describes this man as a servant to the general of Peloponnesos, and disciple and friend of Akindynos, to whom the latter entrusted his writings against Palamas, composed in iambic meters. Akyndinos' friend disseminated these writings throughout the Peloponnesos, as it were the Sphinx sent to the Thebans and "the arrogant Persian army" waging war against Hellas.[1086] One evening, while asleep, the man sees the imperial spearmen (*basilikoi doryphoroi*) who come to take him to jail at the emperor's orders. While the man first attributes it to his imagination, the same vision occurs three times, causing him distress and confusion. The third time, the spearmen inform him that the cause of his condemnation is the

[1081] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 66.8–9.
[1082] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 67.6: "γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ." *CPG* I.392, II.65.
[1083] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 68.4–10: ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ θεσμὰ θεῖα καὶ μαρτύρων καὶ ὁμολογητῶν καὶ πατέρων ἱερῶν ἆθλοί τε καὶ ἀγῶνες … τὸν ἀλιτήριον καὶ προδότην τῆς ἐκκλησίας, Ἀκίνδυνον φημί … ἔσπευδεν ἀναδεῖξαι παιδαγωγὸν ἄν τις εἶπε τὸν Ἅδην καὶ τροφέα τὸν θάνατον καὶ τῷ πυρὶ τὴν τοῦ πονηροῦ καταιγίδα καὶ τοῖς ἀρνίοις τὸν λύκον.
[1084] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 71 = Palamas, *Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Μακάριον Β'* (PS II, 540–543). This letter dates to Dec.–Jan. 1345.
[1085] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 73–74.
[1086] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 73.13–17. Akindynos, *Κατὰ τῶν αἱρέσεων Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ ἴαμβοι*, *PG* 150, 843A–862A. See also Palamas, *Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Λαμιανόν* (PS II, 455–477).

dissemination of Akindynos' nonsense. This leads him to change his standpoint, throw the writings "to the ravens" and become a herald (*keryx*) of the right belief. Kokkinos further reports that Akindynos' writings reached Palamas in prison, brought by the general's son. Kokkinos comments on the extent of circulation of heretical writings, underlining their reach outside Constantinople, as well as their censorship by the hesychasts, as seen in the *v.Isid*. Moreover, he makes a reference to the previously discussed vision of Sabas regarding Akindynos' condemnation.[1087]

Kokkinos summarizes the four years of Palamas' imprisonment. He refers generically to his hero's poor health, compares him to Jeremiah, and emphasizes his distress with regard to the civil war and the actions of the ecclesiastical leaders. As Kokkinos reports, Palamas had an intense literary activity while imprisoned, composing seven *antirrhetikoi* against Akindynos. Kokkinos showcases again his familiarity with Palamas' works and offers a short review of these *antirrhetikoi*.[1088] Resuming the *psogos* against Kalekas, Kokkinos describes the patriarch as a "false leader of the church" and "champion (*hypermachos*) of heresy," having ordained a heretic as metropolitan (Hyakinthos of Cyprus). In contrast, Kokkinos extolls "the Christ-loving empress" Anna of Savoy who defended Orthodoxy and deposed Kalekas. Moreover, Kokkinos stresses that God rewarded the empress with a long reign due to her active support and defence of Orthodoxy.[1089]

Later in the *v.G.Pal*., Kokkinos offers an account of Palamas' participation in the synod of Blachernai (1351). He portrays him as "hoplite, commander," and "thrice-conqueror,"[1090] while he styles the anti-hesychasts as Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, and Gibeonites. Interestingly, as mentioned, he refers to the frescoes painted on the walls of the *Alexiakos triklinos* of the Blachernai Palace, depicting the church synods, in which the heretics are not identified by name.[1091] Kokkinos does not offer any other details on the synod, but instead mentions and praises the synodal *tomos* he composed. He calls the *tomos* "a pillar of Orthodoxy, trophy of piety, and unshaken tower of theology," and stresses that he wrote it in line with patristic

[1087] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 75.
[1088] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 76–77. PS III, 39–506.
[1089] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 78.
[1090] Kokkinos *v.G.Pal.* 91–94; 91.19: γενναῖον ὁπλίτην τε καὶ στρατηγόν; 92.1: ὁ τρισαριστεύς.
[1091] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 92.29–32.

tradition.[1092] He next condemns the remnants of the heresy and compares them to the "struggling tail of a dying snake."[1093] Finally, Kokkinos fashions Palamas and himself as Apostle Peter and Klement respectively, a *synkrisis* that he may have chosen possibly for the similarity of the initials of their surname, Palamas–Peter and Kokkinos–Klement.[1094]

The debates surrounding hesychasm are presented in the *v.Isid.*, although to a lesser extent than in the *v.G.Pal.* (*ca*. 1200 words).[1095] As seen, Isidore is styled as a warrior who gathers an army against Barlaam (*v.Isid.* 27). Kokkinos briefly covers the synod of 1341. He criticises Barlaam and compares him to an Egyptian serpent and the mythical Proteus, who feigns agreement with the synod and returns to the Latins (*v.Isid.* 28). Kokkinos also criticises Akindynos, portraying him as Barlaam's disciple and heir, "the most wretched apostate and traitor of the Church and Orthodoxy, the many-headed Hydra, the obstinate Pharaoh," the source of the Egyptian plagues, blood, frogs, and the gloomy and moonless night. As in the *v.G.Pal*., Kokkinos makes a pun on Akindynos' name, stating that he falsely bears this name.[1096]

II.2.5. Ecclesiastical office

Among Kokkinos' heroes, only Palamas and Isidore reach the higher echelons of the hierarchy: the former as metropolitan of Thessalonike, while the latter as bishop-elect of Monembasia and subsequently patriarch of Constantinople. In the final section of their *vitae*, Kokkinos presents their pastoral activity, as well as the trials and difficulties they faced during their office. Kokkinos mentions that Palamas was appointed metropolitan in the first part of 1347, and served "in his marvellous administration of the church of Thessalonike" for twelve and a half years.[1097] At the beginning of his office, Palamas was twice prevented from entering and assuming his

[1092] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 93.6–7: στήλην ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ τρόπαιον εὐσεβείας καὶ πύργον θεολογίας ἀκράδαντον.
[1093] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 93.10–11: καθαπερεί τινος δράκοντος τεθνηκότος οὐραῖον ὑποσπαῖρον ἔτι.
[1094] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 94.
[1095] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 26–29.
[1096] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 29.15–23: μύστην ἑαυτοῦ … καὶ διάδοχον, τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς δόξης … κάκιστον ἀποστάτην τε καὶ προδότην, τὴν πολυκέφαλον Ὕδραν, τὸν σκληρόν τε καὶ βαρυκάρδιον Φαραώ, τὴν αἵματος καὶ βατράχων Αἰγυπτίων πεπληρωμένην πηγήν, τὴν ζοφερὰν καὶ ἀσέληνον ἐκείνην νύκτα … Ἀκίνδυνόν φημι τὸν μιαρὸν καὶ ψευδώνυμον.
[1097] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 79; 115.16–17. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 325.

see due to the Zealot revolt and its aftermath (*v.G.Pal*. 80, 84). His years as metropolitan are marked by his constant involvement in the promotion of hesychast theology (*v.G.Pal*. 91–94), as well as his Turkish captivity in Anatolia (*v.G.Pal*. 98–103). Following the Constantinopolitan synods of 1341, Isidore was appointed bishop-elect of Monembasia. However, as Kokkinos writes, due to the political mayhem that also engulfed the ecclesiastical sphere, he was neither ordained nor did he take up his metropolitan see (*v.Isid.* 30–36). After *ca*. three years, he was deposed by Patriarch Kalekas and remained in Constantinople (*v.Isid.* 37–44). Following John VI Kantakouzenos' rise to power, Isidore is elevated to the patriarchal see and spends three years guiding his flock through the difficult period following the end of the civil war (*v.Isid.* 45–69). Kokkinos covers the period of Palamas' and Isidore's ecclesiastical offices in close to 30% of the whole account in both *vitae*, *ca*. 14,000 words in the *v.G.Pal*., and *ca*. 10,000 words in the *v.Isid.*

II.2.5.1. Isidore

Residing in Constantinople after his election as metropolitan of Monembasia, Isidore is sought by people from his metropolitan see who are either residents (*metoikoi*) of the capital or travelling there for trade. Kokkinos refers to them as "Dorians" in an archaizing way, using the historical name of the people of the Peloponnesos, and presents them as people who used to wage war and fight by sea in the past and who are now working in trade (*emporia*) or the military. Kokkinos presents Isidore's relation to his flock, writing that people treasure him as a trophy (*tropaion*) and seek him for prayer and guidance, while he leads them to repentance and works miracles for them.[1098] This is followed by an example of one of Isidore's miracles in which he cures a woman of barrenness. Kokkinos follows the account of the miracle with a short exegesis, stating that this is proof of Isidore's freedom of speech (*parrhesia*) in front of God.[1099] Kokkinos then makes an excursus on Isidore's philanthropy and attitude towards material possessions. For instance, he reports that when his hero is brought a gift of money from Monembasia consisting of 300 golden coins, he orders

[1098] Kokkinos, *v.Isid.* 31–32.
[1099] Kokkinos, *v.Isid.* 33.

that the entire sum be divided to the needy, 200 to the poor, and 100 to cover the necessities and wages of the clergy.[1100]

Kokkinos next covers the circumstances that led to Isidore's deposition in November 1344.[1101] As in several other places throughout his *vitae*, Kokkinos expresses his hesitation and reluctance to proceed further, given the nature of the events he has to narrate. He describes contemporary events as a form of ecclesiastical disorder (*ataxia*), confusion, and depravity (*mochtheria*), and the civil war as a worldly hurricane (*kataigis*), with blasts of wind and bitter winter.[1102] This section also echoes Gregory Nazianzen's *Orations* and includes another virulent criticism of Patriarch Kalekas.[1103] Kokkinos refers to Palamas' imprisonment, calling him "my philosopher, wise man and general (*strategos*)" and Nazarite.[1104] In this context, Kalekas deposes and excommunicates Isidore, whom Kokkinos compares to the prophet Samuel who was rejected from the altar and priesthood, and replaced by Nebuzaradan, the commander of Nebuchadnezzar's guard (cf. 2 Kings 25), wordplay through which Kokkinos alludes to Iakobos Koukounares, Isidore's successor for the metropolitan see of Monembasia.[1105] Kokkinos deems the deposition of his hero as "a calamity" (*tragodia*), not different from the early persecutions of Christians, and styles him as a "bloodless martyr, and a conspicuous and unconquered wearer of the crown" (*stephanites*).[1106]

Next in the narrative, Kokkinos focuses extensively on Isidore's activity and urban apostolate in Constantinople following his deposition.[1107] He builds legitimacy for his hero, weaving into his narrative several accounts of Isidore's miracles during this period, as well as a dream vision in which Isidore receives endorsement as hymnographer from John of Damascus and Kosmas the Melodos. Kokkinos first covers at length, in *ca*. 1500 words, the spiritual guidance offered by his hero to an

[1100] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 34.
[1101] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 35–36.
[1102] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 35.1–16.
[1103] Gregory Nazianzen, *Orations* 21.23, 42.26, 43.28.
[1104] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 35.20–30.
[1105] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 35.48–51.
[1106] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 35.69–71: τὴν κοινὴν τραγῳδίαν, οὐδὲν τῶν κατὰ τῶν πιστῶν παλαιῶν τε καὶ μεγίστων ἐκείνων διωγμῶν σχεδὸν διαφέρουσαν; *v.Isid*. 36.4–5: ἀναίμακτος μάρτυς καὶ στεφανίτης λαμπρὸς καὶ ἀήττητος.
[1107] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 37–44.

aristocratic woman.[1108] He reports that when the woman realized "the deceit of the world" and wished to leave it in order to dedicate herself to Christ, Isidore advised her to remain with her husband and children. Kokkinos most likely included this section as a response to accusations levelled against the holy man in the *tomos* of July 1347 for meddling in people's marriages and separating women from their husbands and children.[1109] Isidore also helps the woman overcome a trial by the devil, which fills her house with worms and snakes, and foresees where she hides from her family. Interestingly, it is in this section that Kokkinos refers to his hero as "saint" (*hagios*) for the first time,[1110] probably to underline that Isidore already displays signs of sainthood, such as foreknowledge and ability to cast out demons. The holy man also works a triad of miracles for Nicholas of Monembasia, described by Kokkinos as Isidore's friend, supporter of hesychasm and of John VI Kantakouzenos. This triad partly mirrors another series of three miracles that Palamas works posthumously for the family of the *hetaireiarches* Andronikos Tzimiskes from Berrhoia.[1111] These miracle accounts will be analysed in Part III.1.

Kokkinos also fashions Isidore as a gifted hymnographer who promotes hesychast theology through his hymns in honour of the Holy Trinity.[1112] He introduces a legitimizing dream vision in which Isidore receives endorsement from John of Damascus and Kosmas the Melodos. The holy man recounts in reported speech that he was standing in the middle of the church, flanked on both sides by "the leaders and masters of the holy singers (*melodoi*), the most pleasant and harmonious mouths of the church, the wise John and Kosmas."[1113] They took in their hands Isidore's book with his compositions—called by Kokkinos *dogmatikon biblion*—perused it, and found it complete, telling him that there was no need to add anything to it.[1114]

Isidore's ascension to the patriarchal throne is foreshadowed in two elaborate dream visions, which present this event as divinely sanctioned and endorsed by

[1108] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 37–39.
[1109] *Tomos* of July 1347, *PG* 150, 877D–885A, at 879D and 881D.
[1110] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 39.51.
[1111] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 40–43; *v.G.Pal*. 130–133.
[1112] Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, vol. 5, 273; Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2293; Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 16.5 (II.827–828); Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* 4.3 (III.26).
[1113] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 44.22–24: τοὺς τῶν ἱερῶν μελῳδῶν ἐξάρχους καὶ κορυφαίους ἐκείνους, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἥδιστά φημι τῳόντι καὶ μουσικὰ στόματα, Ἰωάννην τε καὶ Κοσμᾶν τοὺς σοφούς.
[1114] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 44.24–36.

Christ and the Theotokos. The first vision belongs to the monk Ioannikios Gabras, who Kokkinos assumes is known to his audience,[1115] presented as a notable and virtuous man and a reliable source.[1116] The vision is rendered in reported speech and constitutes an elaborate scene set in Hagia Sophia. Thus, while Gabras was praying one night, it seemed to him that he was heading towards the Great Church where a "great and bright feast" was under way.[1117] He learns from one of the bystanders that this is an imperial feast (*basilike panegyris*) in which "the emperor is giving his daughter in marriage to Isidore."[1118] Kokkinos renders the dialogue between the two and confers dynamism to this scene. Gabras is confused by the answer and replies that this cannot be the case since Isidore has been a monk from childhood and subsequently bishop-elect of Monembasia. Therefore, he enters Hagia Sophia to learn the cause of the great ceremony. There he witnesses "a spectacle (*theama*) beyond word and mind,"[1119] namely a wedding ceremony officiated by Christ between His daughter and Isidore. Standing like a man between the imperial gates, with Isidore and the bride at His side, Christ commands Isidore to embrace her as customary, gives him a ring, then takes them both inside the sanctuary. There, Christ finally seats Isidore on the holiest throne of heavens on earth and offers him the bride and "the high-priestly and pastoral staff."[1120] After reporting this vision, Kokkinos interprets it, stressing that it is Christ who appoints Isidore as bridegroom and leader of the ecumenical church.[1121] Thus, through this elaborate account of Gabras' dream vision, Kokkinos builds legitimacy for Isidore's ascension to the patriarchal throne.

Kokkinos reports the second dream vision, which seemingly occurred during Epiphany, by reproducing Isidore's testimony in reported speech again (*ca*. 1500 words).[1122] While praying, Isidore dreams that he finds himself in the Church of the Theotokos at Blachernai, from where he joins a great procession carrying icons,

[1115] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 45.7–8.
[1116] Kokkinos, *v.Isid.* 45–46.
[1117] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 45.17–18: μεγάλης ἐκεῖθεν αἰσθέσθαι ὡσπερεί τινος ἑορτῆς λαμπρᾶς.
[1118] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 45.22–23: "Ὁ βασιλεύς," φησί, "τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον νῦν ἐκδιδοὺς Ἰσιδώρῳ."
[1119] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 45.33–34: Καὶ εἰσιόντι θέαμα καινὸν εὐθὺς καθορᾶται καὶ λόγον ὄντως ὑπερβαῖνον καὶ νοῦν.
[1120] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 45.46–49: τὸν μὲν ἱερὸν νυμφίον Ἰσίδωρον ἐπὶ τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ ἀντιτύπου τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐκείνου θρόνου καθεσθῆναι ποιήσας, τὴν ἀρχιερατικήν τε καὶ ποιμαντικὴν ἐγχειρίζει δι' ἑαυτοῦ βακτηρίαν.
[1121] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 46.
[1122] Kokkinos, *v.Isid.* 47.

headed towards Hagia Sophia. When he arrives at the Great Church, he sees the patriarch in the middle of the church. Isidore recounts that the patriarch had a dark face, another subtle criticism of Kalekas. Suddenly, he sees the Theotokos appearing out of her icon, "animated and living," and speaking to him. In fact, most of this section constitutes a long dialogue between Isidore and the Theotokos. She tells the holy man that his place is not among the crowd, but the one occupied by the patriarch. Moreover, the Theotokos foretells that Kalekas will soon be deposed since he ceased to support Orthodoxy, as a supporter of Barlaam and Akindynos, and an "impostor" and "destroyer" of his flock. Finally, she informs Isidore that he will replace Kalekas on the patriarchal throne.[1123]

After this account, Kokkinos praises his hero in an *apostrophe*, highlighting Isidore's special connection with the Theotokos. It is important to point out that Isidore wrote in his testament that he had accepted the patriarchal throne out of obedience to the Theotokos, who showed herself to him in a vision six months before his appointment as patriarch.[1124] Kokkinos most likely borrowed this detail from Isidore's testament and expanded it into the elaborate scene found in the *v.Isid*. However, he seems to have changed the details regarding the date of the vision, since Isidore was consecrated patriarch on May 17, 1347, four months after the alleged vision. Kokkinos mentions that Kalekas' deposition occurred 30 days after Isidore's vision and brought concord (*symphonia*) after the ecclesiastical discord (*stasis*), division (*diairesis*), and the "badly perishing slander" (*sykophantia*).[1125]

Kokkinos briefly covers the election of the new patriarch.[1126] If in the *v.Sab*. he offers an extensive account of Sabas' stubborn refusal of the patriarchal throne, discussed in Part III.2, in the *v.Isid*. he cursorily treats this episode and praises Sabas as "the best and brightest citizen of Athos."[1127] After Sabas refuses the "wise emperor" (John VI Kantakouzenos), Isidore is elected "*didaskalos* and patriarch of the inhabited world."[1128] Kokkinos underlines *in extenso* the difficult context in which his hero became patriarch. He describes the ecclesiastical situation as a

[1123] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 47.139–140: "Μήτηρ μὲν ἐγὼ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καθάπερ ἤδη καὶ φθάσασα καθυπέδειξα, πατριάρχης δ' οἰκουμενικὸς σύ."
[1124] Isidore, *Diatheke*, *PG* 152, 1299AB.
[1125] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 49.1–16.
[1126] Kokkinos, *v.Isid.* 49–50.
[1127] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 49.30–31: Σάβαν τὸν ἐμόν, τὸν περιφανῆ καὶ κάλλιστον πολίτην … τοῦ Ἄθω.
[1128] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 50.19–20: τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλόν τε καὶ πατριάρχη.

"drought" and "a garden without water."[1129] Employing Scriptural references, Kokkinos presents Isidore as ending this drought by bringing water in the "desert" and rebuilding the church together with "fellow-workmen of the Gospel, I mean Apollos, Silvanos, Silas, Barnabas, and Timothy."[1130] He explains this metaphor and *synkrisis,* writing that shortly after his appointment, Isidore, "the luminary and *didaskalos* of the inhabited world," anointed thirty-two new bishops [his "fellow-workmen"].[1131]

Next, Kokkinos refers to his own appointment as metropolitan of Herakleia in an aside of *ca*. 900 words. He claims that he was initially reluctant to accept this office, but was convinced and forced to accept it. Moreover, he highlights the importance of his position as the second in authority and rank after that of the patriarch. Kokkinos fashions himself as a close friend of Isidore, whom he calls "my most esteemed and truly beloved head."[1132] Most importantly, he stresses that on his deathbed Isidore appointed him as his rightful heir to the patriarchal throne. Finally, he extensively complains about the difficulties he faced after his deposition.

Kokkinos dedicates a considerable part of the narrative to describe Isidore's patriarchate, which was marked by severe economic hardship in the aftermath of the civil war. He writes that Isidore becomes an object of slander, insult and calumny, which he bears like Stephen the Martyr and Christ (*v.Isid*. 56). He is described as navigating the turbulent times following the civil war, the surging of the waves and "the universal winter and hurricane," as a vigilant steersman (*kybernetes*) who does not let his ship dash against the rocks and sink.[1133] Moreover, quoting Pindar's *Olympian Odes*, Kokkinos writes that Isidore "sets up golden pillars to support the strong-walled porch of our abode" [the Church].[1134] He stresses that although the civil war had depleted the imperial coffers, the new patriarch did not despair of the

[1129] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 51.3–5: Ἔδει καὶ γὰρ ἀνυδρίᾳ πάλαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Χριστοῦ ξηρανθεῖσαν καὶ ὡς παράδεισον ὕδατος ἄμοιρον γενομένην.
[1130] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 51.11–13: συνεργῶν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, Ἀπολλώς φημι τούτους καὶ Σιλουανούς τε καὶ Σίλας ἢ Βαρνάβας, εἰ βούλει, καὶ Τιμοθέους. Cf. Isaiah 43:19–20.
[1131] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 51.21–32: τριάκοντα καὶ γὰρ πρὸς δυσὶν ὁ μέγας οὑτοσὶ τῶν ποιμένων ποιμὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τινὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῷ θείῳ δηλαδὴ πνεύματι χρίει ποιμένας … οἰκουμενικὸν ἐκεῖνον φωστῆρα καὶ διδάσκαλον χρηματίσαι […].
[1132] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 53.2: τιμιωτάτη μοι κεφαλὴ καὶ φίλη τῷ ὄντι.
[1133] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 57.5–24.
[1134] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 54.1–2: "εὐτειχεῖ προθύρῳ θαλάμου χρυσέας ὑποστήσαντι κίονας," κατὰ Πίνδαρον. Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 6.1–2.

greatness of the fight, but undertook the reconstruction with courage.[1135] Isidore shows great philanthropy, of which Kokkinos includes two examples. In one scene set in wintertime, the patriarch offers his shoes to a member of the clergy and walks barefoot in the church (*v.Isid*. 63). Moreover, he takes care of, and feeds, the members of the clergy and other people in need. Kokkinos depicts Isidore as Christ, who works "the greatest miracle of his great faith,"[1136] multiplying food (*v.Isid*. 64), and he also heals a nun from the Constantinopolitan convent of Pertze who was suffering from blood discharge, like the woman healed by Christ (*v.Isid*. 65).

Kokkinos further depicts his hero offering spiritual guidance to empress Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina, who had married John V Palaiologos at an early age, in a ceremony officiated by Isidore at the end of May 1347. Kokkinos reports that on one occasion, the patriarch visited the young empress, together with members of the senate and clergy. During this visit, he addressed her fears about her embryo, as she was three months pregnant with her first child (Andronikos IV Palaiologos). Kokkinos reports that Isidore reassured Helena that she would deliver easily and bear a healthy boy, who would inherit the imperial throne. In an internal *prolepsis*, Kokkinos avers that, according to Isidore's prophecy, the empress gave birth to a boy, described as the second emperor after his father and the first heir to the throne. Given that Andronikos IV was born in April 1348 and based on the information provided by Kokkinos, the alleged encounter between Isidore and the empress would have occurred in October 1347.

Prior to the account of Isidore's death, Kokkinos offers an example of his hero's gift of clairvoyance (*v.Isid.* 67). After the patriarch fell ill, a physician who attended him complained that he was deprived of a sum of money by one of his associates (*oikeios*). Through a vision of the Theotokos, Isidore revealed to the physician that the culprit was one of the servants, who hid the money in the vicinity of the Monastery of Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople.[1137] Kokkinos ends the section on Isidore's ecclesiastical office with praise of his zeal and his care for the

[1135] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 57–58.
[1136] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 64.34–35: Τοῦτο τοῦ μεγάλου τῆς μεγάλης πίστεως τὸ μέγιστον θαῦμα. Kokkinos employs here a *polyptoton*, as he often does throghout his *vitae*.
[1137] Janin, *Églises CP*, 10–11.

clergy and the Church, comparing him to Aaron and Moses and styling him as a new lawgiver (*v.Isid.* 68–69).

II.2.5.2. Palamas

Kokkinos styles Palamas as a confessor and defender of Orthodoxy, rewarded with the metropolitan see of Thessalonike for his virtue and his fight for the right faith. Upon arriving to his "allotted seat (*kathedra*) and city," Palamas is prevented from entering, and Kokkinos explains that Thessalonike "turns away from her father" due to the lingering discord (*stasis*) in the city, that is, the Zealot revolt (*v.G.Pal.* 79–80). Kokkinos then weaves into the narrative an account of a healing miracle through which he underlines his hero's legitimacy as metropolitan of Thessalonike. The miracle occurs during the Divine Liturgy, when the paralysed daughter of a priest is cured of her infirmity in response to the priest's inquiry to God about the divine endorsement of the new metropolitan (*v.G.Pal.* 81).

Barred from taking up his metropolitan see, Palamas travels to Athos, where he meets Stefan Dušan (*v.G.Pal.* 82–83). Kokkinos recounts that the leader of the Serbians attempts to win Palamas over and to convince him to be his ambassador to the Byzantine emperor. As Kokkinos explains, Dušan does not want, in fact, to have Palamas in his newly-conquered Byzantine territories, since the holy man is a "spark (*zopyron*) of the empire (*basileia*) of the Romans" that could easily rekindle the flame of affection (*eunoia*) of the inhabitants [under Dušan's rule] towards the empire.[1138] Writing in a short authorial aside that "it is worthy not to overlook this," Kokkinos offers more details of the encounter between Palamas and Dušan.[1139] When the latter tries to entice Palamas with promises of cities, churches and money, the holy man expresses his attitude towards material possessions, replying that "we [the monastics] do not need at all political authority, and lands, and taxes, and income, and money."[1140] He exemplifies this by using the metaphor of a sponge: just as the Aegean Sea would never be dried up by a sponge that can only absorb a glass

[1138] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 82.14–18: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐβούλετο νεοπαγῆ καὶ κραδαινομένην ἔτι τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν κεκτημένος, τὸν μέγαν ἐκεῖνον παρ' ἐκείνῃ κεκτῆσθαι, ζώπυρον οἱονεὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὄντα Ῥωμαίων καὶ ῥᾷστα δυνάμενον τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους τῆς εὐνοίας τῶν οἰκείων αὖθις ἀνάψαι φλόγα.
[1139] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 83.1: Ἄξιον δὲ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνο παραδραμεῖν.
[1140] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 83.11–12: Πολιτικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ χωρῶν καὶ φόρων καὶ προσόδων καὶ χρημάτων πολυταλάντων τὸ παράπαν ἡμῖν οὐδ' ἠτισοῦν χρεία.

of water, so too monks, who are accustomed to live with scarce means, would not take up more than what is needed, even if they were buried in all the gold of the earth or the mythical stream of Paktolos.[1141] Kokkinos thus underlines once again his hero's importance not only for the *ekklesia*, but also for the *basileia*, as he did when reporting Palamas' departure from Constantinople in his twenties, described as an "amputation of the empire."[1142]

A second attempt to enter Thessalonike ends again in failure, as Palamas' entry is conditioned on relinquishing his support for the emperor and removing his praise from the diptychs (*v.G.Pal*. 84). He therefore heads towards Lemnos, introduced as "the native island of Hephaistos."[1143] Kokkinos presents him as a civilising hero who reverses the proverbial Lemnian evils,[1144] and includes another miracle, in which Palamas saves a town from a local outbreak of pestilence (*v.G.Pal*. 85). Weaving fragments of hymns from the Easter canon into the narrative, Kokkinos presents Palamas as "a second Christ who rises from Hades and from the tomb of the persecutions and exile," and whose triumphal entrance and procession through Thessalonike surpass in joy even the Easter celebration.[1145] Echoing Gregory Nazianzen's *Oration on St. Athanasios*, Kokkinos compares this event to Athanasios' entrance in Alexandria (*v.G.Pal.* 86–87).[1146] Upon his entrance, Palamas offers his first homily on concord and peace.[1147] Kokkinos compensates for the trials of his hero and emphasizes the acts of atonement of his fellow citizens, who roll at Palamas' feet kissing them, confess their audaciousness, and ask his forgiveness for previously shunning him. Moreover, an additional miracle serves to reinforce the divine legitimacy of Palamas' ascension to the metropolitan see. Kokkinos reports that during Palamas' first Divine Liturgy, his hero cures the son of the previously mentioned priest of lunacy (*v.G.Pal.* 88).

[1141] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 83.12–25. This is reference to the river in which King Midas washed his hands to be delivered from his golden touch, turning the river sands into gold. *CPG* I.316.
[1142] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 13.4–5: τοῦ κράτους ἀκρωτηριασμόν.
[1143] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 84.22: τῇ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου μητρὶ παραπέμποντα νήσῳ. Homer, *Iliad* 1, 584.
[1144] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 85.7–9: οὐ "τῶν Λημνίων κακῶν" κατ' ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ τῶν Λημνίων ἀγαθῶν μᾶλλον δι' αὐτοῦ πειρωμένοις. See *CPG* I.110, 270, II.121, 503–504.
[1145] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 87.22–24: Χριστὸν ἄλλον ἄντικρυς δοκοῦντες ὁρᾶν τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητήν τε καὶ μιμητήν, ὡς ἐξ Ἅδου καὶ μνήματος τῶν διωγμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑπερορίας ἐπανιόντα.
[1146] See Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 21.28.
[1147] PS VI, 39–45.

On his way back to Thessalonike from the Constantinopolitan synod of 1351, Palamas works a miracle of nature, saving the ship he was travelling with from shipwreck (*v.G.Pal.* 95). Kokkinos styles him as a mediator (*mesites*) between God and his flock, succeeding in calming the hurricane (*kataigis*) and the troubled sea. Prevented once more from entering Thessalonike, this time by Emperor John V, he goes to Athos (*v.G.Pal.* 95–96). Kokkinos briefly comments on the political manoeuvres of John V Palaiologos and subtly criticizes him, as will be discussed in Part III.2. Before recounting Palamas' Ottoman captivity, Kokkinos includes another miracle account, having the nun Eleodora from the convent of Basilikon in Thessalonike as beneficiary (*v.G.Pal*. 97).

En route to Constantinople on an embassy on behalf of John V Palaiologos, Palamas falls captive (*aichmalotos*) to the Ottomans. Kokkinos covers his hero's year of captivity (March 1354–spring 1355) in *ca*. 5500 words (*v.G.Pal.* 98–103), quoting extensively from the so-called dossier of Palamas' Ottoman captivity. This includes a pastoral *Letter* sent by Palamas to his flock in Thessalonike, another short letter, which is an abridged version of the former, and the minutes of Palamas' dialogue with the Chionai, recorded by the Christian Greek physician Taronites. This section will be discussed in Part III.3.

Kokkinos covers Palamas' final years as metropolitan of Thessalonike in *ca*. 3300 words (*v.G.Pal.* 104–114). He reports that soon after his ransom from the Ottoman captivity, Palamas composed a *logos* in two volumes against the Latins on the procession of the Holy Spirit (*v.G.Pal*. 104). Next in the narrative, Kokkinos includes five miracle accounts: a miracle of nature by which Palamas ends a drought in Thessalonike, and four other healing miracles to the benefit of a monk and two children (*v.G.Pal.* 105–108). Kokkinos briefly describes Palamas' pastoral activities, highlighting his "wonderful connection (*syndyasmos*) and concord (*symphonia*)" with his flock. Moreover, he extols his virtues, stresses that he was "a canon and measure" to everyone, and fashions him as "a great and new saint (*hagios*) in these late and humble times" (*v.G.Pal*. 109–111).[1148] If Kokkinos has so far presented Palamas as confessor, martyr and saint, in this section he fashions his hero similarly to Christ, writing that the sick were placed at his feet and were miraculously healed

[1148] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 111.15–16: καὶ μέγας καὶ καινός τις … ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καὶ ταπεινοῖς τουτοισὶ καιροῖς γενόμενος ἅγιος.

(cf. Matthew 15:30). In a lengthy excursus on Palamas' virtues, Kokkinos highlights his gentleness, humility and steadfast endurance. He also includes testimonies by Sabas and Germanos, styled as the "lamps of discernment." Kokkinos further adds the testimony of an adversary turned supporter, namely Theodore Atuemes, who praises Palamas as the highest teacher of theology (*v.G.Pal.* 111–113).

II.2.6. End of life – birth of the saint

After an account of varying length and complexity describing a monastic career, a *vita* usually includes a scene of the saint's death.[1149] This type of narrative structure has been analysed by Agapitos in the ninth-century *vitae* of Michael the Synkellos (*BHG* 1296) and Stephen the Younger (*BHG* 1666). He proposes a classification of mortuary *topoi* based on the distinctions between a good/bad, natural/unnatural and a companioned/solitary death.[1150] Agapitos breaks down a conventional death scene in a saint's *vita* into five components: (1) a *formulaic frame,* which consists of authorial comments that introduce the death scene and offer chronological details, (2) the *space of death,* referring to the spatial coordinates of the action, (3) the *discourse before death,* that is, the last words of the saint or of another character, (4) the *moment of death,* and (5) the *conclusion of death,* whereby the deceased is laid to rest. I will next examine Kokkinos' literary treatment of his heroes' demise, taking into account this methodological framework.

The death scene varies considerably in length in the five *vitae*, as shown in Table 12. Although quite short (*ca*. 294 words), this scene takes up considerable narrative space in the *v.Nik.* (*ca*. 11%), due to the overall brevity of the *hypomnema*.[1151] However, in terms of number of words, the longest account of a saint's death is found in the *v.Isid*., which stands at a little over 1400 words (*ca*. 4,77% of the *vita*).[1152] The *v.G.Pal.* follows as a distant second with 723 words,[1153] whereas the shortest accounts are those found in the *v.Germ*. in terms of number of

[1149] For the Latin tradition, see Boglioni, "La scène de la mort," in *Le sentiment de la mort,* 183–210. For the Byzantine context, see Beck, *Die Byzantiner und ihr Jenseits*; Abrahamse, "Rituals of death," *GOTR* 29 (1984): 125–134.
[1150] Agapitos, "Mortuary typology,"in *Les vies des saints à Byzance,* 103–135.
[1151] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 6–7.8.
[1152] Kokkinos, *v.Isid.* 70–73.
[1153] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 114.10–116.

words (*ca*. 281)[1154] and the *v.Sab*. in terms of percentage of the overall account (*ca*. 0,78%).[1155]

Table 12. Length of the death scene in Kokkinos' *vitae*

Vita	**Number of words**	**% of the *vita***
v.Nik.	294	11,02
v.Sab.	390	0,78
v.Isid.	1423	4,77
v.Germ.	281	1,39
v.G.Pal.	723	1,44

With the exception of Nikodemos, who had a violent death in Thessalonike and was refused the comfort and community of his own monastery, the rest of Kokkinos' heroes have peaceful, natural deaths in the company of their disciples or members of the monastic communities where they lived. Sabas and Isidore die in Constantinople, the former at the Chora Monastery, Germanos on Mount Athos and Palamas in Thessalonike. Sabas, Isidore, and Palamas enjoy foreknowledge of their death, which is imparted to them through dream visions, another rhetorical device that suggests their exceptional character. Sabas accordingly makes suitable preparations by visiting churches and monasteries in Constantinople together with his beloved disciple and biding acquaintances farewell. Isidore, Palamas and Germanos suffer from serious medical conditions: bowel cancer, an abdominal ailment and paralysis respectively. Although these afflictions cause them severe pain, the last two continue their regular program of prayers or, in the case of Palamas, pastoral duties, until becoming bedridden (*klinopetes*).[1156]

All the accounts refer to the holy men's final words (*exodia/exiteria rhemata*)[1157] before their demise. Nikodemos is reported to have offered a short final speech in which he reproached himself greatly for his sins and deemed himself "unworthy of life here on earth and of the life to come."[1158] Sabas' last words, which he whispered softly to his disciple, are on humility—a recurrent theme in his life and

[1154] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 45.
[1155] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 83.
[1156] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 114.15–21.
[1157] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 83.26: ῥήματά τινα ζητῶν ἐξιτήρια; *v.Isid*. 73.26: ἐξόδια ῥήματα.
[1158] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 6.19–20. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 228.

the virtue he embodies, as shown in several instances in his *vita*,[1159] while Germanos reportedly had a dialogue with his friends on the soul, possibly a deliberate reference to Gregory of Nyssa's *Dialogue on the Soul and the Resurrection* with his sister Macrina.[1160] In the *v.Isid*., Kokkinos mentions that the holy man was surrounded by a beloved "choir" of friends who asked for final words of guidance, thereby prompting Isidore to write his testament.[1161] Fulfilling his pastoral duties until the very end, Palamas gives what is implied to be an elaborate speech that includes scriptural arguments on the spiritual benefits of trials and patience (*karteria*), as well as on the life and death of the soul.[1162] Palamas is the only one for whom Kokkinos reports a miraculous death, since a "brilliant light appeared in the room" and a "supernatural radiance surrounded his face" after his demise, a clear indication of his sanctity.[1163] Isidore's holiness is also underlined by the testimony of a hieromonk who has a vision during the night following Isidore's interment in which he sees angels carrying the holy man's soul to heaven.[1164] The death scene is followed by posthumous miracle accounts only in the *v.Nik*., the *v.Isid*., and the *v.G.Pal*. In what follows, I will analyse in more detail the individual death accounts.

II.2.6.1. Nikodemos

Nikodemos is the only one of Kokkinos' heroes to have an unnatural, violent death, after falling victim to a fatal attack by murderous people. In this respect, the *v.Nik*. stands out among the other *vitae*. Nikodemos' death is also solitary, as he is rejected by his monastic community and dies outside the gates of his monastery. The death scene unfolds over the course of a single day. In its opening, Kokkinos signals the passage to a new narrative situation and offers an explanation of the events that will unfold:

> But this <saintly conduct> was intolerable to Satan who had malicious designs against Nikodemos from the very beginning, for

[1159] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 83.25–32.
[1160] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 45.18–19: τοῖς συνιοῦσι τῶν φίλων προσδιαλεγόμενος περὶ ψυχῆς.
[1161] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 73.25–31.
[1162] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 114.21–25. It seems likely that Kokkinos refers here to Palamas' *Homily* 32 (PS VI, 351–359). English translation by Veniamin, *Saint Gregory Palamas. The Homilies*, 251–258.
[1163] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 116.14–15: ἡ μὲν φανεῖσα κατ' οἶκον ἐκείνη λαμπρότης; 116.19–20: Τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν ὄψιν ὑπερφυοῦς αἴγλης.
[1164] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 74.

> the common enemy of our kind bore a severe grudge against him, and ground his teeth against him in insane fashion.[1165]

The devil therefore plots Nikodemos' death and bears the ultimate responsibility for his attack. This occurs at an unspecified time, namely "one day" when the holy man was "reclining in the midst of the prostitutes."[1166] Driven by jealousy, the "devil's slaves," as Kokkinos calls some local people who were most likely clients of the brothel, fatally stab Nikodemos. Still breathing, he asks to be taken back to his monastery, but is denied entrance on the premises, presumably due to the less than honorable circumstances of his attack. Banished from his community, Nikodemos reproaches himself in a discourse before his death, rendered in narratized speech:[1167]

> Then that man of adamantine will reproached himself greatly in an excess of humility, proclaiming that he was not only unworthy to enter the monastery, but also unworthy of life here on earth and of the life to come, since he had always been prone to the basest passions.[1168]

It is worth observing that in the *v.Nik.* Kokkinos does not render in direct speech the implied dialogues between the characters or Nikodemos' monologues. By doing so, Kokkinos seems to prioritize brevity over literary embellishment, in keeping with the literary conventions of the hagiographic form in which he chose to eulogize Nikodemos. After receiving the Eucharist outside the monastery gates, the holy man succumbs in this unusual space of death and his body is buried in an unspecified location close to the monastery.[1169] His violent death is, however, swiftly avenged, as his murderers fall into the hands of "Latins," that is, the Catalan Company, who cut off their hands.[1170] Kokkinos includes this short reference to the murderers' retributive punishment immediately after Nikodemos' death and follows it by an

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[1165] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 6.1–3: Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασκάνῳ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἦν ἀνεκτά, ἐφθόνει καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ δεινῶς ὁ τοῦ γένους κοινὸς πολέμιος καὶ μανιωδῶς κατ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀδόντας ὑπέτριζε. English translation by Talbot, "Nikodemos," 228.

[1166] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 6.11–12: Ἀμέλει καὶ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκεῖσε ταύταις ἀνακείμενον εὑρόντες. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 228.

[1167] Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 170–171, defines "narratized speech" as the most distant type of discourse in terms of narrative mood, in which the character's words are integrated into the narration.

[1168] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 6.17–20: Πλεῖστα δὲ ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἀδάμας καθυβρίσας δι' ὑπερβολὴν ταπεινώσεως, ἀνάξιόν τε μὴ μόνον τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰσόδου ἀποκαλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα οὐχ ἥκιστά γε καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς, ὡς αἰσχίστοις πάθεσιν ἀεὶ συζῶν. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 228.

[1169] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 6.13–17, 7.1–4.

[1170] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 7.5–8. In the spring of 1308, the Catalan Company raided the outskirts of Thessalonike. Cf. Palmer, "*Life of Sabas* as a source for the history of the Catalan Company," 36.

authorial comment on the fairness of their retribution, which he considers "a just action, even if they did not obtain a punishment worthy of their brazen deed."[1171]

II.2.6.2. Sabas

Unlike Nikodemos' violent death, Sabas has a peaceful, natural death, which he foresees ten days in advance and which takes place in his own cell, in the company of his faithful disciple. At the begininng of the death scene, Kokkinos makes reference to 2 Timothy 4:7–8, writing that, after finishing the contest (*agon*), Sabas was looking for the heaven and the crown (*stephanos*) reserved for him—another pun on his baptismal name.[1172] Paying special attention to time awareness by including precise time markers, Kokkinos offers a chronicle of Sabas' last days and of his preparations for the heavenly departure. Thus, ten days before his death, Sabas addresses his disciple (in *ca*. 30 words of reported speech), calling him to visit and pray in the holy churches of Constantinople.[1173] After two days of prayers and bidding acquaintances farewell, he spends two more days in *hesychia*, and on the third day informs his disciple about his impending death, bidding him not to grieve excessively.[1174]

The moment of death is conspicuously introduced by means of an authorial intervention in which Kokkinos expresses his reluctance to present what happened next. He fashions himself once more as Sabas' loving friend, who cannot bear to remember his demise, which he calls a common loss and misfortune.[1175] While "breathing his last"—an expression echoing Gregory Nazianzen's *Oration* 43 which Kokkinos also uses in the death scene in the *v.Isid*. and the *v.G.Pal*.—the holy man whispers to his beloved disciple some last words on humility as a farewell speech.[1176] Finally, he gives up his soul into God's hands through the bright angels who are present at his deathbed. A brief authorial aside points out that the holy man did not

[1171] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 7.7–8: τῆς δίκης δικαίως τοῦτο δρασάσης, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀξίως δήπου τοῦ τολμήματος σφῶν αὐτῶν εὕραντο τὰς ἀμοιβάς. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 228.
[1172] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 83.1–3. Kokkinos writes in the *v.Isid*. 73 along similar lines. See *infra*.
[1173] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 83.4–8.
[1174] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 83.8–19.
[1175] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 83.19–22.
[1176] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 83.23: ὁ μέγας τὰ τελευταῖα πνέων; cf. *v.Isid*. 73.25, *v.G.Pal*. 115.1–2. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 43.37.

live to reach old age, as he himself had foretold.[1177] The death scene ends with an *apostrophe* to Sabas, in which Kokkinos refers to himself in the third person as "Philotheos," fashioning himself as a grieving friend of the holy man, who remains in contact with him even after the latter's demise.[1178] After recounting Sabas' death, Kokkinos does not offer any details on the great man's funeral, place of burial, or any miracles he might have effected posthumously.

II.2.6.3. Isidore

The account of Isidore's death is the longest of the five. Most of this length is accounted for by an extensive praise and *synkrisis* with New Testament figures and church fathers (*ca.* 800 words).[1179] In the opening of the death scene, Isidore foretells the day of his death to his disciple, revealed to him through a divine vision (*v.Isid*. 70). He also discloses (in a brief intervention of *ca*. 50 words presented in reported speech) that he suffers from a terrible and difficult disease, the details of which Kokkinos only presents in the *v.Isid*. 72.[1180] The next section of the account is an extensive *synkrisis* of Isidore with the Apostles Peter, Paul and John, the Three Hierarchs, the desert fathers Antony and Arsenios, and "the pillars of Orthodoxy," Athanasios the Great and Maximos the Confessor. Isidore is also praised as an imitator of Christ and good shepherd of his flock, who fought against "the tyrants and detractors of the Church."[1181] After this lengthy eulogy, Kokkinos returns to the account of Isidore's final days, describing him as an "athlete" and "bloodless martyr," who was seeking the "crown of righteousness."[1182] Interestingly, Kokkinos again makes reference to 2 Timothy 4:7–8, using almost the same wording as in the *v.Sab*., barring slight modifications as indicated below:

v.Isid. 73.1–3	*v.Sab*. 83.1–3
Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτω καλῶς τὸν ἀγῶνά τε καὶ τὸν δρόμον τελέσας πρὸς τὸν ποθούμενον διαβαίνειν δεσπότην καὶ τὸν ἀποκείμενον τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανον ἔμελλε.	Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν δρόμον τελέσας καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν εἴπερ τις ἀγωνισάμενος εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἔβλεπεν ἤδη καὶ τὸν ἀποκείμενον στέφανον.

[1177] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 83.25–32.
[1178] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 83.33–40.
[1179] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 71–72.
[1180] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 70.1–14.
[1181] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 72.22–23: τοῖς τότε τῆς ἐκκλησίας τυράννοις ὁμοῦ καὶ διώκταις ζήλου πλήρης ἀντέστη.
[1182] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 73.8: ἀθλητὴς ἦν καὶ στεφανίτης τε καὶ μάρτυς ἀναίμακτος.

Kokkinos mentions that Isidore's terrible illness keeps him bedridden for a long time, which most likely meant *ca*. half a year, if one considers the time elapsed between the time Isidore stepped down from the patriarchal throne and his death. His affliction, most likely bowel cancer, is also described by Gregoras.[1183] Despite the excruciating pain near the end, Isidore praises the Lord while "breathing his last," surrounded by "the beloved choir" (*philos horos*) of friends and associates. Kokkinos describes them as deploring their orphanhood (*orphania*) and asking the holy man for final words of guidance. Kokkinos does not include Isidore's discourse before death, but mentions instead that he left a written testament.[1184] After a peaceful (*eirenikos*) death, the holy man's body is laid to rest with a great funerary ceremony, as Kokkinos also points out in the case of Palamas.[1185]

II.2.6.4. Germanos

Kokkinos offers a succinct, yet touching account of Germanos' serene (*eirenikos*) death, which begins with a brief praise of his achievements, through which he surpassed all his contemporaries.[1186] Kokkinos mentions that Germanos lived 84 years, 18 of which he spent in the world, and the rest in Athos, "the arena of virtue and holiness."[1187] He dies of natural causes, struck by paralysis on the left side six days before passing away. Nevertheless, he bravely continues his routine of prayers and singing psalms until his last day.[1188] Kokkinos offers a touching description of Germanos' peaceful and inconspicuous death in the arms of his nephew Iakobos. The holy man reveals the severity of his pains with little groans and passes away without any sign to those surrounding him, until his blessed departure is revealed by a long silence.[1189] Kokkinos ends the account on this peaceful and solemn note, without any details on the burial or posthumous miracles of the holy man, which, as mentioned, are also missing in the *v.Sab*.

[1183] Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 18.1 (II.870–871).
[1184] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 73.24–31.
[1185] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 73.31–40.
[1186] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 45.1–5.
[1187] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 45.5–9: […] τῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἁγιότητος … σταδίῳ.
[1188] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 45.9–20.
[1189] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 45.20–27.

II.2.6.5. Palamas

Palamas succumbs to an "abdominal illness," which he bears bravely by fulfilling his regular pastoral duties until becoming bedridden:

> But he rose above even this affliction, in his inclination toward God and his splendid affection for his flock. For he loved this flock in a worthy fashion and was marvelously loved by it in return … He continued to perform his divine and lofty duties in his customary fashion, teaching, performing the holy rites of the divine mysteries, leading processions, and celebrating feast days, and in every way instructing and sanctifying his own people.[1190]

As mentioned, he preaches on his deathbed with his "wondrous tongue" about "temptations and endurance," as well as "life and death and the soul."[1191] Similar to Sabas, Palamas also foretells the day of his death to those around him:

> He even announced the very day <of his death> to his friends many days in advance, <stating> that it would occur immediately after the holy feast day and anniversary of the death of the golden-tongued <John Chrysostom>.[1192]

Kokkinos describes the moment of Palamas' death in vivid detail. As the holy man is lying in bed, "breathing his last," he focuses his mind on his journey to heaven, and repeatedly whispers the words, "the heavenly to the heavenly."[1193] As in the case of Germanos, Kokkinos makes an authorial comment on Palamas' age, mentioning that his hero dies at the age of 63, after twelve and a half years as metropolitan.[1194] This information would place Palamas' death on November 14, 1359, although other

[1190] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 114.10–20: νόσῳ βαρείᾳ περιπίπτει τῶν σπλάγχνων … Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος καὶ ταύτης ἀνώτερος ὤν, τῇ τε πρὸς Θεὸν νεύσει καὶ τῇ λαμπρᾷ τοῦ ποιμνίου στοργῇ· ἐφίλει τε γὰρ ἀξίως καὶ ἀντεφιλεῖτο θαυμαστῶς ὑπ' ἐκείνου … τὰ θεῖα καὶ ὑψηλὰ συνήθως ἐκτελῶν οὐκ ἀνῄει, διδάσκων, ἱερουργῶν ταῖς ἱεραῖς τελεταῖς τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, ἐμπομπεύων τε καὶ πανηγυρίζων καὶ διὰ πάντων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καταρτίζων λαὸν καὶ καθαγιάζων […] ἡττᾶται μόλις τῆς νόσου καὶ κλινοπετὴς ὤν. English translation by Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 323.

[1191] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 114.21–25: τῇ θαυμαστῇ γλώττῃ· περὶ πειρασμῶν τε καὶ καρτερίας … καὶ τοὺς περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου καὶ ψυχῆς προστίθησι λόγους. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 323.

[1192] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 114.26–28: καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὴν ἐκείνην πολλαῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις προαγγεῖλαι τοῖς φίλοις, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Χρυσορρήμονος αὐτίκα θείαν τελετὴν καὶ τὴν κοίμησιν οὖσαν. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 323. On the association between Palamas and Chrysostom, see Rigo, "Palamas 'nouveau Chrysostome'."

[1193] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 115.9–10: 'τὰ ἐπουράνια εἰς τὰ ἐπουράνια.' Cf. Polemis, "Neoplatonic and hesychastic elements in the early teaching of Palamas," *Pour une poétique de Byzance*, 205–221.

[1194] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 115.15–17.

contemporary sources, as Rigo noted, place it around 1357.[1195] Kokkinos next describes Palamas' miraculous transfiguration, writing that:

> the all-accomplishing grace of the Spirit provided an extraordinary indication of his death even to those outside, for it lit up the room which contained his dead body with a curious light, at the very moment of the departure of his soul.[1196]

Kokkinos reports that Palamas' face changed its exhausted appearance, evidence of his physical struggle and exhaustion prior to death, to a bright glow.[1197] He compares this presence of light to "the brilliant and divine appearance of the great Stephen" when he was speaking amidst the council of Jews, and calls both light manifestations of "the same Spirit and the same operation (*energeia*)."[1198] The supernatural radiance is reportedly first witnessed by two churchmen, one of whom is a monk, and later also by "all kinds of people of almost every age" who attended Palamas' funeral, and, as Kokkinos writes, "practically the whole city" of Thessalonike.[1199] As expected of his hagiographic technique, Kokkinos explains that this light is a sign of God's grace, which remains with Palamas' soul and earthly remains, transforming his tomb into "an abode of divine light, and a fount of miracles, a spring of holy graces and a free hospital for all."[1200]

With the exception of Nikodemos, Kokkinos' heroes die in the company of their disciples and other members of the community who lament their departure. Kokkinos establishes the proximity of death by referring to the worsening health of three of his holy men and presents the ailments to which they succumb. Sabas, Isidore, and Palamas learn the time of their death in advance. This foreknowledge allows Sabas to make arrangements for his earthly departure, including to prepare his

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[1195] See Rigo, "La canonizzazione," 159, n. 9.

[1196] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 116.1–3: Ἐπισημαίνει γε μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἐξαισίως ἡ παντουργὸς αὕτη τοῦ πνεύματος χάρις κἀκεῖνα, φωτὶ μὲν περιλάμψασα τὸ τὸν νεκρὸν ἔχον ἐκείνου δωμάτιον, ἅμα τῇ ἐξόδῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ξένῳ. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 327 (slightly modified).

[1197] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 116.3–6.

[1198] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 116.6–11: τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Στεφάνου λαμπρᾶς καὶ θεοειδοῦς θέας ἐκείνης ... τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας ταῦτα κἀκεῖνα. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 327 (slightly modified).

[1199] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 116.16–21: μάρτυρες ἅπαν γένος καὶ ἡλικία σχεδὸν πᾶσα … ἄρα πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν πόλιν. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 327, 329.

[1200] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 116.23–28: θείου φωτὸς οἶκον καὶ θαυμάτων πηγὴν καὶ βρύσιν ἱερῶν χαρισμάτων καὶ κοινὸν καὶ ἀδάπανον ἰατρεῖον, τὸν ἱερὸν ἐκείνου τάφον ἐργαζομένης. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 329.

disciple for his loss. On their deathbed, the holy men offer their parting words, which are characteristic of their trajectory as monks. As seen, Sabas' last words are on humility, while Palamas preaches as a model hierarch on the trials, temptations, and the soul. The latter also has the most extraordinary death, as the divine light shines upon his face.

II.2.7. Posthumous account

If the *v.Germ*. ends with the hero's demise, the death scene is followed in the other *vitae* by additional information on the holy men's place of burial, bodily remains (relics), posthumous cult, miracles or visions. As indicated in Table 13, the *v.G.Pal*. has the longest posthumous account, which consists of sixteen miracles (part of his canonization dossier, to be analysed in Part III.1), information on his cult outside Thessalonike, as well as a dream vision on Palamas as a leading theologian.[1201] The posthumous account makes up the largest percentage of the *v.Nik*. and includes details on the discovery and translation of the saint's relics, the construction of a new church at his shrine, as well as three posthumous miracles.[1202] In the *v.Isid*., this section includes three miracle accounts, a dream vision on Isidore's ascension to heaven, and a lengthy *verbatim* passage from the epilogue of Nazianzen's *Funeral Oration on St. Basil the Great*.[1203] Finally, in the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos includes one dream vision through which he stresses the legitimacy of his hagiographic endeavour.[1204]

Table 13. Length of the posthumous account in Kokkinos' *vitae*

Vita	**Number of words**	**% of the *vita***
v.Nik.	930	34.87
v.Sab.	832	1.67
v.Isid.	1192	3.99
v.Germ.	–	–
v.G.Pal.	8386	16.73

[1201] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 116.28–33, 117–135.
[1202] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 7.8–32, 8–11.
[1203] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 74–80.
[1204] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.

II.2.7.1. Nikodemos

After the account of Nikodemos' death, Kokkinos describes the discovery of the saint's relics a few years later by some passers-by who perceive their fragrant odour. Upon digging a trench, they discover Nikodemos' body which Kokkinos describes in *asyndeton*: "intact, whole, complete, having suffered no corruption whatsoever."[1205] The discovery is considered "a stroke of good fortune" and turns into a reason of great joy for "the whole city of Thessalonike" and for the emperor himself who "happened to be residing in the city at that time."[1206] Kokkinos offers a brief description of the ceremonial reburial of the relics performed by the archbishop of the city together with all the citizens, "with perfumed oils and linen winding cloths."[1207] Kokkinos does not reveal the names of either the emperor or the archbishop, but it seems likely that he refers to Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos and Metropolitan Jeremiah.[1208] Kokkinos includes at the metadiegetic level three miracles performed by the saint, to be analysed in Part III.1. This section gathers, on grounds of thematic unity, three events that took place at different times, although their precise chronology is difficult to establish. The first is a common healing miracle featuring a male beneficiary who suffers from paralysis and is immediately cured after making supplications and shedding tears over the saint's coffin (*v.Nik.* 8).

The next two miracles are more peculiar, showing the punishments that befell two people who did not show respect for the saint and attempted to steal his relics respectively. In the first miracle account, a man is punished for judging Nikodemos' behaviour by having his lips stuck to the saint's coffin (*v.Nik.* 9), while in the second a woman is struck with madness for having stolen a saint's tooth (*v.Nik.* 10). After these miracle accounts and before the final invocation, Kokkinos briefly mentions that the monks of Philokalles built a church for Nikodemos with imperial financial support on the site where his relics were discovered.[1209] Moreover, Kokkinos comments on his hagiographic technique, revealing that he assembled the account

[1205] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 7.17–18: σῶον, ἄρτιον, ὅλον, μηδεμίαν δήπουθεν καταφθορὰν ὑποστάν. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 229.
[1206] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 7.20–23: πᾶσα ἡ πόλις Θετταλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ὁ χρηστότατος—ἔτυχε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε τότε τῇ πόλει ἐπιδημεῖν—, εὐδαιμονίαν ἑαυτῶν καὶ χαρὰν ἄληκτον τὴν εὕρεσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σκήνους τοῦ θείου Νικοδήμου νενομίκασι. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 229.
[1207] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 7.26–29: καὶ μύροις καὶ ὀθονίοις ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῆς πόλεως αἰσίως κηδεύσαντες. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 229.
[1208] Cf. Dennis, "Late Byzantine metropolitans," and Preiser-Kapeller, *Der Episkopat*, 444–445.
[1209] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 11.1–7.

like a mosaic, using "different parts from different sources," due to a lack of information on the saint's life:

> I have composed the present narrative, different parts from different sources, and assembled them like mosaic pieces into the form and shape of a single unit, so to speak, since I have found no prior information on the saint.[1210]

II.2.7.2. Sabas

In the *v.Sab.*, Kokkinos does not offer any details on the location of Sabas' interment (which was most likely in Constantinople) or any posthumous miracles. Instead, he weaves one dream vision into his narrative, which is not concerned with the holy man's death, such as those in the *v.Isid.* and the *v.G.Pal.*, but designed to underline the legitimacy of his hagiographic account and, as Kokkinos writes, to allay any doubts (*amphibolia*) with regards to it.[1211] The dream vision is introduced by Kokkinos' aside on his activity as hagiographer and offers insights into the genesis of the *v.Sab*. Kokkinos claims that he was overpowered by an unspoken desire (*arrhetos eros*) to write the account of Sabas' life (*historia*).[1212] As in the *prooimion*, he again uses the *topos* of *rerum magnitudo*, confessing that he was seized by fear thinking about the significance and greatness of his endeavour. He also stresses the difficulties he faced, due to the burden of his office as metropolitan, which he nevertheless overcame through his great longing for Sabas.[1213] Kokkinos stresses that he suceeded to swiftly write the *v.Sab*., as if someone was dictating it to him, due to Sabas' intercessions (*presbeiai*) and succor (*epikouria*).[1214]

Kokkinos reports that when he was about to finish his work, he learned about a dream vision, which he styles as one of Sabas' miracles, designed to strengthen the truthfulness of the account and confer legitimacy to Kokkinos' endeavour.[1215] At this point, the *v.Sab*. includes a story-within-a-story, as Kokkinos relays the words of his (unnamed) scribe (*hypographeus*), responsible for copying the text of the *vita*. The

[1210] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 11.8–11: τὸ παρὸν συλλέξαντες διήγημα, ἄλλο ἀλλαχόθεν, ψηφίδων δίκην συνεθέμεθα εἰς ἑνὸς σώματος ὡς οἷόν τ' εἰπεῖν μόρφωσίν τε καὶ εἶδος, ἐπεί τοί γε οὐδαμῶς εὕρηταί τι τῷ ἁγίῳ πρότερον. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 231 (slightly modified).
[1211] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.1–6.
[1212] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.7–9.
[1213] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.10–15.
[1214] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.15–25.
[1215] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.25–28.

vision is the third embedded narrative of the *v.Sab*. and is introduced through an actorial *analepsis*, since the scribe reportedly presents it to Kokkinos three days after it occurred. The scribe recounts in reported speech (*ca*. 360 words) that he dreamt he was in the great church of the city, namely, the metropolitan church of Herakleia, where Kokkinos and Sabas were celebrating the Divine Liturgy together. He indicates that the two were inside the sanctuary, since he could only hear their voices. Sabas then began reading from the Gospel according to Luke (4:16–30, on Jesus' rejection at Nazareth), while Kokkinos was repeating each sentence, transmitting Sabas' words to the congregation and acting as his mouthpiece, as it were. At the moment of the Great Entrance, Sabas passed by the scribe and instructed him to write everything Kokkinos told him accurately: "Write down without any doubt those entrusted to you by the leader of the Church. They are by all means beautiful and accurate."[1216] Moreover, the holy man foretold that the scribe would soon father a boy, who would further confirm the truthfulness of this vision and of the account.[1217] Kokkinos claims that he was informed about this dream vision at the moment when he was composing the final invocation of the *v.Sab*., but did not reveal it to anybody at that time.[1218] At the end of the posthumous account, he avers that the wife of his scribe gave birth to a boy, as Sabas foretold, who was given the name Stephanos, after Sabas' baptismal name, and became a loud herald of the holy man's prophecy.[1219] If taken at face value, this would suggest that the section on the dream vision was inserted in the *vita* after Kokkinos finished composing the final invocation. Moreover, since he could confirm the birth foretold by Sabas, the delay could have been as long as nine months.

II.2.7.3. Isidore

In the *v.Isid*., Kokkinos includes the account of a vision that presents the ascent of Isidore's soul to heaven. He reports that after Isidore's demise, a "noble hieromonk," residing in one of the Constantinopolitan monasteries dedicated to St. John the

[1216] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.62–64: 'Τὰ παρὰ τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καθηγεμόνος διδόμενά σοι', φησί, 'μηδαμῶς ἐνδοιάζων γράφε, πάνυ καλῶς ἔχοντα καὶ ἠκριβωμένως.'
[1217] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.64–66.
[1218] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.67–75.
[1219] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 84.75–82.

Baptist,[1220] one night sees a divine procession of angels carrying a soul to heaven. While wondering what kind of procession it is, a voice from above informs him that angels are carrying Isidore's soul to heaven, after the holy man's body and "dust" (*chous*) have just been interred (*v.Isid*. 74). Kokkinos next describes the healing miracles that Isidore works for a priest, whom he cures of nephritis (*v.Isid*. 76); a poor woman, cured of paralysis (*v.Isid*. 77); and the metropolitan of Rhodos, cured of blood discharge (*v.Isid*. 78). The miracles are followed by rhetorical questions, underlining the hagiographic commonplace that it would be impossible to enumerate and describe the miracles Isidore effected at his tomb. Kokkinos then states that Isidore would be commemorated each year, most likely referring to the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, which includes the names of the defenders of Orthodoxy and is read each year on the Sunday of Orthodoxy (the first Sunday of Lent). Kokkinos further deems his hero to be in heaven and have his dwellings among the saints (*v.Isid*. 79). As in the final invocation of the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos makes an aside on his personal situation, and describes it as being in the greatest tempest, a sea of trouble, storm, and rough waters. Therefore, he seeks the patronage (*prostasia*) of Isidore as "a wise steersman" and commander in the storm and hurricane.[1221]

After the account of the miracles, Kokkinos adds in the *v.Isid.* and the *v.G.Pal.* what he calls a "bright" and "golden flourish" (*koronis*) respectively. In the first case, he styles Isidore as an heir and friend (*diadochos kai philos*) of Gregory Nazianzen and praises him with the latter's words of eulogy for Basil the Great (*Oration* 43). Thus, Kokkinos fashions himself as another Gregory who praises Isidore, another Basil as it were:

> *Come hither now surrounding me all of his choir*, as well as ours (for I must address his successor, friend, and the one sharing the same throne, with the golden concluding words of the great patriarch [Gregory Nazianzen], and to place this bright flourish on my account as it were). *Come hither now* all, *those of the sanctuary and those of the lower rank*, all those near and of our brotherhood, and all of those neither far away nor further, *work alongside me the eulogy, each describing and requesting some of his excellences*, *those on the throne* [those having authority], *the lawgiver*; those around the sanctuary, the founder; those of the clergy, *the good*

[1220] Janin, *Églises CP*, 410–442.

[1221] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 79.12–13: ἐν χειμῶνι δὲ μεγίστῳ καὶ κλύδωνι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν; *v.Isid*. 79.15–17: ὡς ἐν ζάλῃ καὶ καταιγίδι τὸν σοφὸν κυβερνήτην.

order; *those educated, the teacher*; *the virgins, the leader of the bride*; *those under the yoke* [those married], *the chastener*; *the hermits, the winged*; *the cenobites, the judge*; *the simple men, the guide*; *those who contemplate, the theologian*; *the cheerful ones, the bridle*; *those in misfortunes, the consolation*; *the staff, the old age*; *the elementary training, the youth*; *poverty, the one who supplies*; *wealth, the steward*. *It seems to me also that widows praise [their] protector, orphans [their] father; the poor the one loving the poor; strangers the one loving strangers; and brothers the one having brotherly love*; *the sick their physician whatever the sickness and the treatment*; *the healthy the guardian of health*; *all men him, who became all things to all so that he might gain all, or as many as possible*.[1222]

II.2.7.4. Palamas

Among the five *vitae*, the *v.G.Pal*. has the largest concentration of posthumous miracles, which Kokkinos appended as a "dossier" at the end of the *vita*. As Talbot argues, this section was originally compiled by Kokkinos in the 1360s as a separate dossier in support of Palamas' canonization.[1223] Kokkinos states that upon receiving the miracle accounts that he requested from the great steward of the church of Thessalonike, he wove them into his account to the best of his ability.[1224] As Kokkinos emphasizes, these *thaumata* show that God glorified Palamas, performing miracles through him. The first eleven *miracula* have a diverse group of people from Thessalonike as beneficiaries, ranging from a widow to a choir leader and even an imperial weaver.[1225]

[1222] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 80: *Δεῦρο δὴ περιιστάντες με πᾶς ὁ ἐκείνου χορὸς* καὶ ἡμέτερος (δεῖ με καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ μεγάλου πατριάρχου χρυσοῖς ἐπιλόγοις καὶ λόγοις τὸν ἐκείνου προσειπεῖν καὶ διάδοχον καὶ φίλον καὶ σύνθρονον, καὶ ταύτην ὡσπερεί τινα λαμπρὰν ἐπιθεῖναι κορωνίδα τῷ λόγῳ). *Δεῦρο δὴ πάντες, ὅσοι τοῦ βήματος καὶ ὅσοι τῶν κάτω*, ὅσοι τῶν ἐγγὺς καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἑταιρίας, καὶ ὅσοι γε τούτων οὐ πάνυ μακρὰν οὐδὲ πορρωτέρω *τὴν εὐφημίαν μοι συνεργάζεσθε, ἄλλος ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐκείνου καλῶν διηγούμενοι καὶ ζητοῦντες, οἱ* τὸν θρόνον *τὸν νομοθέτην*, οἱ περὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸν ἀρχηγόν, οἱ τοῦ κλήρου *τὴν εὐταξίαν, οἱ περὶ λόγους τὸν παιδευτήν, αἱ παρθένοι τὸν νυμφαγωγόν, αἱ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν τὸν σωφρονιστήν, οἱ τῆς ἐρημίας τὸν πτερωτήν, οἱ τῆς ἐπιμιξίας τὸν δικαστήν, οἱ τῆς ἁπλότητος τὸν ὁδηγόν, οἱ τῆς θεωρίας τὸν θεολόγον, οἱ ἐν εὐθυμίᾳ τὸν χαλινόν, οἱ ἐν συμφοραῖς τὴν παράκλησιν, τὴν βακτηρίαν ἡ πολιά, τὴν παιδαγωγίαν ἡ νεότης, ἡ πενία τὸν πoριστήν, ἡ εὐπορία τὸν οἰκονόμον. Δοκοῦσί μοι καὶ χῆραι τὸν προστάτην ἐπαινέσασθαι, καὶ ὀρφανοὶ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ πτωχοὶ τὸν φιλόπτωχον, καὶ τὸν φιλόξενον οἱ ξένοι, καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τὸν φιλάδελφον· οἱ νοσοῦντες τὸν ἰατρὸν ἣν βούλει νόσον καὶ ἰατρείαν, οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες τὸν φύλακα τῆς ὑγείας, οἱ πάντες τὸν πᾶσι πάντα γενόμενον, ἵνα κερδάνῃ τοὺς πάντας ἢ πλείονας*. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 43.81.

[1223] Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, xviii–xix; see also eadem, "Miracles of Palamas."

[1224] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 134.6–7: παρ' οὗ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ προρρηθέντα δεδεγμένοι, καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τε τῷ λόγῳ συνήψαμεν.

[1225] For a detailed investigation of Palamas' miracles, see *infra* Part III.1.

Kokkinos next discusses Palamas' cult and miracles outside Thessalonike, where the holy man was deemed as "saviour and deliverer and healer of incurable afflictions for those who call upon him."[1226] His icons were painted and his memory was celebrated by people from the parts of Thessaly and Illyria, who also raised churches in his memory and proclaimed him as "herald of piety, champion of the Church, and teacher and guardian of its correct doctrines."[1227] The piety shown by these people to Palamas stands in contrast to Kokkinos' fears regarding Thessalonike as a city that banishes her prophets. As he writes, he "fears exceedingly" that the city will deem herself worthy of the words of the Lord regarding Jerusalem as murderer of the prophets sent to her.[1228] Kokkinos reports that Palamas' healing of the noble woman Zoe from Kastoria suffering from paralysis sparks his cult in that area. Thus, Kokkinos stresses one of the functions of the miracles. He writes that devout citizens and civic leaders of Kastoria "set up a holy icon to Gregory," celebrated a "splendid citywide feast on the anniversary of his death," erected a church in his name, and proclaimed him a saint before his official recognition.[1229]

After several other miracle accounts, Kokkinos includes a final dream vision of a monk from the Great Lavra, "as it were placing a final golden flourish on the previous miracle tales," which stresses that Palamas' teachings are in line with, and constitute a legitimate interpretation and synthesis of, patristic theology.[1230] The monk had asked God to reveal to him "the fate of the divine Gregory," and one night he had a vision. He saw a synod of holy fathers convened in the Great Church in Constantinople, gathering holy church fathers and theologians of the fourth and fifth centuries: Athanasios of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, and Cyril of Alexandria. After a discussion which the monk could not understand, that synod wanted to vote, but it could not do so since Palamas was absent: "We cannot confirm the decision nor can those who are

[1226] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 126.8–10: κἀκεῖ τοῖς καλοῦσιν αὐτὸν ὡσαύτως καὶ σωτὴρ καὶ ῥύστης καὶ ἰατρὸς ἀνιάτων παθῶν ὁρᾶται γιγνόμενος. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 375.
[1227] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 126.15–17: κήρυκα τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ προστάτην τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ διδάσκαλον καὶ φύλακα τῶν ὀρθῶν ταύτης δογμάτων. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 375. On Palamas' cult, see Rigo, "La canonizzazione," and Tzigaridas, "Εἰκονιστικές μαρτυρίες."
[1228] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 126.23–26. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 375–377.
[1229] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 127–128. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 381. See Rigo, "La canonizzazione," and Macrides, "Saints and sainthood," 86–87.
[1230] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 134.2–3: οἱονεί τινα χρυσῆν ἐπιθεὶς κορωνίδα τοῦτο τοῖς φθάσασι καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 399. On this proverbial expression, see Karathanasis, *Sprichwörter*, 75–76 (no. 141).

here vote upon it, unless Gregory, the primate of Thessalonike, is at the synod and present for the vote."[1231] Palamas is therefore summoned to join the synod, which he did after he finished his conversation with the emperor. Kokkinos writes that Palamas was welcomed in "a friendly manner," and seated with "the supreme and equally honoured and revered triad of the theologians," Basil, Gregory Nazianzen and John Chrysostom.[1232] The synod then voted and confirmed Palamas' doctrine. Thus, Kokkinos stresses the legitimacy and patristic synthesis of Palamas' teachings. He writes that:

> For all the theologians together expressed to Gregory their holy thanksgiving and ineffable joy and delight that he had now finally synthesized through divine power and grace their divine teachings with regard to various causations and periods of time, and had both combined them in fine fashion and reworked them. And having attributed the authority to the theologians of his own accord, by means of the Holy Spirit he both vanquished the new heresies through these <theologians> in extraordinary manner, and made his own writings into a summation and holy explication of their holy words.[1233]

Before the final invocation, Kokkinos makes an excursus (*ca*. 500 words)—couching a *psogos* against the anti-hesychasts—on Palamas' miracles as signs of divine confirmation and the Orthodoxy of his hero's theology.[1234]

As seen above, Kokkinos includes a *post mortem* account only in four of his *vitae*. The shortest account is found in the *v.Sab*., where Kokkinos inserts a dream vision stressing the truthfulness and legitimacy of his *vita*. The other three *vitae* (*v.Nik.*, *v.Isid.*, and *v.G.Pal*.) refer to the funeral of the holy men, their relics and posthumous miracles. Kokkinos explicitly links Palamas' miracles to the controversy

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[1231] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 134.29–31: Ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὸ κῦρος παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπενεχθῆναι καὶ τοῖς δεδογμένοις τοὺς παρόντας ἐπιψηφίσασθαι, ἢν μὴ καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεσσαλονίκης δηλαδὴ πρόεδρος τῇ συνόδῳ καὶ τῇ ψήφῳ παρῇ. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 403.

[1232] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 134.43–45: φιλοφρόνως πως ἂν εἴποις ὑποδεξάμενοι μέσον αὐτῶν, τῇ κορυφαίᾳ καὶ ὁμοτίμῳ καὶ σεπτῇ τῶν θεολόγων τριάδι φέροντες συγκαθίζουσι. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 403.

[1233] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 134.48–56: Λόγοι καὶ γὰρ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν θεολόγων πρὸς τὸν Γρηγόριον ἦσαν ἐκεῖνα μεθ' ἱερᾶς τινος εὐχαριστίας καὶ εὐφροσύνης ἀπορρήτου καὶ τέρψεως, ὅτι τὰ κατὰ διαφόρους αἰτίας καὶ χρόνους ὑπ' ἐκείνων δηλαδὴ θεολογηθέντα πάντ' εἰς ἓν αὐτὸς συνειλοχὼς νῦν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων θείᾳ δυνάμει καὶ χάριτι, καὶ συνῆψε καλῶς καὶ ἐπεξειργάσατο, καὶ τὸ κράτος αὐτοῖς δι' ἑαυτοῦ δεδωκὼς θείῳ πνεύματι τάς τε καινὰς αἱρέσεις ἐξαισίως τούτοις ἐτρέψατο καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λόγους οἱονεί τι συμπέρασμα καὶ ἀνάπτυξιν ἱερὰν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων λόγων εἰργάσατο. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 405.

[1234] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 135.

surrounding his theology and, by providing an extensive account of his hero's miracles, stresses the divine confirmation of Palamas' theology.

II.2.8. Final invocation

Saints' *lives* usually end with a succinct prayer addressed to the saints, in which hagiographers deliver a final crowning praise of their heroes, as well as seek their intercession before God. This concluding section can offer additional information on the audience of the *vita*, the context in which it was written or the relationship between the hagiographer and his hero. Therefore, the final invocations in Kokkinos' *vitae* will be scrutinized for details on how he praises his heroes, asks for their help for common and personal gain, fashions himself and his hagiographic endeavour, as well as additional insights on audience and style.

Table 14. Length of the final invocation in Kokkinos' *vitae*

Vita	**Number of words**	**% of the *vita***
v.Nik.	135	5.06
v.Sab.	208	0.42
v.Isid.	200	0.67
v.Germ.	435	2.15
v.G.Pal.	375	0.75

As indicated in Table 14, the concluding sections of Kokkinos' *vitae* are succinct, at an average of *ca.* 270 words in length. These range from *ca.* 135 words (*v.Nik.*) to *ca.* 435 words (*v.Germ.*).[1235] All open with a description and praise for each of the holy men. Thus, Kokkinos calls Sabas and Germanos "wonderful fathers,"[1236] Germanos is also called "reverend and beloved head,"[1237] Isidore is "my truly divine and beloved head,"[1238] while Nikodemos is the only one openly called "saint," given his pre-existing cult: "o comrade of the fathers, companion of the blessed who is numbered among the saints, witness and heir of the heavenly Jerusalem."[1239] The open reference to his sanctity could also serve as a way of enhancing his public recognition as a saint, given his scandalous way of life. Kokkinos dedicates by far

[1235] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 12, *v.Sab.* 85, *v.Isid.* 81, *v.Germ.* 46, *v.G.Pal.* 136.
[1236] Kokkinos, *v.Sab.* 85.1: θαυμάσιε; *v.Germ.* 46.1: θαυμάσιε πάτερ.
[1237] Kokkinos, *v.Germ.* 46.19: σεβασμία κεφαλὴ καὶ φιλτάτη.
[1238] Kokkinos, *v.Isid.* 81.1: ὦ θεία τῷ ὄντι καὶ φιλτάτη μοι κεφαλή.
[1239] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 12.1–2: ὦ πατέρων σύσκηνε, ὁσίων συνόμιλε καὶ πᾶσιν ἁγίοις συναρίθμιε, ὁ τῆς ἄνω Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐπόπτης καὶ κληρονόμος. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 231.

the lengthiest and most elaborate praise to Palamas, echoing his *akolouthia* for the saint, in which he hails his hero as leader, teacher, theologian, defender and saviour of the Church, second after Christ, companion of the Apostles, confessors and martyrs. The first part of the praise deserves quotation in full:

> O, you trice happy and truly reverenced and much beloved head, the power of *hesychia*, the glory of monks, the common adornment of theologians, fathers and teachers, the fellow combatant of the Apostles, the bloodless emulator and wearer of crown of confessors and martyrs, both in word and deed, and the champion, commander and defender of the right belief, sublime interpreter and teacher of the divine dogmas, the sharpest destroyer of this godless and polytheist deceit of all sorts of heresies, and the leader and guardian and deliverer and saviour of the common Church of Christ after the first and only Saviour [Christ]. I call you mouth and tongue and soul of this one [that is of the Church] and mind, not what the Hellenes, I mean that philosopher Anaxagoras, calls mind, but the holiest and highest mind, both godlike and openly divine, and also a head after the supernatural and common head of all, Christ, and a hearth of all sorts of words, and a fruit of wonderful graces, a highest teacher of virtue, a norm of theology and a canon of dogmas, an exceptional munificence of God towards men, a common ornament of the human nature, and everything divine, sublime and revered.[1240]

Kokkinos invokes his heroes as celestial mediators, using the terminology of intercession (*presbeia*) (*v.Isid*., *v.Germ*.),[1241] and offers prayers both of a common and a personal nature, regarding his ecclesiastical office and health (*v.Sab*., *v.Isid*., and *v.Germ*.).[1242] In the *v.Nik*., he asks the saint to protect "this flock ... from visible and invisible enemies" and "direct and guide [him] to a better and more divine

[1240] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 136.1–18: Σὺ δέ, ὦ τρισολβία καὶ σεπτὴ τῷ ὄντι καὶ περιπόθητε κεφαλή, τὸ τῆς ἡσυχίας κράτος, ἡ δόξα τῶν μοναζόντων, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θεολόγων καὶ πατέρων καὶ διδασκάλων καλλώπισμα, τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ συναγωνιστής, ὁ τῶν ὁμολογητῶν καὶ μαρτύρων ἀναίμακτος ζηλωτὴς καὶ στεφανίτης καὶ λόγοις καὶ πράγμασι, καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀθλητὴς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ὑπέρμαχος, ὁ τῶν θείων δογμάτων ὑψηλὸς ἐξηγητὴς καὶ διδάσκαλος, ὁ τῆς ἀθέου καὶ πολυθέου ταυτησὶ τῶν παντοδαπῶν αἱρέσεων πλάνης ἀναιρέτης ὀξύτατος, ὁ τῆς κοινῆς Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας καὶ προστάτης καὶ φύλαξ καὶ ῥύστης καὶ σωτὴρ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον καὶ μόνον σωτῆρα· καλῶ δέ σε καὶ στόμα καὶ γλῶτταν καὶ ψυχὴν ταύτης καὶ νοῦν οὐ κατὰ τὸν παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἐπικληθέντα νοῦν φημί, τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐκεῖνον Ἀναξαγόραν, ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἱερώτατόν τε καὶ ὑψηλότατον καὶ θεοειδῆ καὶ ἄντικρυς θεῖον καὶ κεφαλὴν μετὰ τὴν ὑπερφυᾶ καὶ κοινὴν κεφαλὴν τῶν πάντων Χριστόν, καὶ λόγων παντοδαπῶν ἑστίαν καὶ θαυμαστῶν χαρίτων φορὰν καὶ ἄκρον ἀρετῆς παιδευτήν, γνώμονά τε θεολογίας καὶ κανόνα δογμάτων καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἐξαίρετον Θεοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους καὶ κοινόν τινα κόσμον τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως καὶ πᾶν εἴ τι θεῖον καὶ ὑψηλὸν καὶ σεβάσμιον. Cf. Kokkinos, *Ἀκολουθία* (Boloudakes, 73–136).

[1241] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 81.15, *v.Germ*. 46.34–35.

[1242] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 85.4–5, *v.Isid*. 81.13–15, *v.Germ*. 46.23–24; *Bios kai martyrion* of St. Febronia 48.7–9; *Enkomion* of St. Phokas 6.15–16.

course of action" as "superior of this monastery," so that "having led a quiet and tranquil life, [he] may offer both them and [himself] as unblemished and untouched sacrifices to the all-holy Trinity."[1243] This indicates that Kokkinos wrote the *v.Nik*. in order to deliver it in front of the monastic community of Philokalles, most likely on the saint's feast day. Kokkinos also alludes to his ecclesiastical office in the final invocation of the *v.Sab*. As metropolitan of Herakleia at the time of composing the *vita*, his request is of a different nature, namely not to succeed in the completion of his duties, but to be released from them.[1244] As previously mentioned, he claims at an earlier point in the *v.Sab*. that he assumed this office at Sabas' encouragement, which explains why he asks the holy man to absolve him of this burden. In the *v.Isid.*, he offers another personal prayer, this time regarding his health, asking Isidore to swiftly release him from his disease—styled as education and whip—through his intercessions.[1245]

Kokkinos makes various requests on behalf of his flock, especially for peaceful times. In the *v.Isid.*, he asks the saint to protect "this people" from "this great hurricane and cyclone," a reference to the turbulent context during which he composed the *vita*. The use of the demonstrative pronouns indicates that Kokkinos refers to the citizens of Constantinople where he wrote the *v.Isid*.[1246] In the *v.Germ*., he uses a passage from Gregory Nazianzen's *Orations* to convey contemporary turmoils from which he asks deliverance through Germanos' intercessions: "this terrible storm and universal mixture like a night-battle in a moonless night."[1247] He also asks for an end to the tumultuous times during which he writes the *v.G.Pal*. He describes the contemporary situation using nautical imagery: "may you end the

[1243] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 12.6–12: περιθάλποις καὶ διαφυλάττοις ἐξ ἐχθρῶν ἀοράτων καὶ ὁρατῶν …, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς τηνικαῦτα … τοῦ τοιούτου σεμνείου δῆθεν προεστηκότας, διευθύνοις καὶ ὁδηγοίης πρὸς τὰ κρείττω καὶ θειότερα, ὡς ἂν ἐντεῦθεν ἄρα «ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον» σχόντες βίον, προσενέγκωμεν ἄμωμα καί … ἄθικτα κἀκείνους καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς θύματα τῇ παναγίᾳ καὶ ζωαρχικῇ Τριάδι. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 231 (slightly modified).
[1244] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 85.13–15.
[1245] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 81.13–15: Καὶ τὴν τῆς νόσου μακρὰν ταυτηνὶ παιδαγωγίαν ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν μάστιγα ταχέως κουφίσαις ἢ καὶ λύσαις καθάπαξ ταῖς σαῖς πρεσβείαις.
[1246] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 81.7–9: καὶ τὸν σὸν **τουτονὶ** λαὸν καὶ ἡμέτερον ποιμαίνοις ἢ συμποιμαίνοις, καὶ στήσαις εἰς αὔραν τὴν συχνὴν **ταυτηνὶ** καταιγίδα καὶ τοὺς στροβίλους (my emphasis).
[1247] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 46.33–35: ἐν σκοτομήνῃ καὶ νυκτομαχίᾳ δεινῆς **ταυτησὶ** ζάλης καὶ τοῦ κοσμικοῦ κυκεῶνος ταῖς σαῖς ἀπαλλάττοις πρεσβείαις (my emphasis). Kokkinos uses the same image in the *v.G.Pal*. 135.16–17. Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 2.81.

hurricane of these manifold passions and trials, which is rising up for a long time and rising every day a fearful billow and storm."[1248]

As in his *prooimia*, Kokkinos again reflects on his hagiographic endeavours, this time having brought them to completion. The extent to which his accounts were successful and did justice to the worthiness of his heroes is the subject of the same combination of hagiographic commonplaces already seen in the *prooimia*, namely, the *topoi* of modesty and *rerum magnitudo*. For instance, in the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos states that his longing for Sabas emboldens him to undertake an endeavour that surpasses his abilities.[1249] Moreover, he compensates rhetorically once again for the self-proclaimed limitations of the account through his declared good intentions. He expresses his enthusiasm: "even if this narrative fails to match your worth, still, as you know, it does not lack enthusiasm" (*v.Nik*.),[1250] as well as his longing for the holy men (*v.Isid*., *v.G.Pal.*), and states that he wrote the account to the best of his ability (*v.Sab*.).[1251] Finally, in the *v.G.Pal*., Kokkinos dedicates the account to the saint, asking him to receive it kindly, expressing his conviction that Palamas will indeed receive it well and commend the effort and friendship that prompted it.[1252]

The *v.Sab.* includes Kokkinos' most extensive authorial comment on the difficulties he reportedly faced while composing the account. He discloses that he hesitated and was tormented by sickness and the duties of his office.[1253] Moreover, he mentions that by completing the *v.Sab*., he honoured a promise he made to the "fathers."[1254] This may be a reference to Athonite monks, most likely from Vatopedi, whom Kokkinos seemingly pledged that he would write the life of his spiritual

[1248] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 136.30–32: λύσαις τὴν τῶν παντοδαπῶν τουτωνὶ παθῶν τε καὶ πειρασμῶν καταιγίδα κορυφουμένην ἐφ' οὕτω μακρὸν καὶ δεινὴν ὁσημέραι τὴν τρικυμίαν τε καὶ τὴν ζάλην ἐγείρουσαν.
[1249] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 85.2–4, 6–7.
[1250] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 12.3–4: Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἀξίας τῆς σῆς ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐνδεής, ἀλλά γε τῆς ἐμῆς προθυμίας, ὡς ἦσθα, οὐκ ἐλλιπής. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 231.
[1251] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 85.6–7: τολμηρῶς μέν, οἶδα, καὶ πολλῷ τῆς ἀξίας ἐλάχιστον, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς δύναμιν οὔμενουν ἐνδεέστερον.
[1252] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 136.27–30: Δέξῃ δὲ πάντως, εὖ οἶδα, τήν τε φιλίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπαινῶν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἀκαίρως τέως νῦν οὐδὲ περιττῶς πως πρὸς τὸ λέγειν τε καὶ γράφειν, εἰ καί ποτε ἴσως ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπες ἂν ἄλλοτε κεκινήμεθα. Kokkinos also expects Palamas to commend the account for its relevance and propriety, which lacked on another occassion, as Palamas himself said. This rather unusual comment could refer to a situation during which the two were in contradiction on a subject. Cf. Palamas' letter to Bessarion (1345), PS II, 501–504, esp. 503.21–30; see Rigo, "Le Mont Athos," 274–275.
[1253] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 85.4–5: καὶ νόσῳ καὶ ἀσχολίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τούτοις θορύβοις πάντοθεν ἑλκόμενός τε καὶ σπαραττόμενος.
[1254] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 85.7–9.

father. Interestingly, Kokkinos does not dedicate the *v.Germ*. solely in his own name, but includes along his side Germanos' nephew, Iakobos Maroules, whom he repeatedly mentions throughout the *vita* as an important source of information.[1255]

As seen above, the final invocation of the *v.G.Pal*. makes a classical reference to the Greek philosopher Anaxagoras. Such classical allusions are also found in the *v.Germ*., where Kokkinos refers to the Elysian Fields and the Islands of the Blessed.[1256] In fact, the final invocation of the *v.Germ*. includes a mesh of biblical, patristic, and classical allusions. Kokkinos compares Germanos to Antony the Great and Athanasios of Alexandria, and quotes from Gregory Nazianzen, writing that "although [Germanos] has left us, he has not utterly abandoned us."[1257]

[1255] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 46.19–20: Ταῦτά σοι, σεβασμία κεφαλὴ καὶ φιλτάτη, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Φιλόθεος ἅμα, ἡ ποτὲ φίλη σοι ξυνωρίς.
[1256] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 46.5: οὐκ ἐν Ἠλυσίῳ πεδίῳ καὶ νήσοις μακάρων, κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς φημι μύθους ἐκείνους; cf. Homer, *Odyssey*, 4.563; Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 171.
[1257] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 46.8, 18–19: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπολιπὼν ἡμᾶς παντάπασιν ἀπολέλοιπας; cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 43.80.

II.3. Style and Audience

In his monograph, *Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium*, Nicol touches upon the hagiographic production of the Palaiologan period, especially on issues of language and audience, writing that: "Many of the lives of these latter-day Byzantine saints are written in such sophisticated Greek that only the educated could have understood them. They are not aimed at impressing a gullible audience of common illiterate people." Nicol also characterizes Kokkinos' style as "so verbose and convoluted that even grammarians and lexicographers must have been bemused."[1258] In the following I will offer several considerations on Kokkinos' style, touching upon issues of intertextuality, the presence of the author in his texts, and intended audience.

Kokkinos renders his saints' *lives* in an elevated stylistic and linguistic register.[1259] As Nicol rightly pointed out, he tends to use long and, at times, convoluted sentences, which most likely challenged his contemporary audience, as much as they do the modern readers. A similar tendency for long and complex sentences can also be observed in the writings of his contemporaries, such as Gregoras and Neilos Kerameus.[1260] Other scholars, such as Talbot and Congourdeau, have also characterized Kokkinos' literary style as "expansive" and "fleuri."[1261] Indeed, as already mentioned, his *vitae* fill many folios in the codices. The prolixity of his compositions is explained by the wealth of biographical details he offers, as already seen, on the childhood, education, and monastic life of his heroes, as well as his numerous explanatory asides, authorial interventions guiding the narrative, and, as discussed, extensive quotations from Palamas' works in the case of the *v.G.Pal*.

[1258] Nicol, *Church and Society*, 43.
[1259] For instance, Kokkinos often uses the dual: *v.Germ*. 4.27, 33: μηδὲ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ ... τὸ γὰρ ἐν χεροῖν; *v.Germ*. 6.4: ἄμφω τὼ παῖδε; *v.Germ*. 7.21: ἐν χεροῖν. On the levels of style in Byzantine literature, see Ševčenko, "Levels of style," *JÖB* 31.1 (1981): 289–312; Browning, "The language of Byzantine literature," 103–133; idem, "Literacy in the Byzantine world," *BMGS* 4 (1978): 39–53.
[1260] For preliminary remarks on Kerameus' style in his *enkomion* of Palamas, see Kaklamanos, "Remarques," 433.
[1261] Congourdeau, "La Terre Sainte," 122; Talbot, "Hagiography in late Byzantium," 182.

Since the *v.Nik*. is the first among Kokkinos' *vitae* of contemporary saints, as well as the outlier in terms of length, I offer a detailed analysis of its style. In line with the literary conventions of the *hypomnema* and due to the reported scarcity of information, Kokkinos keeps the *v.Nik*. concise, with little rhetorical flourishes, no classical references or use of dialogue. Instead, he uses an elaborate set of biblical references and similes, with the largest concentration in chapters 4 and 5 where he describes Nikodemos' conduct in the Philokalles Monastery. He styles his hero as "a second Abraham or Moses, the friend of God,"[1262] "a musical instrument and spiritual kinnor,"[1263] a "fine worker of virtue,"[1264] a "triumphant" and "adamant" man,[1265] "a thirsty deer,"[1266] and "a distributor of grain like Joseph."[1267] The last part of chapter five is, in fact, an extensive *synkrisis* with Old Testament figures:

> And if one wished to compare to him the slaughter of Abel, the hospitality of Abraham or his love of the divine, the hardship of Moses on behalf of his countrymen, the campaign of Joshua against his enemies, the ardour of Elijah in his time of troubles, in my view he would not err from the truth. For one (Elijah) was steadfast in troubles and unyielding in tribulation, another (Abraham) hospitable or a lover of the divine, yet another prudent and wise in his actions; the blood of one (Abel) was shed, another was humble and loved his brother, another (Joshua) known for his strategy and noble victory.[1268]

Interestingly, in addition to biblical figures, Kokkinos fashions Nikodemos as "an imitator of the divine Vitalios," a holy fool whose story is narrated in the *Life* of St. John the Merciful, patriarch of Alexandria.[1269] In fact, this is a distinctive feature of Kokkinos' hagiographic style, as he often makes *synkriseis* of his heroes with patristic figures throughout his *vitae*. For instance, he compares Sabas to Antony the Great (*v.Sab*. 45), St. Mary of Egypt (*v.Sab*. 37), and Saints Peter of Alexandria and

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[1262] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 2.9: ὡς ἄλλος Ἀβραὰμ ἢ Μωσῆς ἐκεῖνος ὁ Θεῷ φίλος.
[1263] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 2.25: ὅλον ἑαυτὸν ὄργανον καὶ κιννύραν ἄρα πνευματικὴν ἀπεδείκνυεν.
[1264] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 4.3: ὁ καλὸς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐργάτης.
[1265] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 5.10, 6.14: ὁ καλλίνικος; 4.15, 6.17: ὁ ἀδάμας.
[1266] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 5.12: ὡς διψητικός τις ἔλαφος. Cf. Ps. 41:1.
[1267] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 5.16: σιτοδότης κατ' ἐκεῖνον.
[1268] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 5.19–27: Εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἄβελ τὴν σφαγήν, Ἀβραὰμ τὴν φιλοξενίαν ἢ φιλοθεΐαν, Μωυσέως τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμογενῶν κακουχίαν, Ἰησοῦ τὴν κατὰ τῶν ὑπεναντίων στρατηγίαν, Ἠλιοὺ τὸ θερμουργὸν ἐν πόνοις, τούτῳ παραβαλεῖν ἐθελήσειέ τις, τῆς ἀληθείας οἶμαι μὴ ἁμαρτήσειν. Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ τὸ στερρὸν ἐν πόνοις καὶ ἄκαμπτον ἐν πειρασμοῖς, τοῦ δὲ τὸ φιλόξενον ἢ φιλόθεον, ἄλλου τὸ σῶφρον καὶ σοφὸν ἐν πράξεσι· καὶ τοῦ μὲν τὸ αἷμα, τοῦ δὲ τὸ ταπεινὸν καὶ φιλάδελφον, τοῦ δὲ τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ εὐγενῆ νίκην. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 227–228 (slightly modified).
[1269] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 5.10–11: μιμητὴς … τοῦ θείου Βιταλίου. Cf. *Léontios de Néapolis*, ch. 38.

Alexander of Constantinople (*v.Sab*. 72), while Isidore is compared to Sts. Antony the Great, Arsenios the Great, Athanasios of Alexandria, Maximos the Confessor, as well as the Three Hierarchs (*v.Isid*. 71–72). Interestingly, in the *v.Sab*. Kokkinos conveys Sabas' thirst for martyrdom by echoing Symeon Metaphrastes' tenth-century *vita* of Stephen the Younger (*BHG* 1667). The striking similarities underlined below suggest that Kokkinos most likely 'built' this section on the basis of the earlier model.

Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 24.60–67	Metaphrastes, *Vita* of Stephen 1091–1094
τὴν δεξιὰν ἐκεῖνος ὑποκοιλάνας, "Πίστευσόν μοι, βέλτιστε", μετά τινος ἡδονῆς ἔλεγεν ἀπορρήτου, "ὡς, εἰ καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔστι μοι τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα συνδέον αἷμα, πόθος μέ τις ἄρρητος ἔχει μαρτυρικῶς ἂν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ κοινοῦ δεσπότου κενῶσαι."	Εἶπε, καὶ ἅμα τὴν χεῖρα ὑποκοιλαίνας καὶ ταύτην παραδεικνύς, "Εἰ καὶ τοσοῦτον," ἔφη, "τὸ ἐμὸν αἷμα εἶη, ἐκχυθῆναι τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰκόνος Χριστοῦ προείρημαι.

Although the *v.Nik*. does not have rhetorical ambitions, one can identify several figures of speech among which are rhetorical questions, *synecdoche*, personification, *homoioteleuton*,[1270] metaphor, *anadiplosis*,[1271] *asyndeton*,[1272] and *litotes*.[1273] For instance, he begins the *v.Nik*. asking rhetorically, "Who could pass over the story of the truly great ascetic Nikodemos, and not relate his accomplishments to God-loving ears to the best of his ability?"[1274] The *synecdoche* "God-loving ears" (*philotheoi akoai*), referring to his audience, is particularly interesting since Kokkinos makes a pun on his name, which he also uses in the other *vitae*. Although often encountered in hagiographic and homiletic works,[1275] Kokkinos most likely did not employ this phrase conventionally, but rather he who is "God-loving" (Philotheos) identifies himself *ab initio* with his "God-loving" audience and signs his composition, as it

[1270] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 2.10–11: στενού**μενος**, θλιβό**μενος**, κακουχού**μενος**, ἐν ἐρημίαις καὶ ὄρεσι διαιτώ**μενος**.
[1271] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 4.20–21: πάντως **ἀνεκαινίζετο**, **ἀνακαινούμενος** δὲ **ὡραΐζετο· ὡραϊζομένου** δέ. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 226: "totally renewed, and as it was renewed it was beautified, and as it was beautified."
[1272] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 7.16–17: τὸ θεῖον καὶ πάντιμον σκῆνος τοῦ τρισμάκαρος, σῶον, ἄρτιον, ὅλον. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 229: "the divine and allhonorable body of the thrice-blessed one, intact, whole, complete."
[1273] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 2.4: οὐκ ἀσήμων; 7.9: τινὲς οὐκ ὀλίγοι.
[1274] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 1.1–3: Ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν παραδράμοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸν μέγαν τῷ ὄντι ἐν ἀσκηταῖς Νικόδημον καὶ μὴ τὰ ἐκείνου ὡς ἔχει δυνάμεως φιλοθέοις ἀκοαῖς παραδῷ. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 224.
[1275] See, for instance, Palamas, *Homily* 12.1, ll. 5–6 (PS VI, 148): οὕπω ταῖς **φιλοθέοις ὑμῶν ἀκοαῖς** τε καὶ ψυχαῖς ἐναπέθηκα. *Homily* 37.1, l. 2 (PS VI, 399) (my emphasis).

were. He personifies Berrhoia, the *patris* of his hero, which "bore fruit" and "is adorned with her own fruit."[1276] Kokkinos is also fond of nautical imagery, which he uses extensively in the other *vitae*. For instance, in the *v.Nik.*, he extols Nikodemos' aversion to all earthly things, which are for him "mere rubbish [literally, "manure"] and simply mockery and dreams or the roaring of the sea."[1277] Kokkinos also employs proverbial expressions—abundant in the other saints' *lives*,[1278] participial phrases and constructions,[1279] including the genitive absolute—which he uses extensively in the other *vitae*,[1280] as well as combinations of particles such as οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλά ("but also").[1281] As Loudová points out, the latter constitutes a discourse marker with an elaborative function.[1282]

Kokkinos is present in his text through interventions guiding the narrative, as well as interjections disclosing his amazement or disapproval. For instance, he informs his audience that "the following will now make clear,"[1283] reminds them of something "already mentioned" or introduces what comes next ("they are as follows").[1284] After an aside, such as the biblical *synkrisis* introduced above, Kokkinos writes, "let my account once more resume the narrative in chronological order," and concludes a section stating, "so much for this story."[1285] He also suggests appropriate reactions to his audience through a series of interjections such as "o, how remarkable was his love for Christ!," "o, what a miracle!," "o, woe!," "o, what stupidity!," "alas," as well as writing that "you should be persuaded of this by his

[1276] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 2.3–4: ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ τῷδε καρπῷ … ἐγκαλλωπίζεται. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 224.
[1277] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 3.24–25: σκύβαλα καὶ γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς καὶ χλεύην καὶ ὄνειρον ἢ **φλοῖσβον θαλάττιον** τὰ τῇδε πάντα ἡγεῖτο (my emphasis). Talbot, "Nikodemos," 226.
[1278] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 6.6: ὅλῃ χειρί. *CPG* II.192.
[1279] Interestingly, when he reports the posthumous miraculous punishment of the woman who stole the saint's tooth (*v.Nik.* 10), Kokkinos employs mainly feminine participles: Καὶ δὴ τοῦτο θᾶττον τέως **ποιήσασα**, τὴν πάντιμον αὐτοῦ κάραν τῷ ἀρρωστοῦντι ταύτης μέρει **καταθεῖσα** … Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐκείνη τὸν ἅγιον ἡσύχως **ποτνιωμένη** καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν **ἐξαιτοῦσα** … **ἀποσπάσασα** καὶ **ἀνελομένη** … κόλποις τε οἰκείοις **περικρύψασα** καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ **ἐξιοῦσα**, τῆς πρὸς οἶκον φερούσης **ἀψαμένη**, εὐθὺς ᾤχετο **ἀπιοῦσα** (my emphasis).
[1280] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 1.5–8: ἤκμασε δὲ βασιλεύοντος τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ ἀοιδίμου Ῥωμαίων ἄνακτος Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ πάνυ, τοῦ γένους δηλαδὴ αὐχοῦντος Παλαιολόγων. Τρόπου δὲ τυχὼν ἀγαθοῦ; *v.Germ.* 6.13–14: Νυκτὸς τοιγαροῦν ἐπιλαμβανούσης καὶ τῶν τῆς οἰκίας πάντων εἰς ὕπνον, ὡς εἰκός, τρεπομένων; *v.Germ.* 9.1: Χρόνου δέ τινος ὀλίγου μεταξὺ διαγεγονότος.
[1281] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 4.14.
[1282] See Loudová, "On the category of particles in Byzantium," in *The Language of Byzantine Learned Literature*, 147–169.
[1283] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 3.6: ὡς τὰ ἑξῆς ἤδη δηλώσει.
[1284] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 3.23: ὡς εἴρηται, 4.7: ὡς δεδήλωται; 7.32: Ἔχει δὲ οὕτως.
[1285] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 4.30–31: Ἀλλ' ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος καθ' εἰρμὸν καὶ αὖθις ἐχέσθω τοῦ διηγήματος; 8.12–13: Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἔχει.

secret and continual recourse during his all-night vigils to suspension ropes."[1286] Moreover, Kokkinos offers brief parenthetical statements and explanations (most often introduced by γάρ) on the actions of his hero: "for how could an unholy soul consider and imagine actions of higher nature than its own," "surely this was God's purpose," "as was appropriate ... a just action, even if they did not obtain a punishment worthy of their brazen deed," "he did not marvel exceedingly at this as he should have," "as was to be expected," "for he happened to be residing in the city at that time."[1287]

As mentioned, Kokkinos most likely delivered the *v.Nik.* in front of his flock at the Philokalles monastery in Thessalonike, as he indicates in the *prooimion* and the final invocation. Thus, Kokkinos addresses a public consisting of "God-loving ears," "lovers of the good," "lovers of virtue," and "those who knew" Nikodemos. At the end of the account, he entreats the saint to "cherish and protect from invisible and visible enemies this flock, among which you carried out rigorously your labours on behalf of virtue."[1288]

Compared to the *v.Nik.*, the other *vitae* have a more complex narrative structure in which Kokkinos weaves numerous figures of speech (alliteration, *anadiplosis*, *antonomasia*, *apostrophe*, *epistrophe*, *homoioteleuton*, *hyperbaton*, *litotes*, *polyptoton*, puns), biblical, hymnographic, liturgical, patristic, hagiographic, and classical quotations and allusions, as well as numerous proverbial expressions, that reflect the elevated style of his compositions, as well as his *paideia* and familiarity with both classical and Christian literature.[1289] As Darrouzès noted in his

[1286] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 5.7: ὢ τῆς ἐκείνου διὰ Χριστὸν ἀγάπης; 7.16, 9.15: ὢ τοῦ θαύματος; 5.18: οἴμοι; 6.12: ὢ τῆς ἀβελτηρίας; 6.12: φεῦ; 3.15–16: Καὶ πειθέτωσάν σε πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ κρύφιοι τούτου καὶ ἀκατάπαυστοι διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς κρεμαστῆρες. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 225.

[1287] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 6.8–9: πῶς **γὰρ** ἂν καὶ ἔμελλεν ἀνοσία ψυχὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν καὶ σκοπεῖν καὶ φαντάζεσθαι; 7.11: Θεοῦ δὲ τοῦτο πάντως ἦν; 7.7–8: τῆς δίκης δικαίως τοῦτο δρασάσης, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀξίως δήπου τοῦ τολμήματος σφῶν αὐτῶν εὕραντο τὰς ἀμοιβάς; 9.12: οὔμενουν ὡς ἐχρῆν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπερεθαύμασεν; 9.20: ὡς εἰκός; 7.21: ἔτυχε **γὰρ** καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε τότε τῇ πόλει ἐπιδημεῖν (my emphasis). Talbot, "Nikodemos," 228–229.

[1288] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 1.2, 3–4, 5, 9: φιλοθέοις ἀκοαῖς; τοῖς τῶν καλῶν ἐρασταῖς; τοὺς εἰδότας ἐκεῖνον; τοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐραστάς; *v.Nik.* 12.5–7: ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς δήπου τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς τετέλεκας ἀκριβῶς πόνους, περιθάλποις καὶ διαφυλάττοις ἐξ ἐχθρῶν ἀοράτων καὶ ὁρατῶν. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 224, 231.

[1289] *Anadiplosis*: *v.Sab.* 6.11: ὡς μηκέτι μὲν αὐτὸν ζῆν, ζῆν δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν αὐτῷ; *v.Sab.* 10.21–22: οὐκέτι μὲν ἀπατηλὸν εἴδωλον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ φάσμα τι τερατῶδες; *v.Sab.* 24.3: συναγωγῇ τινι προσβάλλει τῶν Ἰταλῶν, Ἰταλῶν οὐ τὸ γένος μόνον καὶ τὴν φωνήν; *epistrophe*: *v.Sab.* 11.35–37: μέγεθος δοκιμάζων ... ἀποδοκιμάζων; *v.Sab.* 31.55–56: ἦν γὰρ εἰ καὶ τὸ γένος, ὡς ἔοικε, Βάρβαρος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκριβῶς βάρβαρος; *hyperbaton*: *v.Germ.* 4.11–12: πολιὸν ἐν οὕτως ἀτελεῖ πάνυ καὶ νέᾳ τῇ

review of Tsames' edition of the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos "cultive une certaine éloquence, les lieux communs de la littérature spirituelle, où on retrouve les réminiscences fréquentes des Pères."[1290] For instance, Kokkinos' patristic references include the Cappadocian Fathers, Gregory Nazianzen (especially his *Orations* 11, 14, 15, 43), John Chrysostom, Athanasios of Alexandria, Maximos the Confessor, and John of Damascus, while classical citations include Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*,[1291] Plato's *Republic* and *Phaedo*, Pindar's *Olympian Odes*, and Euripides' *Hecuba*.[1292]

As mentioned, Kokkinos most likely delivered the *v.Nik.*, the shortest of his *vitae*, in front of the monastic community at Philokalles. However, in considering whether the other *vitae* were also read publicly, one must take into account their length. Although the circumstances of performing a text in a late-Byzantine *theatron* cannot be entirely reproduced, I have undertaken an *ethopoetical* exercise in order to obtain rough estimates on how long it takes for Kokkinos' *vitae*—in the form they survived—to be read aloud. Thus, I selected ten passages out of each *vita*, chosen from different parts of the narrative, ensuring that they included dialogues, descriptions, rhetorical asides, Biblical and classical quotations. The passages were next read aloud by three native speakers of Greek. The average reading speed ranged from *ca*. 97 words per minute (wpm), in the case of the more convoluted passages, to *ca*. 120 wpm for the passages that mainly contained Biblical quotations. However, the majority were read at a speed of around 100 wmp. Thus, if one computes the total reading time for each *vita* at this average speed, interesting results emerge. As indicated in Table 15, it would take one almost 30 minutes to read the shortest *vita* (*v.Nik*.) and more than eight hours to read the longest ones (*v.Sab.*, *v.G.Pal*.). On the basis of these results, I argue that Kokkinos most likely did not deliver the *v.Germ*., the *v.Sab*., the *v.Isid*., and the *v.G.Pal*., at least not in one session.

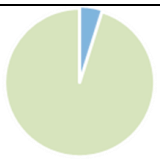
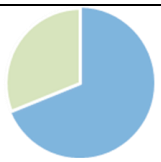
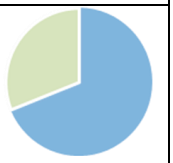
ἡλικίᾳ βλέπουσι φρόνημα; alliteration: *v.Sab*. 7.17: ἀνυπότακτον ἀπαίδευτόν τε καὶ ἀταπείνωτον; *polyptoton*: *v.Germ*. 4.1–2: καλῶς ὁ καλὸς νεανίας; *v.Germ*. 10.60: εὐγενεῖ τε κἀξ εὐγενοῦς.

[1290] Darrouzès' review in *REB* 43 (1985): 279–280, at 279.

[1291] Cf. Browning, "Homer in Byzantium," *Viator* 6 (1975): 15–33.

[1292] For a comprehensive list of biblical, patristic, classical references, as well as proverbial expressions, in Kokkinos' *vitae*, see Tsames' indices to *Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἅγιοι*, 595–623. Cf. Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 52.

Table 15. Length and estimated reading time (at *ca*. 100 wpm) of Kokkinos' *vitae*

	v.Nik.	***v.Sab.***	***v.Isid.***	***v.Germ.***	***v.G.Pal.***
Length (*no. of words*)	2635	49,834	29,861	20,186	50,123
Reading time / 100 wpm	*ca.* 0,5 h	*ca*. 8,3 h	*ca*. 5 h	*ca*. 3,4 h	*ca*. 8,4 h
					

I suspect that even the most patient public (perhaps at a monastery) would not have listened to Kokkinos' *vitae* for more than five hours. As Efthymiadis and Kalogeras point out, their length is a "substantial hindrance to their oral delivery before a live audience."[1293] Therefore, they conclude that Kokkinos' *vitae* were most likely intended for private reading, either silent or out loud, since they do not feature expressions suggesting a listening public. However, I consider that length alone is not a sufficient criterion to determine whether Kokkinos' saints' *lives*, or any other Byzantine text, were at some point delivered in front of a public. One must take also into consideration the possibility that Kokkinos may have read his *vitae* over several sittings. Moreover, a closer inspection of his *vitae* reveals that Kokkinos does in fact employ several elements that may indicate a listening audience. However, they could have been mere rhetorical devices that Kokkinos employed to confer orality to his accounts.[1294] It is also possible that he delivered shorter versions of the *vitae* in front of a public, be it a congregation or a literary gathering, which he later reworked and expanded. The *vitae* seem to have been later read in instalments in monastic milieux, either at mealtimes in the refectories or at church services, as evidenced by their manuscript tradition. For instance, the title of the *v.G.Pal*. is followed by formulas such as *eulogeson pater* (*Lavras* Λ 82, f. 291r) or *despota eulogeson* (*Coislin*. 98, f. 213r).

As I have often underlined, throughout his *vitae* Kokkinos quotes and alludes extensively to Gregory Nazianzen, especially his *Orations* 21 and 43 on Sts. Athanasios of Alexandria and Basil of Caesarea respectively. As already seen, before the final invocation in the *v.Isid*., he quotes *in extenso* from Gregory's epilogue of his

[1293] Efthymiadis, Kalogeras, "Audience," in Efthymiadis, *Companion*, vol. 2, 247–284, at 271.
[1294] Cf. Panagiotis Agapitos, *Narrative*, 78.

funeral oration on Basil, styling himself as another Gregory.[1295] Kokkinos displays familiarity with Gregory's *Orations* in other of his works. For instance, the beginning of his unedited *Logos enkomiastikos* on the Twelve Apostles (*BHG* 160h) echoes Nazianzen's *Orations* 38 and 40, as indicated below.

Kokkinos, *Logos enkomiastikos*	Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.*40, *Or*. 38
Φῶς μέν ἐστι τῶν πάντων ἓν **ἀπρόσιτον ὁ Θεός**, ὁ **ἐν Πατρί** φημι, **καὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ Πνεύματι** δοξαζόμενος ... **αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ θεωρητικόν** ... καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τε πρώτη τις **ἀπορροὴ** καὶ μετάδοσις ἐκεῖθεν δευτέρου φωτός, αἱ περὶ αὐτὸν νοεραὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων φύσεις, κήρυκες ὁμοῦ τῆς ἀγαθότητός τε καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ νοῦν ἐκείνου δυνάμεως λαμπροὶ καὶ περιφανεῖς·	*Or*. 40.5: **Θεὸς μέν ἐστι φῶς** τὸ ἀκρότατον, καὶ **ἀπρόσιτον** … **αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ θεωρητικόν** τε καὶ καταληπτικὸν, ὀλίγα τοῖς ἔξω χεόμενον. Φῶς δὲ λέγω, τὸ **ἐν Πατρὶ, καὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ** ἁγίῳ **Πνεύματι** θεωρούμενον· ... Δεύτερον δὲ φῶς ἄγγελος, τοῦ πρώτου φωτὸς **ἀπορροή** τις, ἢ μετουσία, τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸ νεύσει καὶ ὑπουργίᾳ τὸν φωτισμὸν ἔχουσα· [...]
τρίτον μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν ταύτην λαμπρότητα **φῶς ἄνθρωπος**· οὐ **διὰ τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν** φημι μόνον τοῦ νοῦ καὶ **τοῦ λόγου** λαμπρότητα, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ θεῖον ἐμφύσημα καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὡς μάλιστα πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κοινωνίαν, καθὸ δὴ καὶ κατ᾽ εἰκόνα Θεοῦ δεδημιουργῆσθαι φαμὲν κυρίως καὶ καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν·	**Τρίτον φῶς ἄνθρωπος**, ὃ καὶ τοῖς ἔξω δῆλόν ἐστι. Φῶς γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὀνομάζουσι, **διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν λόγου** δύναμιν· καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν οἱ θεοειδέστεροι, καὶ μᾶλλον Θεῷ πλησιάζοντες.
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ τὸ **φθονερὸν σκότος** ἐξ ἀπροσεξίας φεῦ **ἐπεισελθὸν** ἡμέτερας, τὸ πονηρὸν τοῦ θανάτου τε καὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας σκότος **ἐδημιούργησε**,	*Or*. 40.6: [...] εἰ καὶ τὸ **φθονερὸν σκότος** ἐπεισελθὸν τὴν κακίαν **ἐδημιούργησεν**·
καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐκείνην **εἰκόνα** τῷ παντοδαπῷ τῶν παθῶν καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας κατέχωσε συρφετῷ,	*Or*. 38.14: **τὴν βασιλικὴν εἰκόνα** συγκεχωσμένην τοῖς πάθεσι
δευτέραν ὁ τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργὸς ἡμῖν **κοινωνεῖ κοινωνίαν**, **πολὺ τῆς πρότερας** φιλανθρωποτέραν ὁμοῦ καὶ φρικωδεστέραν· **ὅσῳ τότε μὲν** τῆς ἑαυτοῦ **μετέδωκε** μόνον λαμπρότατον	*Or*. 38.13: **Δευτέραν κοινωνεῖ κοινωνίαν**, **πολὺ τῆς προτέρας** παραδοξοτέραν· **ὅσῳ τότε μὲν** τοῦ κρείττονος μετέδωκε, νῦν δὲ μεταλαμβάνει τοῦ χείρονος.

As noted above, Kokkinos inserts excerpts from Palamas' writings in the *v.G.Pal*. They not only give voice to Kokkinos' hero as it were, but add significantly to the prolixity of his account. Kokkinos wove into his narrative extracts from Palamas' theological writings and letters. It is interesting to observe how accurate Kokkinos'

[1295] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 80 ≈ Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 43.81.

quotations are, and to what extent he paraphrased or reworked Palamas' words. After reporting that Palamas settled at the hermitage of St. Sabas, in the vicinity of the Great Lavra (*v.G.Pal*. 30), Kokkinos makes a short theological aside of *ca*. 340 words on virtues (active and contemplative), divine contemplation, and deification (*v.G.Pal*. 31). After this, he underlines that on these subjects, as well as on the divine light, his audience (*akroatai*) should rather listen to Palamas' tongue.[1296] Consequently, he quotes more than 1200 words from Palamas' seventh *antirrhetikos* against Akindynos.[1297] The passage is reproduced nearly *verbatim*, with few exceptions, which include slight changes in word order, omission of certain parts, and minor modifications, as illustrated below.

Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 32.11–129	Palamas, *Ἀντιρρητικός* 7.11, 34–40
l.11: Ὅταν τὸ νοῦς …	34, l.5: Ὅταν **γὰρ** τὸ νοῦς …
l.27: τὸ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος προοίμιον	34, ll.23–24: τὸ προοίμιον τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος[1298]
—	35, ll.15–24: *ca.* 80 words
l.32: **διὰ** ταῦτα νοημάτων	35, l.1: **περὶ** ταῦτα νοημάτων
—	38, l.4–39, l.20: *ca.* 400 words
l.107: **Ὁ δὲ** κατηξιωμένος τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκείνου νοῦς …	39, ll.20–22: **Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ τῆς ἐνεργείας ταύτης ἐν μεθέξει γεγονὼς καὶ** κατηξιωμένος τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκείνου νοῦς …

In the *v.G.Pal*. 71, Kokkinos incorporates another lengthy fragment (more than 700 words) from one of Palamas' letters to his brother Makarios.[1299] As previously, Kokkinos lifts and reproduces the text with few modifications and additions. For instance, he replaces Palamas' "mediator to those who hold in hands the sceptres of the empire" with "mediator to the emperors," or adds the explanation "obviously the illegitimate ordination of Akindynos."

Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 71	Palamas, *Πρὸς Μακάριον* 3–5
l.1: Γνώσεται πᾶς τις οἶμαι κἀντεῦθεν καὶ **θαυμάσει**	3, l.35: Γνώσεται **τοίνυν**, οἶμαι, πᾶς τις κἀντεῦθεν καὶ **θαυμάσεται**[1300]
ll.5-6: τῶν συκοφαντούντων ἤδη χώραν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον χρόνον λαβόντων καθ᾽ ἡμῶν καὶ πάντων λεγόντων	3, l.3–5: τῶν συκοφαντούντων χώραν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον καθ᾽ ἡμῶν λαβόντων καὶ πάντα λεγόντων

[1296] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 32.1–11.
[1297] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 32.11–129 = Palamas, *Ἀντιρρητικός* 7, 11, 34–40 (PS III, 486–492).
[1298] Kontogiannes and Phanourgakes do not provide other variant reading in the *apparatus criticus*.
[1299] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 71 = Palamas, *Πρὸς τὸν ἀνωτέρω εἰρημένον ἴδιον ἀδελφόν* 3–5 (PS II, 540–543). On this letter, dated to the beginning of 1345, see Rigo, "Le Mont Athos."
[1300] Tsames and Matsoukas do not mention any variant readings in the *apparatus criticus*.

—	3, ll.7–12: *ca*. 50 words
ll.8-9: τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δὲ τὸ πᾶν ὑπῆρξε δυνάμεως	3, ll.12–13: ..., **ὅτι** τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως ὑπῆρξε τὸ πᾶν
ll.13–16 = 3, ll.7–10: *ca*. 28 words	
l.14: εἰς ἄμυναν	3, l.9: εἰς ἅμιλλαν[1301]
ll.26–27: ὑποκρινόμενοι καί **τινα προσάγοντες ἕτερα**, μόνον εἰ συμμαχήσει	4, ll.29–31: ὑποκρινόμενοι καὶ **μισθοὺς ἀδρούς, τοὺς μὲν ἤδη προσάγοντες παρὰ τῆς δεῖνος, τοὺς δ᾽ ὑπισχνούμενοι**, μόνον εἰ συμμαχήσει
ll.28–29: Ὁ δὲ μηδὲ τῶν προσενηνεγμένων ἀφέμενος	4, ll.33–1: Ὁ δὲ **[+ 14 words]** μηδὲ τῶν προσενηνεγμένων ἀφέμενος
l.36: μεσίτης πρὸς **βασιλέας**	4, ll.8–9: μεσίτης πρὸς **τοὺς ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντας τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς βασιλείας**
l.42: παρὰ τοῦ τὴν προστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαχόντος	4, ll.15–16: παρὰ τοῦ λαχόντος τούτου τὴν προστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας
ll.44–47: Kokkinos inserts here a short fragment from the beginning of the letter	1, ll.22–25
l.44: **Ἀλλ᾽** ἤρθη **ὄντως** ἡ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν	1, l.22: Ἤρθη **γὰρ** ἡ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν
l.47–48: Ὡς **γὰρ** ἐνόμισαν ἤδη περιγενέσθαι καὶ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν	5, ll.19: Ὡς **οὖν** ἐνόμισαν ἤδη περιγενέσθαι καὶ πάντ᾽ **ἤδη** κατὰ νοῦν
ll.49–50: μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐπετίθεσαν ἤδη, **τὴν ἄθεσμον Ἀκινδύνου δηλαδὴ χειροτονίαν**, κινεῖ τοὺς βασιλεύοντας	5, ll.21–22: μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐπετίθεσαν ἤδη, κινεῖ τοὺς βασιλεύοντας
ll.53-54: τοὺς τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνστρεφομένους ἅπαντας	5, l.25: πάντας τοὺς ἐνστρεφομένους τοῖς βασιλείοις
l.56: καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ὡρμημένων, τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας	5, ll.28–31: καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ὡρμημένων, **[+ 26 words]**, τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας
ll.69-70: τῶν μὴ δοκούντων φίλων ὑπεραγωνίζεσθαι	5, ll.9-10 (543): τῶν μὴ φίλων δοκούντων, **ἐκθύμως** ὑπεραγωνίζεσθαι

Kokkinos' 'library' most likely included manuscripts carrying patristic *florilegia* and the works of the Church fathers, as evidenced by his autograph annotations in such codices. Thus, in the aforementioned fourteenth-century *Vat. gr*. 705*, which transmits his dogmatic works and a patristic *florilegium* on divine essence and operations (ff. 1r–133v), Kokkinos wrote a marginal note on f. 42v. In this annotation, placed to the left of a passage from Gregory of Nyssa's *Against Eunomius*, Kokkinos briefly commented on Nyssa's difference between divine essence and *energeia*.[1302] Kokkinos also possessed the eleventh/twelfth-century *Vat.*

[1301] Neither editor mentions any variant reading. In fact, depending on their *ductus* in manuscripts, these words may look very similar. However, whereas *upsilon* does link to the next letter, as a rule of thumb *iota* never does. Moreover, a quick search on the *TLG* shows that there are five instances of (πρὸς) ἄμυναν, and only three of ἅμιλλα, two of each in this letter.

[1302] *Vat. gr*. 705*, f. 42v: † προϋφέστηκε τ(ῶν) ἐνεργειῶν ἡ οὐσία φησὶν ὁ διδάσκαλος οὐ κ(α)τ(ὰ) χρόνον· π(ῶς) γάρ· ἀλλὰ κ(α)τ(ὰ) τ(ὴν) τάξιν δηλονότι, ὡς αἰτία, τῶν ἐξ αὐτ(ῆς)· ὥσπερ κ(αὶ) ὁ ἥλιος τῆς ἀκτῖνος, κ(αὶ) τὸ πῦρ, τοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ φωτὸς φυσικ(ῶς) κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὴν τάξιν προϋφέστηκ(εν), ἀλλ᾽ οὐ

gr. 474*, which contains thirty orations of Gregory Nazianzen. In an explanatory note on f. 1v, Kokkinos indicates that he numbered all the orations on the superior margin of the recto for the ease of reference.[1303] Finally, it seems that he also had in his possession the tenth-eleventh century *Monac. gr.* 466*, a codex that gathers works of Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa,[1304] as shown in Table 16.

Table 16. The content of *Monac. gr.* 466

Monacensis graecus 466 (10th–11th c.)		
ff.	Author	Œuvre
1r–63r, 116r–155v	Basil of Caesarea	*Against Eunomius*
63r–115v		*On the Holy Spirit*
156r–178v	Gregory of Nyssa	*On the dead*

Interestingly, Kokkinos perused Nyssa's *Logos on the dead*,[1305] added its missing ending lines (f. 178v), and crossed out an extensive section (ff. 171r l. 15–172v l. 7) (Heil, 54.17–57.7).[1306] He explained his intervention on the text in a marginal note on f. 171r:

> One must know that in the midst of this fragment on these two leaves there is something completely incongruous both with the thinking and the right doctrine of the saint, for it teaches the end of retribution [that is, *apokatastasis*] and it is an addition of those who hold Origen's teachings. Therefore, since this [fragment] could not be found in other codices carrying [this *logos*] rightly and uncorrupted, it has been removed from here by us as a tenet of heretics and a calumny against the saint.[1307]

Subsequently, most likely after Kokkinos' demise (as indicated by the expression *ho makarites ekeinos*), another man of letters (perhaps an ecclesiastic) emended

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κ(α)τ(ὰ) χρόνον, ὡς αἴτια δηλαδή, κ(α)τ(ὰ) τοὺς μεγάλους τῆς ἐκκλησίας φημὶ διδασκάλ(ους), Ἀθανάσιον τὲ κ(αὶ) Βασίλειον †. See Bianconi, "La controversia palamitica," 369 and plate 19.

[1303] *Vat. gr*. 474*, f. 1v: † Ταῦτα τὰ λ΄ σημεῖα τῶν ψήφων κρατῶν, ῥαδίως ἕξεις τοῦ ζητουμένου λόγου τὴν εὕρεσιν· ἕκαστον γὰρ τούτων πᾶσι τοῖς ἐμπεριειλημμένοις ἑκάστω λόγω κατέσπαρται φύλλοις· κατὰ τὰ μέσα τῶν δεξιῶν σελίδων, πρὸ τῆς γραμμάτων ἀρχῆς †. See Bianconi, "La controversia palamitica," 370–371, and plate 21.

[1304] Hardt, *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 4, 442–446.

[1305] *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου ἐπισκόπου Νύσσης λόγος εἰς κοιμηθέντας*, ed. Heil, *Sermones* I, 28–68, on its manuscript tradition at 3–25; see also Lozza (ed. and trans.), *Discorso sui defunti*.

[1306] See Appendix 6, plates 10–12.

[1307] *Monac. gr.* 466*, f. 171r: ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦτο κομμάτιον τὸ ἐν τοῖς δυσὶ τούτοις φύλλοις ἀλλότριόν ἐστι παντελῶς, καὶ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς τοῦ ἁγίου δόξης, τέλος γὰρ δογματίζει κολάσεως καὶ ἔστι προσθήκη τῶν τὰ Ὠριγένους φρονούντων· διὸ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις βιβλίοις τοῖς ὀρθῶς τε καὶ ἀνοθεύτως ἔχουσιν οὐχ εὕρεται τοῦτο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκβέβληται ὡς αἱρετικῶν δόγμα καὶ συκοφαντία κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου. See Appendix 6, plate 10.

Kokkinos' exegesis and censorship of Nyssa's *logos*. Below Kokkinos' note, he wrote that:

> Having unfolded and thoroughly reviewed [the fragment] in another codex, I found that the two leaves here are rightly written and genuine, except for several passages, which I marked and rejected as nonsense of heretics. Because of this, let the reader know well from now on without any doubt, questioning nothing when looking at those which have been reviewed before me, for perhaps that blessed person [Kokkinos] who marked [the text] did not chance to see the present *logos* written in other codex and—not admitting the alien doctrine which some people who hold false beliefs added against the saint and the right doctrine of the Christians—he rejected a part and those rightly said by the saint, in which there were abuses of those who talk foolishly that at some point there is the end of retribution [that is, *apokatastasis*].[1308]

In addition to the narrative function, which is present in all narratives, Kokkinos employs all four other functions defined by Genette: the directing, communication, testimonial, and ideological functions.[1309] Kokkinos is present in his *vitae* through numerous interventions that express his attitudes and emotions (grief, amazement, admiration), and that exhort and guide the audience throughout the narrative. He directs by interrupting the story in several points to comment on its organization, offers numerous *apostrophes* both to the saint and to his audience, reflects on the importance and difficulties of the narrative act and brings evidence in support of the veracity of the account. He also explains the actions of his heroes and presents their inner thoughts and feelings. Additionally, he comments on the political situation of the day and the turmoil in ecclesiastical and political affairs, as seen, for instance in his *psogos* against the Zealot revolt in the *v.Sab*. or the numerous comments on the destruction brought about by civil war. Moreover, he displays his theological training in excursuses on theological subjects, such as the vision of God, the stewardship of salvation, miracles, or humility. Kokkinos enriches and enlivens the accounts

[1308] *Monac. gr*. 466*, ff. 171rv: ἐν ἄλλῳ βιβλίῳ ἀναπτύξας καὶ καλῶς ἐξετάσας, εὗρον ὅτι τὰ παρόντα δύο φύλλα καλῶς γεγραμμένως καὶ ἀνοθεύτως εἰσί, πλὴν ἔν τισι χωρίοις, οἷς ἐσημείωσα καὶ ἀπέβαλον ὡς αἱρετικῶν φληναφείας· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἐντυγχάνων ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀναγινωσκέτω χωρίς τινὸς ἀμφιβολίας, μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζων σκοπῶν τὰ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐξητασμένα, ἴσως γὰρ ὁ μακαρίτης ἐκεῖνος ὁ σημειώσας οὐκ ἐνέτυχε θεάσασθαι τὸν παρόντα λόγον ἐγγράφως ἐν ἄλλῳ βιβλίῳ, καὶ μὴ φέρων τὴν ἔκφυλον δόξαν, ἣν προσέθεσάν τινες κακόδοξοι κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς δόξης τῶν χριστιανῶν, ἀπέβαλε μέρος καὶ τὰ καλῶς εἰρημένα παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου, ἐν οἷς ὑπῆρχον ἀναμεταξὺ αἱ παραχρήσεις τῶν κακοδόξων τῶν ληρωδούντων εἶναί ποτε τέλος κολάσεως. See Appendix 6, plates 10–11.
[1309] Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 255–259.

through extensive use of dialogue and a mastery of changes in pace. His heroes interact with a wide array of characters (disciples, fellow monks, abbots of various monasteries, common people and even imperial figures or the devil). For instance, Sabas counters the devil's temptation to give up his way of life (*v.Sab*. 23) and confronts him in a long exchange in which he defends his life as holy fool and outlines his understanding of monasticism programmatically. Moreover, Kokkinos' mastery in the use of dialogue is seen in the account of the encounter between Sabas and John VI Kantakouzenos, to be analyzed in Part III.2. On the other hand, changes of pace break the monotony of his prolix accounts and signal the importance of various sections. This is particularly apparent in the *v.Sab*., where, as seen, he alternates faster and slower-paced narrative sections.

Judging by their long and intricate phrases, the level of intertextuality and covert allusions, Kokkinos' *vitae*, in their present form (which is possibly the result of later reworkings), seem to have been composed for an educated audience, perhaps the Constantinopolitan or Thessalonian elite. Moreover, the numerous patristic allusions and citations found in the *vitae* suggest that the audience also possessed a certain level of theological education required for identifying and grasping the meaning of such allusions.

PART III: SAINTS AND SOCIETY

> *I love and honour him as saint because of his miracles, which he wrought after his departure from here to God, showing his own tomb a spring of miracles.*[1310]

The cast of characters of Kokkinos' *vitae* is a comprehensive section of Byzantine society and includes imperial figures, laymen and monastics, supporters and skeptics, as well as people fashioned as "the other," namely, Muslims and Latins. The miracle accounts embedded in the *vitae*, especially the *v.G.Pal*., introduce the audience to beneficiaries from various professions and classes of late-Byzantine society. Kokkinos renders their afflictions with empathy and portrays their emotional responses and distress at their own illness or that of family members. Moreover, he praises imperial figures, as customary, and pens almost hagiographic portraits for some of them, while revealing his personal political propensities by subtly criticizing others. Kokkinos' *vitae* are also rich material for the exploration of religious and cultural contacts with Muslims and Latins.

III.1. The Saint and His Friends: Miracle Tales and Their Function

Holy men often stand out not only because of their ascetic lifestyle and spiritual achievements, but also for effecting miracles during their lifetime and/or posthumously. Miracles are one of the most evident marks of holiness and an important criterion for attaining recognition as a saint.[1311] Byzantine hagiographers included miracle tales throughout and especially at the end of their hagiographic compositions in order to portray and promote the holy figures they praised, as well as their cult. Miracle collections can harbour a wealth of

[1310] Kokkinos, *Synodal Tomos* of 1368, ll. 735–737, ed. Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 126: στέργω καὶ τιμῶ τοῦτον ὡς ἅγιον ἀπὸ τῶν θαυμάτων αὐτοῦ, ἃ μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκδημίαν εἰργάσατο, ἰαμάτων πηγὴν τὸν ἴδιον ἀναδείξας τάφον.
[1311] Cf. Macrides, "Saints and sainthood," 86–87.

information on the recipients of the saints' miracle-working powers, such as their name, age, gender, place of origin, activities or social status. These details enhance the credibility of the account and create, at the same time, a literary representation of the society and thought-world of the time. Miracles make up a significant part of Kokkinos' *vitae*, especially in the case of the *v.G.Pal.* and serve instructive and legitimizing purposes. As mentioned in the Introduction, some of the miracle accounts in the *v.G.Pal*. have been investigated by Rigo and especially by Talbot, while Laiou briefly discussed the miracles in the *v.Isid.*[1312] In this section, I will analyse the miracle accounts in terms of variations in length, level of detail, types of miracles recounted, beneficiaries, and stated aims.

As is well known, and as theologians have emphasized, miracles are wrought through God's grace, and not through one's own power.[1313] In the *v.G.Pal*., Kokkinos highlights that God "glorified Palamas from heaven above, once again performing miracles through him."[1314] In the *v.Sab*., he underlines that miracles are worked by divine—not by human—*energeia* at certain points in time and through certain worthy people (*axioi*).[1315] He further stresses that miracles (*thaumata*) such as the recovery of the disabled, blind, paralytic, the taming of wild beasts and the resurrection of the dead, are the work of divine grace, not of the people through whom they are effected.[1316] In the *v.Germ*., he writes that after praying for the healing of his nephew Iakobos Maroules, Germanos is amazed to hear about the speed of the cure. The holy man calls this the "swiftness of the grace," and exhorts Iakobos to attribute the miracle to Christ, "the common doctor and saviour of souls and bodies."[1317] Although miracles are an indication of one's sanctity, they do not encompass its essence. According to Gregory the Great, "miracles sometimes

[1312] Rigo, "La canonizzazione." Talbot, "Miracles of Palamas;" "Children, healing miracles, holy fools;" *Miracle Tales*, xviii–xxiii, 300–405. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and society," 104–105.
[1313] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, 336.
[1314] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 88.25–26: Ἐδόξαζε δὲ καὶ Θεὸς ἄνωθεν αὐτόν, αὖθις θαυματουργῶν δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ παράδοξα. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 303.
[1315] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 47.38–39: Θείαν τοιγαροῦν ταῦτά φαμεν, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐνέργειαν, ὑπερφυῶς ἐν τοῖς ἀξίοις κατὰ καιροὺς ἐνεργήσασαν.
[1316] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 47.40–44: ὡς γὰρ τὸ ξηρὰν ἀνορθῶσαι χεῖρα καὶ πεπηρωμένον ὀφθαλμόν, ἢ καὶ σῶμα παρειμένον ὅλον πρὸς ὑγείαν ἀθρόον ἐπαναγαγεῖν εὐχῇ καὶ ψιλῷ μόνῳ προσρήματι, ἔτι τε θῆρας ἀγρίους ἡμερῶσαι καὶ νεκροὺς ἀναστῆσαι, θείας εἶναί φαμεν χάριτος θαύματα.
[1317] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 35.43–44, 48: Ὁ δὲ τὸ καινὸν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ταχὺ τῆς χάριτος ἐκπλαγείς … τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ψυχῶν τε καὶ σωμάτων ἰατρῷ καὶ σωτῆρι Χριστῷ τὸ καινὸν τῆς θεραπείας ἐπιγράφειν.

demonstrate sanctity, they do not constitute it."[1318] Although Sabas is the only one of the five saints to perform resurrections, Kokkinos underlines that this great and wonderful gift (*charisma*) is surpassed by the holy man's vision of God (*theoptia*).[1319] Moreover, he adduces patristic arguments (Gregory Nazianzen, Isaac the Syrian), underlining that purification from passions and deification of man's soul and body are more important than all miracles, even resurrections of the dead.[1320]

The holy men's ability to perform miracles and the truthfulness of Kokkinos' account in support of this have been brought into question. In the second volume of his monumental five-volume, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium ab Ecclesia catholica dissidentium*, published in Paris between 1926 and 1935, the prominent assumptionist Martin Jugie (1878–1954) presents and harshly criticizes Palamas' theology.[1321] Additionally, he published an extensive entry on Palamas in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*.[1322] Jugie's opposition towards Palamas' theology also translates into skepticism regarding his miraculous powers, as he harshly questions the veracity of Kokkinos' account: "Cette biographie manque sans doute de l'impartialité historique. C'est une thèse qui a pour but de démontrer la parfaite sainteté du héros. Le merveilleux s'y rencontre à chaque page."[1323] Giving precedence to Gregoras' allegations,[1324] Jugie argues that Palamas' miracles have been orchestrated by his faithful disciple Kokkinos, the mastermind behind his canonization:

> Son fidèle disciple, Philothèe Kokkinos, redevenu patriarche en 1364, établit officiellement son culte dans la Grande Église, au synode de Constantinople en 1368, après une enquête sur les nombreux miracles qu'on disait avoir été opérés à son tombeau. De ces miracles, Nicéphore Grégoras nous rapporte qu'ils furent faits sur commande par la pieuse supercherie de disciples fervents, qui voulant auréoler leur maître et effacer le souvenir de sa fin ignominieuse, persuadèrent à de pauvres hères, moyennant finance, de se faire guérir de maladies plus ou moins imaginaires au tombeau de Palamas, à la suite de songes miraculeux [Gregoras, 37.39–44] … Le quatorzième, que le narrateur considère comme le

[1318] *PL* 76, 1216: *miracula ostendunt aliquando sanctitatem, non autem faciunt*. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, 337.
[1319] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 51.60–65.
[1320] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 47.52–71.
[1321] *Theologiae dogmaticae Græco-Russorum expositio*, 47–183 (*De theologia palamitica*).
[1322] Jugie, "Palamas Grégoire," *DTC* 11.2 (1932): 1735–1776.
[1323] Jugie, "Palamas Grégoire," 1735.
[1324] Gregoras, *Historia Rhomaike* 37.39–44 (III.549–552).

> principal de tous, la κορωνίς de la série, n'est autre chose que le ridicule rêve d'un moine de la grande laure de l'Athos, qui voit, pendant son sommeil, le chœur des Pères de l'Église réunis en synode et n'osant trancher la question mise en délibération, avant l'arrivée de Palamas.[1325]

Kokkinos spends the largest number of words on Palamas' miracles (*ca*. 9300). If one looks at percentages instead of absolute values, as shown in Table 17, one can notice that the *miracula* take up between *ca*. 3,5% (*v.Sab*.) and 22,5% (*v.Nik.*) of a *vita*. In terms of the number of miracle accounts per *vita*, the *v.Germ.*, the *v.Nik.*, and the *v.Sab.* are at the lower end of the distribution (the first two include 3 miracles each, whereas the latter includes 4), while the *v.Isid.* and the *v.G.Pal.* are at the higher end (with 10 and 29 miracles respectively).

On average, Kokkinos presents a miracle in *ca*. 350 words. Two of these stand out through their length (more than 1100 words), namely the healing of a man suffering from callouses in his hand in the *v.G.Pal.*[1326] and the healing of Germanos' nephew John Maroules in the *v.Germ.*[1327]

Table 17. Length of the miracle accounts in Kokkinos' *vitae*

Vita	**Number of words**	**% of the *vita***
v.Nik.	600	22,50
v.Sab.	1759	3,52
v.Isid.	3070	10,28
v.Germ.	2087	10,33
v.G.Pal.	9344	18,64

As shown in Table 18, close to two thirds are healing miracles (34), followed by miracles of nature (10), whereas the rarest involve protection from danger (2), punishment (2), and cure of barrenness (1). As will be discussed below, the *v.Nik*. includes the only two cases of punishment miracles, as well as a fairly common healing miracle; the *v.Sab.* has a surprisingly small number of *thaumata* compared to its length, namely two healing miracles (including the only case of resurrection in the five *vitae*) and two miracles of nature; the *v.Isid*. shows the greatest variety in terms of the types of miracles; the *v.Germ.* includes only three miracles (two healings and

[1325] Jugie, "Palamas Grégoire," 1741.
[1326] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 125. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 363–373 (no. 19).
[1327] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 31–32.

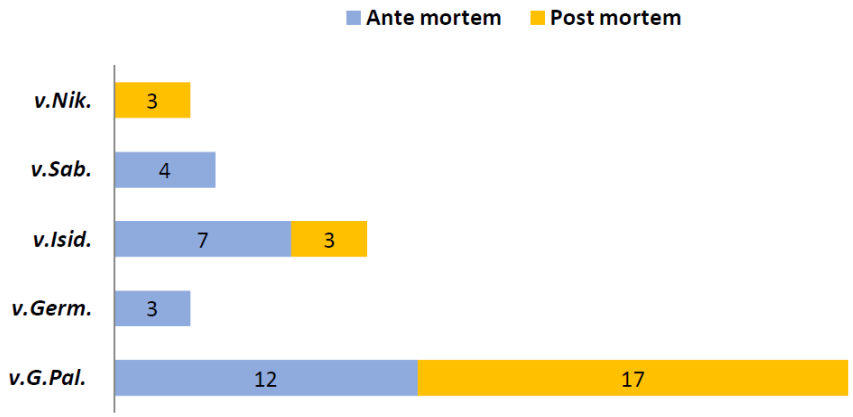
one instance of protection from danger), all having as beneficiaries people close to the holy man, namely his disciple Ioannikios and his nephews John and Iakobos Maroules; finally, the *v.G.Pal.* includes the largest number of miracles, most of which are healing miracles (24) and miracles of nature (5).

Table 18. Typology of miracles per *vita*

	Healing	**Nature**	**Protection**	**Punishment**	**Barrenness**	***Total***
v.Nik.	1			2		3
v.Sab.	2	2				4
v.Isid.	5	3	1		1	10
v.Germ.	2		1			3
v.G.Pal.	24	5				29
Total	**34**	**10**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**49**

It is also interesting to observe where in the *vitae* Kokkinos includes these miracle accounts. As shown in Fig. 11, Kokkinos does not mention any lifetime miracles in the *v.Nik.* On the other hand, in the *v.Sab.* and in the *v.Germ.*, all the miracles are wrought by the holy men in the course of their life. The last two *vitae* (the *v.Isid.* and the *v.G.Pal.*) include both *ante mortem* and *post mortem* miracles, with a more balanced distribution between the two categories in the latter case.

Fig. 11. Distribution of *ante mortem* and *post mortem* miracle accounts per *vita*



The majority of Palamas' miracles are appended at the end of his *vita*. As Talbot has argued, most of the miracles included in the *v.G.Pal.* were compiled by Kokkinos in the 1360s as a separate dossier in support of Palamas' canonization.[1328]

[1328] Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, xix.

As already mentioned, in the synodal *tomos* of 1368, Kokkinos reports that he requested and received eyewitness testimonies of Palamas' miraculous healings from the great steward (*megas oikonomos*) of the church of Thessalonike.[1329] Kokkinos also acknowledges his support in the *v.G.Pal.*:

> I shall leave the majority of them to these wise men of ours who have previously recounted and narrated these miracles in marvelous fashion, and above all to that brother [monk] who has composed them so sublimely with plentiful words and wisdom, and from whom I received the above-mentioned miracle accounts and wove them into my account [*logos*] as best I could.[1330]

As Talbot notes, "Philotheos compiled the assembled testimonies some time before 1368, no doubt unifying and embellishing their style, and probably adding details about the symptoms and causes of the various diseases."[1331] Moreover, she argues that "these miracle accounts were originally compiled by Philotheos in the 1360s as a separate dossier to support the canonization procedure for Palamas."[1332] She also points out evidence of the circulation of these miracle accounts as a separate dossier in the late-fourteenth century *Life of St. Maximos Kausokalybites* (*BHG* 1236z), composed by the hieromonk Niphon of Athos. In this *vita*, Maximos' younger contemporary reports that:

> Menas, a priest and the superior of Alypios,[1333] said, "I and the hieromonk Gregory, the disciple of Saint Gregory Palamas, once went to the blessed Hutburner. And we found two lay officials there. And the blessed one said to me, 'Speak to us about the miracles of the <metropolitan> of Thessalonike.' But when I denied knowing them, he said again, 'Tell me, speak!' I told him, 'I don't know them.' But I had a volume (*tomos*) written about the miracles of the <metropolitan> of Thessalonike in the folds of my habit. So I then reluctantly showed him this and told him, 'Here, this is where they've been written down.'"[1334]

[1329] Kokkinos, *Synodal Tomos* of 1368, ll. 737–745, ed. Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 126.

[1330] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 134.3–7: τῶν πλείστων παραχωρήσας τοῖς ἡμετέροις τούτοις σοφοῖς, θαυμαστῶς ἄνωθεν ἐξηγουμένοις τε καὶ λογογραφοῦσι ταυτὶ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστά τ' ἀδελφῷ, περιουσίᾳ λόγου τε καὶ σοφίας ὑψηλῶς ἐκεῖνα συγγραφομένῳ, παρ' οὗ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ προρρηθέντα δεδεγμένοι, καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τε τῷ λόγῳ συνήψαμεν. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 401 (slightly modified).

[1331] Talbot, "Miracles of Palamas," 239.

[1332] Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, xviii.

[1333] Janin, *Églises CP*, 19, 384.

[1334] Niphon, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου Μαξίμου*, ch. 26, ed. Halkin, "Deux vies de S. Maxime," 60–61: Μηνᾶς, ἱερεὺς καὶ ἡγούμενος τοῦ Ἀλυπίου, εἶπεν ὅτι "Παρεβάλομέν ποτε ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ, ὁ ἱερομόναχος Γρηγόριος, πρὸς τὸν ὅσιον Καυσοκαλύβην. Εὕρομεν δὲ ἐκεῖ καὶ δύο ἄρχοντας κοσμικούς. Καὶ εἶπε πρός με ὁ ὅσιος, 'Εἰπὲ ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν θαυμάτων τοῦ

However, this "volume (*tomos*) about the miracles" of Palamas does not necessarily refer to a separate dossier of miracle accounts compiled by Kokkinos, which he later incorporated into the *v.G.Pal*., especially in its final section. It is also possible that the superior of Alypios had in his possession the *tomos* of Palamas' miracles assembled by the great steward of Thessalonike, or, as Kokkinos wrote, "the wise men of ours who have previously recounted and narrated these miracles in marvelous fashion," possibly referring to the sworn testimonies sent to Kallistos by the suffragan bishops of Thessalonike.[1335] Thus, it may be the case that Kokkinos did not compose a separate dossier of Palamas' miracles, which circulated independently of the *v.G.Pal*., but integrated or wove, as he indicates, the miracle accounts received from the *megas oikonomos* directly into his account (*logos*) of the *v.G.Pal*.

Kokkinos' heroes begin displaying miraculous powers at different points in their lives. Sabas' first miraculous deed occurs early in his life, in his mid-twenties, during his sojourn in Cyprus, when he throws himself in a pit of mud and later exits without any of the filth sticking to his body.[1336] Isidore, however, works his first miracle in his early forties, as bishop-elect of Monembasia, when he cures a woman of barrenness.[1337] Germanos also shows miracle-making powers only in the later part of his life. Assuming that his three miracles are presented chronologically in the *v.Germ*., the first one occurs after he accepts Ioannikios as disciple, saving him from falling into a precipice. The other two occur late in his life, between his mid-sixties and mid-seventies (the healing of his nephew John) and after his mid-seventies (the healing of Iakobos, which he effected after 1325).[1338] Finally, Palamas works his first two miracles (of nature) in his late thirties when serving as abbot at the Esphigmenou Monastery around 1335.[1339]

Θεσσαλονίκης.' Ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀντιλέγοντος μὴ εἰδέναι, καὶ πάλιν εἶπεν, 'Λέγε, εἰπέ.' Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀντέλεγα, 'Οὐ γινώσκω.' Ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου τόμος γεγραμμένος περὶ τῶν θαυμάτων τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης. Καὶ τότε μόλις ἔδειξα αὐτὸν λέγων, 'Ἐδῶ πού εἰσι γεγραμμένα.'" English translation by Greenfield in *Holy Men of Athos*, 425–427 (slightly modified).

[1335] Kokkinos, *Synodal Tomos* of 1368, ll. 745–755, ed. Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 126.

[1336] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 29.

[1337] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 33.

[1338] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 30, 31–32, 35.

[1339] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 39.

III.1.1. Miracles of nature

All the miracles of nature occur during the holy men's lifetime. These include examples of power over animals, ending drought, curing plague, preventing a shipwreck and three instances of miraculous provision (multiplication of olive oil and food by Isidore and Palamas). The accounts of miracles of nature are generally shorter than the rest, with an average of *ca*. 290 words (compared to *ca*. 370 words for other types of miracles) and are found in the *v.Sab*. (2), the *v.Isid*. (3), and the *v.G.Pal*. (5).

As mentioned, Sabas first exercises his miracle-making power over nature. This occurs in the context of his increasing fame in Cyprus, following his acts of holy foolery.[1340] Therefore, as a gesture of rejecting this fame, he feigns madness (*moria*) again by throwing himself into a pit of filth. However, at the end of the day, he comes out completely untouched by it, as if standing up from a bed or a clean and soft grass of a garden.[1341] Kokkinos calls this event an "extraordinary miracle" and presents the reaction of the internal audience in detail: people prostrate themselves in front of Sabas, kissing the soles of his feet and covering their heads and faces with the dust he has set foot on. As his gesture has the opposite effect than the one he intended, Sabas leaves Cyprus to escape worldly glory and travels to Jerusalem.[1342]

He works a second miracle of nature during a short stay at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist—a "common lodge of ascetics," as Kokkinos calls it[1343]—located in the vicinity of the River Jordan, on its western side. In a scene presented by Kokkinos at some length (*ca*. 590 words), Sabas reveals his power over animals, recalling the peaceful relationship between Adam and the animals in the Garden of Eden. One day, as he gathers wood in a meadow together with a fellow monk, three lions appear, threatening the donkeys of the monastery. Kokkinos builds suspense gradually, capturing the reaction of the characters. While the other monk flees as soon as he catches sight of the lions, Sabas only notices the unrest of the donkeys, which are shaking violently. Turning around to see what is happening, he sees the lions as they are about to pounce on the donkeys and tear them to pieces. However,

[1340] Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 225–232.
[1341] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 29.23–24: ὡσεὶ στρωμνῆς τινος ἢ καθαρᾶς τε καὶ μαλακῆς πόας καὶ παραδείσων ἐξαναστὰς καθαρώτατος ἦν ὅλος καὶ ἄθικτος.
[1342] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 29.20: θαῦμα φρικτὸν καὶ ὑπερφυέστατον.
[1343] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 48.36: κοινὸν τῶν ἀσκητῶν καταγώγιον.

instead of running for his life, he talks to them and offers himself as food in order to save the donkeys. The lions then withdraw quietly, as if having understood Sabas' words.[1344] The account of the miracle is followed by a *prolepsis* showing what Sabas later revealed to his disciple about his relationship with animals. Thus, Sabas recounts in reported speech (*ca.* 200 words) that he often met lions in the desert, walking along their side as friends do, and he carefully observed their anatomy (the arrangement of the eyes, the size of their body, the mobility of the neck, their royal leap and sharp claws) and conduct. In their turn, the lions allowed Sabas in their midst and even took pleasure in his company.[1345]

Congourdeau has pointed out the potential influence of a widely-known story of another ascetic who lived in the same region, namely Abba Gerasimos of Jordan. A fifth-century Palestinian monk who established a *lavra* close to the River Jordan,[1346] Gerasimos also tamed a lion and won its loyalty by removing a thorn from its paws. The storyline is more complex than Sabas' brief encounter with the wild beasts: Gerasimos gives the lion the task of accompanying the donkeys of the monastery to pasture, until they are one day stolen by Arab merchants while the lion is asleep. Gerasimos first accuses the lion of devouring the donkeys until the animal succeeds in getting them back. This story was later incorporated in the *Life* of Gerasimos, composed by a monk at his lavra in the seventh century.[1347] Interestingly, as Nancy Ševčenko pointed out, the story of Gerasimos was illustrated in Byzantium, although not before the fourteenth century.[1348] The early monastic literature, familiar to Kokkinos, includes various stories involving lions, such as Palladios' *Historia Lausiaca* (ch. 52), Theodoret's *Philotheos Historia* (VI. 10, 66), as well as the late sixth-century stories of John Moschos' *Pratum spirituale* (chs. 2, 18, 74, 92, 125, 102, 163, 167, 181) and Cyril of Skythopolis' *Life of Sabas* (*BHG* 1608) (chs. 23, 33, 34, 49). The latter work includes three cases in which St. Sabas is credited with

[1344] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 49.8–68.
[1345] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 49.69–89.
[1346] Moschos, *Pratum spirituale*, ch. 107. English translation by Wortley, *The Spiritual Meadow*.
[1347] Grégoire, "La vie anonyme de saint Gérasime," *BZ* 13 (1904): 114–135.
[1348] Ševčenko, "The hermit as stranger in the desert," in *Strangers to Themselves*, 75–86, at 82 and n. 26. See Haustein-Bartsch, "'So gehorchten die wilden Tiere Adam,'" in *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, 259–278; see also Bakalova, "Scenes from the Life of St. Gerasimos," and Tomeković, "Note sur saint Gérasime dans l'art byzantin," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 21 (1985): 105–121, and 277–285 respectively.

coercing lions through his prayers.[1349] Moreover, the *Life of St. Mary the Egyptian* (*BHG* 1042), attributed to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronios, recounts that the holy woman—to whom Kokkinos compares his hero[1350]—was interred by a lion. Thus, for this section of the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos most likely drew inspiration from similar stories recounting encounters between holy men and animals endemic to the region, especially lions.

Isidore works his first miracles as bishop-elect of Monembasia and performs several *thaumata* for his flock, people from his metropolitan see who reside in Constantinople or travel to the capital seeking his spiritual guidance. Among them is a man whose wife cannot bear children. He therefore goes to Isidore with great faith and emotion (*peripatheia*) and asks him to help him obtain an heir. Kokkinos enlivens the account by reporting their dialogue. Amazed by the faith of the man and showing compassion towards him, Isidore prays in a church, then offers him a piece of bread, which he blesses and sanctifies in the name of the Theotokos.[1351] He further instructs the "suppliant" to return to his wife and pray together with her to the Theotokos, foretelling that they will become the parents of a male child. After the man returns to Monembasia, his barren and "weak woman" (*to gynaion*) becomes a mother (*meter*), giving birth to a boy, according to Isidore's prayer and prophecy.[1352] Kokkinos offers an exegesis (*ca*. 60 words) of the miracle as a proof of Isidore's freedom of speech (*parrhesia*) before God.[1353]

Isidore's second miracle has as beneficiary an aristocratic woman from Constantinople to whom he offers spiritual guidance.[1354] Kokkinos does not disclose her name, but styles her as "a Salome and Susanna, and a second Mary Magdalene" and a "female disciple" (*mathetria*) of Isidore.[1355] At one point the woman is put through a trial by the devil, who fills her house with worms and snakes. As Kokkinos describes, "not even one part of the house whatsoever, neither the bed, nor the table,

[1349] *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, trans. Price, 93–219, at 116, 127–129, 148–149; Wortley, "Two unpublished psychophelitic tales," *GRBS* 37 (1996): 281–300, esp. 288–300.
[1350] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 37.8–12.
[1351] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 33.18–19: ἄρτου μερίδα τινὰ βραχεῖαν τῷ τῆς Θεομήτορος ὀνόματι σφραγίσας τε καὶ καθαγιάσας.
[1352] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 33.20–38.
[1353] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 33.38–44.
[1354] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 37.1: Γυνή τις τῶν εὐγενῶν καὶ κοσμίων.
[1355] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 38.9–11: Σαλώμη τις καὶ Σωσάννα ἢ καὶ Μαρία τις ἄλλη Μαγδαληνὴ κεχρημάτικεν ἐξ ἐκείνου, μαθήτρια.

neither the pavement, nor the vessels, neither the food, nor anything else was free of this abuse."[1356] She therefore seeks the help of her spiritual father, who firstly accuses her of negligence and lack of courage. He then urges her to go home and chase the vermin away with the formula: "My father commands you to leave right away!"[1357] After she follows these instructions, the vermin flee as if endowed with reason.[1358]

Isidore also works a triad of miracles for his friend Nicholas of Monembasia. Kokkinos describes "our Nicholas" as a "Dorian not of those undistinguished," living in Constantinople, a supporter of hesychasm and of Kantakouzenos, and styles him as a second Onesimos and Akylas, disciples of Apostle Paul.[1359] Kokkinos describes Isidore's friendship with Nicholas as a "mythical horn of Amalthea," through which the latter comes into the possession of all sorts of goods.[1360] Using a biblical reference with symbolic but also practical meaning, as will be seen, Kokkinos mentions that Nicholas does not experience any lack of oil, as the widow of Zarephath once did.[1361] Kokkinos also makes a reference to Zarephath in the *v.G.Pal*., where he styles Palamas as a "new Elijah" after he multiplies the olive oil at Esphigmenou.[1362] Isidore works a similar miracle for Nicholas, sending him some olive oil which he has received from a merchant from Monembasia.[1363] After Nicholas stores the oil in two vessels, they are miraculously filled to the brim and turn into springs from which oil gushes forth abundantly. Although the people from his house try to collect it in jars, the oil continues overflowing like a stream, filling the floors of the house and spilling into the square. The eyewitness neighbours are "mute and astonished" at the supernatural streams and collect the oil with their hands and cups.[1364] Isidore performs another miracle of provision in the difficult times following the end of the civil war, when the patriarchate struggled with dire financial

[1356] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 38.20–22: μηδὲν τῆς οἰκίας μηδοπωσοῦν μέρος, μὴ στρωμνήν, μὴ τράπεζαν, μὴ βάθρον, μὴ σκεῦος ὁτιοῦν, μὴ βρῶμα, τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπηρείας ἐλεύθερον εἶναι.
[1357] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 38.32–33: Ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ὑμῖν ἐπιτάττει θᾶττον ἀναχωρῆσαι.
[1358] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 38.35–45.
[1359] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 40.1, 6–7, 18–19: Νικόλαον δὲ τὸν ἡμέτερον … Οὗτος τοιγαροῦν Δωριεὺς ὢν καὶ τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων … Ὀνήσιμός τις καὶ Ἀκύλας ἢ τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνους τάγματος εἴ τις ἄλλος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις.
[1360] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 40.26–29. *CPG* I.44, 191, 341, II.64, 685.
[1361] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 49.41–42. Cf. 1 Kings 17:8–16.
[1362] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 39.6–7.
[1363] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 41.1–11.
[1364] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 41.11–31; cf. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and society," 105.

hardship. He takes care of his flock and the poor and multiplies food in a miracle styled on the biblical model, clearly recalling Christ's multiplication of the loaves.[1365]

In the second miracle of the triad, also analysed by Laiou, Isidore protects Nicholas' house from an angry and "irrational" mob who try to set it on fire while Nicholas is away from Constantinople "together with the emperor" (John VI Kantakouzenos). As Laiou noted, Kokkinos "is particularly offended by the fact that this punishment was to be meted out without a court decision, and not by soldiers, but by the people themselves."[1366] Learning about the danger looming over Nicholas' house, Isidore averts it through the intercession of the Theotokos.[1367] Consequently, the mob comes to its senses straightway and its anger recedes, which Kokkinos skilfully compares to the waves of a raging sea that break and crash into the cliffs of the coast, reaching the seashore as foam.[1368] Set before the end of the civil war, possibly after Isidore's deposition in 1344 (if Kokkinos constructs his narrative chronologically), this miracle has a clear political flavour, since Kokkinos mentions that Nicholas was a supporter of Kantakouzenos, while the angry mob appears to made up of those siding with the Palaiologoi. Laiou aptly pointed out that:

> This "miracle" is interesting for a number of reasons. First, it has the elements of a true story. Presumably, Nikolaos was a well-known supporter of Kantakouzenos, and the opponents of Kantakouzenos were either trying to capture him or else to punish him by destroying his possessions. [...] But what is of particular importance is the role of the saint and Philotheos' view of it. It seems that Isidore ... took it upon himself to protect the property of a rich man, and a supporter of Kantakouzenos. Philotheos, on the other hand, describes the incident in considerable detail, appears to condone Isidore's action entirely, and seizes the opportunity to express his own position on these matters: his contempt for the people, their motives, and their leaders is obvious; and it is, perhaps, significant that in his eyes only miracles could be invoked against the irrational actions of the "mob."[1369]

[1365] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 64. Cf. Matt. 14:13–21; Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and society," 104.
[1366] Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and society," 105.
[1367] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 42.1–27.
[1368] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 42.35–38.
[1369] Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and society," 105. She mentions that Isidore was "then still bishop-elect of Monemvasia."

The final miracle of the triad with which the holy man honours Nicholas is a healing miracle. The beneficiary is Nicholas' infant son (*nepios*), born through Isidore's intercessions and named after the holy man. Gripped by an unspecified death-bringing affliction, the boy runs the risk of an untimely death and is the subject of lamentations as if already dead.[1370] The parents therefore turn towards Isidore as "the only salvation after God and a holy anchor," asking him to save their son. Kokkinos fashions the miraculous healing following Christ's model: the holy man lifts his eyes up to the sky and commands the boy to get up.[1371]

As already mentioned, Palamas works his first miracles as *hegoumenos* of Esphigmenou. Hearing that the monks have little olive oil, he goes to the storehouse where he prays to God and makes the sign of the cross over the vessel with olive oil, showing it as "the flask of Zarephath" as a "new Elijah." Afterwards, the oil from that barrel does not run out for a whole year, although both Palamas and the monks use it. Palamas works a second miracle on nature after he learns that the cause for the scarcity (*spanis, endeia*) of oil is a disease of the olive trees. Therefore, he goes into the olive garden and prays, making the sign of the holy cross and blessing the trees with holy water. At the appropriate time, reports Kokkinos, the trees that had been unhealthy for many years miraculously bear fruit abundantly. Moreover, the proximity to Palamas causes them to bear even more fruit. Thus, if the holy man passed by certain trees, stood by them or under their shade, their harvest was more abundant.[1372]

Interestingly, prior to these miracles of nature, Kokkinos includes another tale that he also fashions as a "miracle." This is an act of spiritual healing, having as beneficiary one of the monks under Palamas' supervision at Esphigmenou, by the name of Eudokimos. By a trick of the devil, the latter is led to believe that Palamas is "altogether ignorant (*amathes*) and one who did not taste the mystical contemplation and virtue" and consequently does not accept his authority. However, after prayers and holy teachings, Palamas restores Eudokimos' health through the grace of the Holy Spirit. In a pun on the monk's name, Kokkinos writes that Palamas makes

[1370] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 43.1–11.
[1371] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 43.12–13: τὴν μόνην μετὰ Θεὸν σωτηρίαν καὶ ἱερὰν ἄγκυραν; *v.Sab*. 43.13–25; cf. Luke 8:54.
[1372] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 39.6–7: τὸν τῆς Σαραφθίας ἐδείκνυ καμψάκην ἐκεῖνον ἄντικρυς, οἶά τις νέος Ἠλίας τοῖς μοναχοῖς; *v.G.Pal*. 39.10–24.

Eudokimos "esteemed and of good repute," matching his name, as it were. Although Kokkinos styles this as a miracle, I have not included it in the statistics I present. [1373]

Palamas works the rest of his miracles of nature (3) during his tenure as metropolitan of Thessalonike. After a second failed attempt to enter Thessalonike (around 1350), Palamas has a sojourn in Lemnos where he learns about the outbreak of pestilence in one of the smaller cities of the island. Kokkinos clarifies that this is not the common plague that had occurred recently, but a local outbreak.[1374] Called by the suffering people, Palamas travels to the city without delay, although the fury of the disease dissuades some doctors from following him. Palamas stops the progression of the disease through his prayers and ends the "sickness and death."[1375] He also miraculously saves a ship caught in the perils of the troubled sea. This occurs on his way back to Thessalonike from the hesychast synod of 1351 held in Constantinople. Although his fellow travelers and even the steersman lose all hope of salvation, Palamas advises them to pray and intercedes as a true mediator (*mesites*) to God. Using his prayers and *parrhesia* before God, he calms the hurricane (*kataigis*) and saves everyone from shipwreck.[1376] The last miracle of nature, briefly reported by Kokkinos (*ca*. 80 words), occurs after Palamas' release from the Ottoman captivity (spring 1355) and is part of a block of five miracle accounts, the rest of which are healing miracles. Returning to his metropolitan see, Palamas prays for the end of the drought that had engulfed the city.[1377] Kokkinos most likely inserts this scene in reference to one of Palamas' prayers for rain during drought (*anombria*).[1378]

III.1.2. Healing miracles

Healing miracles are the most common category in Kokkinos' *vitae*. Most of these are performed by the holy men after their demise. Posthumous healing miracles outnumber those performed by Kokkinos' heroes during their lifetime by a ratio of 4:3. The breakdown by type of affliction shown in Table 19 reveals that Kokkinos'

[1373] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 38.17–18: τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ μυστικῆς θεωρίας καὶ ἀρετῆς τὸ παράπαν ἀμαθής τε καὶ ἄγευστος; *v.G.Pal*. 38.27–29: καὶ δόκιμον ἢ εὐδοκιμοῦντα φερωνύμως ἀπειργάσατο τὸν Εὐδόκιμον τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ χάριτι.
[1374] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 85.9–12.
[1375] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 85.12–25.
[1376] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 95.1–18.
[1377] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 104.12–20.
[1378] Palamas, *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀνομβρίᾳ* (PS V, 279–280).

heroes cure a wide variety of diseases, the most common being different limb disorders, paralysis, mental illness and neural problems, blood discharge and bowel afflictions.

Table 19. Typology of healing miracles in Kokkinos' *vitae*

Type of affliction	***Ante mortem***	***Post mortem***	**Total**
Limb (rigidity, infections)	1	5	6
Unspecified	1	4	5
Other	2	2	4
Paralysis	2	1	3
Mental illness and neural problems	2	1	3
Blood discharge	2	2	3
Bowel afflictions and infections	1	2	3
Blindness and eye afflictions	1	1	2
Deafness	–	1	1
Fever	1	–	1
Nephritis	–	1	1
Resurrection	1	–	1
Total	**14**	**20**	**34**

Most of the beneficiaries suffer from chronic complaints: a monk suffers from headaches for seven years (*v.G.Pal*. 117), the noble woman Zoe suffers from an acute pain in her abdomen for five years and is bedridden for another two (*v.G.Pal*. 127), the daughter of a priest is paralysed for three years (*v.G.Pal*. 88), the monk Ephraim from Kastoria has an infected foot for two years (*v.G.Pal*. 129), a five-year-old boy suffers from haemorrhage for fifteen months (*v.G.Pal*. 108), and the hand of a choirmaster from Thessalonike is rigid for a year (*v.G.Pal*. 119), before all these afflictions are cured by Palamas. Moreover, a nun from the Pertze convent in Constantinople,[1379] healed by Isidore, suffers from blood discharge for fifteen years (*v.Isid*. 65). Interestingly, Kokkinos does not specify many of the illnesses that afflict children. For instance, Isidore cures Nicholas' son of an unspecified "death-bringing" illness (*v.Isid*. 43) and Palamas twice cures the son of the *hetaireiarches* Andronikos Tzimiskes from Berrhoia of a "life-threatening disease" and "a serious illness" (*v.G.Pal*. 131–132). As Talbot points out, Kokkinos shows a great deal of medical competence in describing the diseases and their symptoms, displaying his medical knowledge by the use of relevant terminology. In Talbot's words:

[1379] On this convent, see Janin, *Églises CP*, 396–397.

> Although he could be quite critical of the failures of medical treatment, Philotheos, like some other Palaiologan hagiographers, was evidently interested in the practice of medicine and the aetiology of disease, and had picked up some medical terminology from books or acquaintances. For example, he used the technical word from the medical literature for the tailbone, calling it the "holy bone" (ἱερὸν ὀστοῦν or *os sacrum*) (ch. 118.42), and states that doctors (ἰατρῶν παῖδες) use the term "colic" (κωλική) for severe constipation (ch. 118.3–4). Among the specific treatments he mentioned as being prescribed by physicians were a cold diet (ch. 119), the cauterizing iron (ch. 123), purgatives (ch. 120) and "warm medicaments" (poultices?) (ch. 122).[1380]

Kokkinos displays his medical knowledge not only in the *v.G.Pal.*, but also in the other *vitae*. For instance, after he reports that Sabas spent two years not moving his body (*v.Sab*. 47), Kokkinos makes a short aside on the complex structure of the human body, which functions because of its constitutive elements (*stoicheia*) such as limbs (*mele*), parts of the body (*moria*), sinews (*neura*), and joints (*harmoniai*).[1381] In the *v.Germ*., he speaks at length about the symptoms of Iakobos' sickness, described in detail as a pungent fluid flowing from his head to his teeth and swelling up one of his cheeks, which provokes a violent sensation of pain in his brain (*enkephalos*)—symptoms that would indicate a trigeminal neuralgia.[1382] Moreover, when presenting the first years of Palamas' ascetic life at the Lavra, Kokkinos reports that his hero did not sleep for three months, but only a little each afternoon so that his brain would not suffer any damage because of dryness.[1383]

None of Kokkinos' heroes seems to have a specialization in curing a specific type of affliction. However, Talbot noted the high frequency of problems of defecation in the *v.G.Pal.*, possibly connected to Palamas' own demise to a similar type of illness, namely an abdominal ailment.[1384] At the same time, a close look at his miracles reveals an additional focus on problems of mobility. Palamas cures one case of paralysis and five other cases of various limb affections, ranging from a rigid hand (*v.G.Pal*. 119) and arm (*v.G.Pal*. 122) to a painful shoulder (*v.G.Pal*. 123) and infected leg (*v.G.Pal*. 129).

[1380] Talbot, "Miracles of Palamas," 241.
[1381] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 47.45–52.
[1382] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 35.1–6.
[1383] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 21.5–9.
[1384] Talbot, "Miracles of Palamas," 240.

During their lifetime, the holy men effect healings mainly through making the sign of the cross and by using a healing formula. However, to effect his two healing miracles, Sabas only raises his eyes towards the sky, which suggests a greater *parrhesia* in front of God. Thus, he resurrects a dead child by holding his hand and raising his eyes to the sky.[1385] However, in the case of curing the hand of the Muslim who wanted to kill him, Sabas cannot do more than turn his eyes towards heaven and slightly lift his hands because of his severe injuries.[1386]

Isidore saves Nicholas' son from the grip of death in the same way, additionally commanding him to rise, following the biblical model. The holy man also performs a miracle strikingly similar to Christ's healing of the woman who had a discharge of blood for twelve years (*haimorroousa*).[1387] During his visit to the Pertze convent, Isidore—at that time already patriarch of Constantinople—is also approached by a nun suffering from the same affliction for fifteen years. Although the holy man first states that such a healing can only be offered by divine power, he nonetheless places his hands on her head and releases her from the affliction.[1388] Interestingly, Kokkinos suggests that his heroes anticipate people's needs, mentioning that Palamas comes "unbidden" (*autokletos*) to the help of a foundling girl suffering from incontinence of the bowels, to a five-year-old boy suffering a haemorrhage, and to a bedridden physician.[1389]

Posthumous miracles are mainly effected at the shrine of the saint, as is the case of all the miracles in the *v.Nik.* and the *v.Isid*. The inclusion of such miracles can reflect a concern from the part of the hagiographer with promoting the cult of his heroes. However, Palamas also works five miracles for ailing people from Thessalonike (*v.G.Pal*. 117–118), Kastoria (*v.G.Pal*. 127, 129), and Berrhoia (*v.G.Pal*. 129–131), who do not visit his sarcophagus, located on the right side of the church of Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike. This may indicate Kokkinos' concern for stressing the geographical reach of Palamas' cult. Palamas' preferred *post mortem*

[1385] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 51.12–38.
[1386] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 41.28–37.
[1387] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 65. Cf. Matt. 9:20–22, Mark 5:25–34, Luke 8:43–48.
[1388] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 43.15–25.
[1389] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 107.15; 108.4; 121.7.

method of healing seems to be dream visions.[1390] He shows himself to nine of his beneficiaries, either as himself, sometimes wearing the insignia of his ecclesiastical office—"the cross on his head and the holy scapular" (*epomis*)—or his "holy vestment" (*stole*),[1391] or in the guise of "the monk who used to serve" him, or as "one of his own priests and monks (who was also himself called Gregory), accompanied by one of his old associates, a monk and deacon; both men were, as I say, acquaintances of the ailing man."[1392]

Generally, Kokkinos' heroes deliver their cures swiftly, which was believed to enhance the reputation of a saint.[1393] However, there are several instances in the *v.G.Pal.* in which the cure is gradual or purposely delayed by the saint. Palamas first heals the "lifeless and immobile fingers" of a wellborn woman suffering from rigidity in her arm, and three days later he heals her entire arm.[1394] Similarly, Palamas prolongs the cure of a widow suffering from a painful shoulder. Although he could have offered a swift relief, as Kokkinos underlines, Palamas draws out her pain gradually, first from her shoulder and upper arm and later from her elbow and forearm:

> the great physician of the afflicted began his healing in a somewhat teasing manner, and did not relieve her pain right away, even though he could have. Rather, drawing it out slowly and gradually, so that he might provide the afflicted woman with a clearer perception <of the healing process>, for the time being he drove it away from her shoulder and upper arm, but allowed it to persist in her ellbow and forearm. [...] He then compassionately provided the remainder <of the healing> and cured the woman completely ... as he seemed to draw out the pain and that lengthy affliction like a fine thread from the tips of her fingers over a long period of time.[1395]

[1390] On dream visions and healing dreams in Byzantine saints' *lives* and collections of miracles, see Mullett, "Dreaming," and Constantinou, "Morphology of healing dreams," in *Dreaming in Byzantium*, 1–19, and 21–34 respectively.

[1391] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 129.33–34: τὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπωμίδα τὴν ἱεράν; 131.14–15: τὴν ἱεράν τε στολὴν περιβεβλημένον. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 385, 395.

[1392] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 120.25–26: τὸν ἐξυπηρετούμενον πάλαι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ μοναχόν; 118.26–30: ὁ μέγας παρῆν ἐν σχήματι πρεσβυτέρου καὶ μοναχοῦ τινος τῶν οἰκείων (ὁμωνύμως δηλαδὴ Γρηγορίου καὶ αὐτοῦ καλουμένου), καὶ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ πάλαι, μοναχόν τε καὶ διάκονον ἕνα τινὰ παρεπόμενον ἔχων, οἳ δὴ καὶ αὐτῷ, φημί, τῷ πάσχοντι συνήθεις ἐτύγχανον ὄντες. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 347, 337.

[1393] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, 361.

[1394] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 122.40–41: πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς ἤδη νεκρούς τε καὶ ἀκινήτους ἰᾶται δακτύλους. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 357.

[1395] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 123.22–27, 38–43: ὁ δὲ μέγας ἰατρὸς τῶν νοσούντων ἀστείως πως τῆς θεραπείας ἀρξάμενος, οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ὀδύνην ἐκεῖθεν, καίτοι γε δυνατὸν ὄν, ἀλλ' ἠρέμα

Only about 30% of the miracle beneficiaries are identified by Kokkinos by name or affiliation to another named person (most often a family member, as in the case of Andronikos Tzimiskes' son). Interestingly, in the case of the *v.G.Pal*., only seven out of twenty two beneficiaries are named, despite what one would assume was a need for strong credentials for Palamas' canonization. On the other hand, the *v.Sab*. includes a small number of healing miracles (2), whose beneficiaries are not identified either by name or social standing. This is most likely explained by the fact that the need for trustworthy reports of a saint's miracles decreased "the more firmly and deeply entrenched in the consciousness of the Christian flock a saint's cult was," as Efthymiadis argues.[1396] As I already mentioned, Kokkinos stresses in the *v.Sab*. the extraordinary life of his hero, his visions of God, as well as the incipient cult that had developed in Cyprus around his figure already during his lifetime. Thus, the need to support a hero's sanctity through miracle accounts was less stringent in the case of Sabas, than it was in the case of controversial figures, such as Nikodemos and Palamas.

Out of the three miracles in the *v.Nik*., Kokkinos only fully identifies the first beneficiary, namely the Serbian, George Karabides, who "came over to the Romans as a deserter" and settled in Thessalonike.[1397] The man was probably known to the audience and perhaps still alive when Kokkinos delivered the *hypomnema*. Karabides suffered from paralysis and was immediately delivered from his affliction after making supplications and shedding tears over the saint's coffin.[1398] Kokkinos might have chosen this miracle in order to highlight the role of Serbians (whom he calls *Triballoi*) in the promotion of Nikodemos' cult. As mentioned, by 1321, at least twenty years before Kokkinos' text, the saint features in a fresco in the *katholikon* of the Hilandar Monastery, rebuilt and painted under the patronage of the Serbian kral Stephen Uroš II Milutin.

πως καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐκείνην ἐξάγων, ὡς ἂν ἐναργεστέραν καὶ τῇ πασχούσῃ μᾶλλον παρέχῃ τὴν αἴσθησιν, τὸ μὲν νῦν εἶναι τέως τοῦ τε ὤμου καὶ τοῦ βραχίονος ἀπελαύνει, συγχωρεῖ δ' ἔτι τὴν περὶ τὸν ἀγκῶνα καὶ τὸν πῆχυν διατριβήν.[…] ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸ λεῖπον ἐπάγει φιλανθρώπως αὐτίκα καὶ παντελῆ τὴν θεραπείαν ἐκεῖ τῇ γυναικὶ δίδωσιν … ἐξ ἄκρων δακτύλων ὡσανεί τινα μίτον λεπτὸν τὴν ὀδύνην καὶ τὴν χρονίαν ἐκείνην νόσον ἑλκύειν ἔξω δοκῶν ἐπὶ ὥραν συχνήν. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 359, 361.

[1396] Efthymiadis, "Collections of miracles," 131.

[1397] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 8.1–3: Γεώργιός τις τὸ γένος Τριβαλλός, τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν Καραβίδης … ἦκέ ποτε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτόμολος. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 229.

[1398] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 8.3–13.

The beneficiaries of Germanos' miracles are also identified, all closely connected with the holy man, namely his disciple Ioannikios and his nephews John and Iakobos Maroules. Kokkinos reports that at some point, while gathering wood, Ioannikios found himself above the grotto where he practised *askesis* together with Germanos in the vicinity of the Great Lavra. Inadvertently bending over the edge of that precipice, he was seized with vertigo and in danger of falling into the chasm below. Kokkinos presents the danger the disciple finds himself in and his state of distress with great drama. Seized by dizziness, Ioannikios could not turn back to safety, but managed to grab hold of a bush with his healthy hand. Tormented and crying loudly as if in "the pangs of death and the dangers of Hades," he desperately thought of his master as a "holy anchor or rock of refuge."[1399] Kokkinos writes that during this time Germanos found himself inside the grotto, praying to God by himself as usual, and unaware of his disciple's predicament. However, through divine intervention, the holy man immediately and miraculously appeared on top of the cliff, took Ioannikios' hand, lifted him up to safety and disappeared. Kokkinos reportedly learned about this incident a few years later from Ioannikios himself, who recalled his miraculous salvation, describing it as "death and return to life."[1400]

Germanos also uses his miracle-making power for the benefit of John Maroules, the first-born son of his brother Andronikos Maroules. The account of this healing miracle is one of the longest and displays Kokkinos' skillfulness in conveying a wide range of emotions. While travelling on horseback together with his father from Thessalonike to Athos in order to see Germanos, the child is seized by a life-threatening fever. The two, therefore, stop at the Monastery of Karakallou for the child to recover.[1401] Kokkinos masterfully captures the father's emotional reaction to his boy's worsening health, writing that "the father suffers more than the suffering son"— rendered using alliteration (Ὁ δὲ πατὴρ … πλέον τοῦ πάσχοντος παιδὸς πάσχων)—, is grieved and in deep emotional pain, thinking that his son lacks "maternal arms" and all the care, including the medical attention he could be offered

[1399] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 30.14–15, 23–24: ὡς πρὸς ἱερὰν ἄγκυραν ἢ καταφυγῆς τινα πέτραν ἵστατο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ μόνον βλέπων […] μετ᾽ ὀδύνης θανάτου καὶ κινδύνων ᾅδου.
[1400] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 30.31–32: ὡσπερεί τινος θανάτου καὶ ἀναβιώσεως ἅμα τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς παραδόξου σωτηρίας ἐκείνης μετ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως μεμνημένος.
[1401] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 31.1–18.

at home.[1402] Therefore, seeing the sickness advance every day, Andronikos rides his horse "on loose reins" to Germanos. He finds the holy man near the Great Lavra and, as Kokkinos writes, falls at his feet, begging him with tears and a great display of emotion (*peripatheia*) to deliver his son, as a "saviour after God." His brother's plea moves Germanos to compassion and elicits his agreement. The holy man, therefore, undertakes the journey towards Karakallou on foot, although his brother offers him a horse.[1403]

Although he finds his nephew in a critical condition, unable to speak or even move his tongue, instead of swiftly curing him, Germanos engages in a conversation with the already-mentioned Hyakinthos Kerameus, at that time abbot of the monastery (1310–1333). Thus, the *terminus ante quem* for this miracle is most likely 1333. Kokkinos includes an extensive and dramatic dialogue between the two, in which the latter pleads on behalf of the ailing child. Kokkinos specifies that Hyakinthos is moved both by sympathy for the boy and kinship with his family and therefore fervently begs Germanos to save him and spare the father the calamity of his death. On the other hand, Kokkinos depicts the holy man as showing no sign of emotion at the sight of the suffering child:

> Germanos said, 'What would be new, most honourable father, if ... God bids that John—for this was the name of the child—should pay his debt now in your holy arms, handing his pure soul to Him?' [...] Kerameus replied, 'No, father, I beg this, no! Unless perhaps you wish to see this father of his dead at once together with this one [the sick child].'[1404]

Germanos argues further that the child's death would be worthier on the sacred soil of Athos, far from the women who would lament over his death by tearing their hair, lacerating their cheeks, and wailing to heaven.[1405] It is interesting to point out that Kokkinos presents Germanos as not influenced in the least by his close blood ties with the child, whereas the abbot appears extremely moved by his suffering and especially that of the father. Germanos then concedes to the pleas of the abbot and

[1402] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 31.18–33.
[1403] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 31.33–55.
[1404] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 32.6–10, 16–18: 'Καὶ τί καινόν,' ἔλεγε, 'τιμιώτατε πάτερ, εἴ γε ... ὁ Θεὸς ... τὸν Ἰωάννην (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ παιδί), παρὰ τοῖς σαῖς ἱεραῖς νῦν χερσὶ τὸ χρεὼν αὐτὸν ἀποδοῦναι κελεύει, καθαρὰν αὐτῷ παραθέμενον τὴν ψυχήν;" [...] 'Μή, πάτερ,' ἔλεγε, 'δέομαι τοῦτο, μή· εἰ μή που καὶ τουτονὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα βούλει νεκρὸν ἀθρόον ὁρᾶν σὺν αὐτῷ τούτῳ.'
[1405] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 32.19–24.

performs the healing by placing his hands on the head of the child and looking towards the sky in tears while invoking God's succour.[1406] This miracle account stands out not only for its length, but also for the attention Kokkinos pays in conveying Andronikos' growing inner turmoil as the condition of his child worsens. This attention to detail may suggest that Kokkinos envisaged the Maroules family as part of the audience of the *v.Germ*. Moreover, Germanos' emotional detachment from this case involving a family member offers an example of expected emotional response for the monastic audience that Kokkinos might have also targeted with the *v.Germ*.

Kokkinos further lists the miraculous healing of Germanos' nephew, Iakobos, who is seized by a painful affliction, which, according to the symptoms described, appears to be trigeminal neuralgia, as already mentioned. Kokkinos describes the searing pain that seizes Iakobos in detail: a certain matter flows from his head to his teeth, causing pungent pain and inflammation of his cheeks. He is therefore deprived of sleep for nights and days and cannot eat without terrible pain due to the swelling of his mouth and throat.[1407] After suffering for many days, Iakobos runs to Germanos late in the night and, placing his head on the holy man's knees, tearfully asks him to either stop the intolerable pain, to give him strength to bear it with gratitude or to be released from this life. Germanos cures his nephew by taking his head in his hands and uttering the healing formula, "Stand up and the Lord will help you!" Like Christ, he adds: "According to your faith it will be done to you!"[1408] Iakobos finds himself healed after returning home and falling asleep. Although upon waking up he first shows disbelief, considering the healing as a mere "dream" (*onar*) and not "reality" (*hypar*), he finds it to be true upon touching his head and teeth. Therefore, he runs to his uncle, "the greatest and swiftest doctor," to impart the news of his healing. Germanos most likely effected this miracle after 1325, in his late seventies, as Kokkinos indicates that he was living in the Great Lavra at the time:

> But this happened later, when the great man abandoned his sojourns outside the monastery, because they were becoming a cause of turmoil and confusion on account of the continuous

[1406] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 32.24–53.
[1407] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 35.1–11.
[1408] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 35.26–28: 'Ἀνάστηθι δέ,' προσειπών, 'καὶ Κύριος τὸ συμφέρον ἡμῖν ποιήσει.' [...] 'Κατὰ τὴν πίστιν σου γενηθήτω σοι.' See Matt. 9:29.

> attacks of the Hunnic tribe, and was living inside the Lavra by himself.[1409]

Sabas only effects two miraculous healings, both for unnamed beneficiaries. The first is a Muslim who beat and wanted to kill him. The miraculous event occurs after Sabas returns closer to the River Jordan, following three years spent in the inner Jordan desert. Here the devil turns two Muslims against him, identified by Kokkinos by the ethnic name "*Arabes*," kindling in them "a barbarous wrath," compared by Kokkinos to the Chaldean furnace.[1410] Kokkinos makes a short aside on the political situation in the Holy Land, emphasizing the friendly relations between Byzantium and the rulers of the region (the Mamluks).[1411] Next, he reports that two Muslims savagely beat him upon suspecting Sabas of harbouring a treasure, throw him into a pit and decide to kill him, so that he would not be able to complain to their ruler, whom Kokkinos calls "satrap" (*satrapes*), using an archaising term. However, Sabas is miraculously saved, as the hand of his intended executioner withers before harming him. Subsequently, although severely wounded, the holy man prays to God and cures the Muslim's hand.[1412]

The second miracle takes place during Sabas' return from the Holy Land. While he is on the road to Damascus and Antioch of Syria, he comes across a mother "holding her dead son in her arms." The woman runs up to the holy man and places the boy at his feet, entreating him with loud cries and lamentations to resurrect him. Kokkinos underlines that she was of "our religion" (Orthodox). He uses powerful imagery to convey the mother's state of mind: she clutches her hair, scratches her face and wails to the sky, vowing not to leave Sabas—whom Kokkinos calls "saint" (*hagios*) for the first time in the *vita*—until he resurrects her child. Kokkinos describes the agony of Isidore's mother along the same lines when the three-year-old Isidore was gripped by a life-threatening disease (*v.Isid*. 4), as well as that of the women mentioned in the healing miracle of John Maroules (*v.Germ*. 32). Sabas then

[1409] Kokkinos, *v.Germ.* 35.56–60: Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον, ὁπηνίκα δηλαδὴ καὶ τὰς ἔξω διατριβὰς ὁ μέγας ἀπολιπών, ὡς πολὺ τὸ ταραχῶδες καὶ συγκεχυμένον ἤδη προσκτησαμένας ταῖς τοῦ οὐνικοῦ τούτου ἔθνους συνεχέσιν ἐφόδοις, τῆς Λαύρας ἐντὸς ἦν καθ' ἑαυτὸν διατρίβων.

[1410] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 40.8–10: ἀνῆπτε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ Σατὰν τὸν βαρβαρικὸν θυμόν, τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς ἐκείνης καμίνου πολλαπλασίονα. Cf. Dan. 3:21. Todt, "Muslims in Byzantine historiography," in *CMR* 5, 35–46.

[1411] See Pahlitzsch, "Networks of Greek Orthodox monks," in *Everything is on the Move*, 127–144.

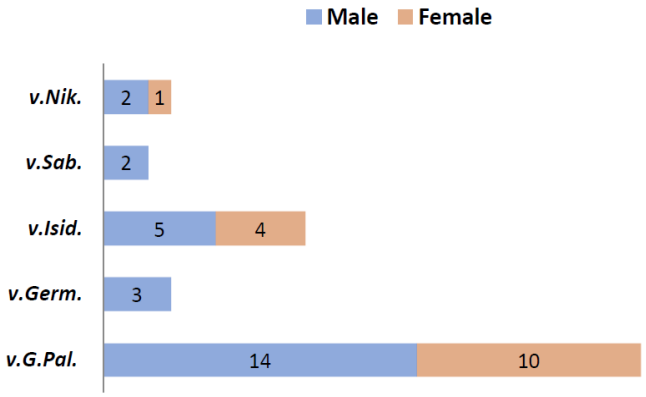
[1412] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 40.12–43.

resurrects the boy by holding his hand and praying to God. At the sight of the miracle, the mother leaves her child behind, just as the Samaritan woman left her water jar (John 4:28), and heralded the miracle to all.[1413] Kokkinos stresses the truthfulness of his account, stating that his sources were trustworthy men, who told him about other miracles effected by Sabas, including another resurrection.[1414]

The people afflicted by the various diseases cured by Kokkinos' heroes are a diverse group. In terms of age, the group includes seven children (one girl and six boys, one of whom is cured twice) and five elders (three men and two women). The children are healed of haemorrhage (*v.G.Pal*. 108), incontinence of the bowels (*v.G.Pal*. 107) and fever (*v.Germ*. 31–32), whereas the elderly suffer from various afflictions of their limbs and cataracts. Efthymiadis pointed out that miracle accounts are "an egalitarian genre" and do justice to both genders.[1415] However, in the case of Kokkinos' *vitae*, the distribution of the beneficiaries by gender reveals that these saints' *lives* do not reach the ideal of parity. With a total of 26 male and 15 female beneficiaries of the holy men's miraculous powers, men roughly outnumber women by a ratio of 2:1. It is also worth pointing out the striking differences between the *vitae* (see Fig. 12). Sabas and Germanos stand out as favouring only male beneficiaries. This is unsurprising in the case of the latter, who spent most of his life on Athos. On the other hand, Isidore, who, unlike Germanos, lived mainly "in the world," seems to be the most "egalitarian" of Kokkinos' heroes. An interesting gender dynamic seems to be at play in one of Palamas' miracles (*v.G.Pal*. 121). When a physician from Thessalonike and his wife are in need of healing, Palamas "gives precedence of honour to the woman's head," healing the physician first before healing his wife.[1416]

[1413] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 51.12–38.
[1414] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 51.39–47.
[1415] Efthymiadis, "Collections of miracles," 105.
[1416] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 121.41–42: ἰᾶται μετ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῇ κεφαλῇ κατ' ἀξίαν διδούς. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 351, 353. Cf. 1 Cor. 11:3.

Fig. 12. Distribution of miracles by gender across Kokkinos' *vitae*



With respect to social standing, Talbot pointed out that the beneficiaries of Palamas' *thaumata* "represent a broad cross-section of the population of Thessalonike."[1417] However, a thorough investigation of the five *vitae* reveals that the miracle accounts do not paint a socially balanced picture, as certain categories are better represented than others (see Fig. 13). Kokkinos' heroes seem to favour members of the aristocracy and the religious milieu, including nuns, monks, priests and even hierarchs, such as the metropolitan of Rhodos (*v.Isid*. 78). At the lower end of the distribution are the poor (2), who only make up 5% of the total number of beneficiaries and appear to be under-represented. This lends support to Laiou's observation that Palaiologan saints, including Kokkinos' heroes, favour members of the aristocracy. She aptly noted that:

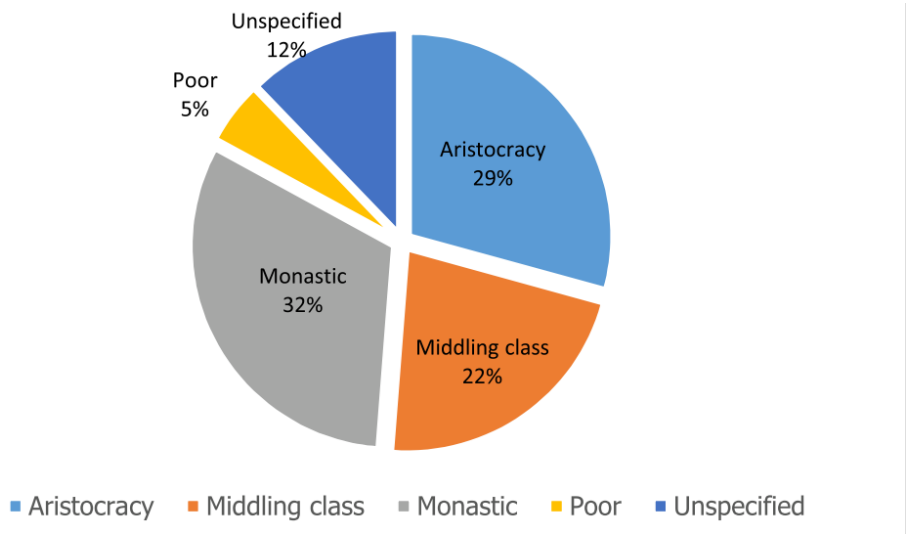
> Even in their performance of miracles, the saints of Philotheos favored the aristocracy: the great majority of their miracles were performed for members of the upper class. This is particularly the case with Saint Gregory Palamas and Saint Isidore, both of whom served as high members of the secular clergy, lived in cities, and were in close contact with the Byzantine aristocracy.[1418]

This could indicate, as seen in Fig. 13, that Kokkinos made a deliberate decision to select and include miracles featuring these social categories, especially members of the upper class, since he most likely envisaged them as the intended audience of his accounts, especially in the case of the *v.Isid*. and the *v.G.Pal*. Interestingly, it was observed that the length of miracle accounts in late-antique collections varies by the

[1417] Talbot, "Children, healing miracles, holy fools," 55; "Miracles of Palamas," 245; cf. Efthymiadis, "Collections of miracles," 129.
[1418] Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and society," 104.

social class of the beneficiaries. Thus, miracles for people of higher social standing were described at greater length than the rest.[1419] A quick analysis reveals that the same holds true for the miracles analysed here: those that benefit members of the aristocracy have an average length of *ca*. 410 words, compared with an average of *ca*. 350 words for the rest. An outlier in terms of length that influences the mean upwards is the miracle effected by Germanos for his nephew John Maroules (*v.Germ*. 31–32).

Fig. 13. Distribution of beneficiaries by social status in Kokkinos' *vitae*



However, it is also worth looking deeper into the profile of the beneficiaries. A cross tabulation of gender by social status reveals that men outnumber women in all the categories, with one exception (see Table 20). All the poor mentioned in the miracles appear to be women: an unidentified woman (*v.Isid*. 77) and a "poor elderly widow" (*v.G.Pal*. 123).

Table 20. Distribution of beneficiaries by gender and social status in Kokkinos' *vitae*

	Poor	**Middling class**	**Upper class**	**Monastic**	**Unspecified**	***Total***
Male	–	7	8	8	3	26
Female	2	2	4	5	2	15
Total	2	9	12	13	5	41

[1419] Efthymiadis, "Collections of miracles," 117.

III.1.3. The saints as controversial figures

Kokkinos includes in his accounts miracles effected by his heroes both for friends or supporters and sceptics. The societal controversy surrounding Palamas' figure surfaces in several of his miracles, especially in those *post mortem*. The first healing miracle described by Kokkinos in the *v.G.Pal.* 81.1–28 occurs in 1347 after Palamas is prevented for the first time from assuming his metropolitan see on account of the opposition of the Zealots. Kokkinos most likely included this *thauma* to underline the legitimacy of Palamas' ecclesiastical office. Palamas' good standing before God is revealed through the miraculous cure of the paralyzed and bedridden daughter of a priest from Thessalonike, who prayed for a sign regarding Palamas' status on the feast of the Nativity of the Theotokos (September 8). As Kokkinos adds, the purpose of this inquiry was to "refute and shame those who had willingly committed this wickedness [that is, the Zealots had driven Palamas away from Thessalonike], and to reassure those who were beset with doubts and upset on account of their ignorance." The miracle is therefore considered a sign that God glorifies "his own servant Palamas," who is a "marvelous archbishop of God and equal to the apostles."[1420]

Similarly, Kokkinos makes another reference to slander against Palamas in chapter 97, which recounts the miraculous healing of the nun Eleodora suffering from a cataract. Palamas was again celebrating the feast of the Nativity of the Theotokos at the convent of Basilikon in Thessalonike, where Eleodora resided.[1421] As he offers the homily to the congregation at the end of vespers, the nun "drank in the nectar of his words" and tearfully gives thanks to God "because she was deemed worthy to hear such words."[1422] Interestingly, Kokkinos adds that Eleodora also "condemned the utmost folly and rashness and recklessness and impiety of certain people in Constantinople who were attacking him with unbridled tongues and trying to slander him."[1423]

[1420] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 81.13–15: εἰς ἔλεγχον μέν φησι καὶ αἰσχύνην τῶν ἑκοντὶ κακουργούντων, βεβαίωσιν δὲ τῶν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἀμφιβαλλόντων καὶ περιτρεπομένων; *v.G.Pal.* 81.26–27: καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου θεράποντα Θεοῦ τε θαυμαστὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐνάμιλλον. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 301, 303.

[1421] On this monastery, see Magdalino, "Some additions and corrections," 277–279.

[1422] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 97.25–26, 29–30: τοῦ νέκταρος τῶν λόγων ἐκείνου μετέσχε ... ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ κατηξίωται τῶν τοιούτων ἐν μετοχῇ γεγονέναι. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 307.

[1423] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 97.30–33: καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ χρωμένων ἔστιν ὧν Βυζαντίων ἀκολάστως τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ τὰ τοῦδε διασύρειν ἐπιχειρούντων, ἄνοιαν ἐσχάτην καὶ θράσος καὶ τόλμαν καταγινώσκουσα καὶ δυσσέβειαν. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 307, 309.

Other beneficiaries of Palamas' miracles admit that they do not follow his theology. A choir leader from Thessalonike, suffering from rigidity in his hand, runs to Palamas' sarcophagus after seeing the saint in a dream vision and atones for his previous criticism:

> He prostrated himself and bathed it abundantly with tears of repentance and supplication, now confessing his sin and the earlier rashness of his tongue against him—for, as he himself said, he had previously offended against him in such a manner—, now begging his forgiveness and the healing of his affliction.[1424]

After these entreaties, the man is cured and begins "proclaiming in a loud voice God, his saviour, and His great servant [Palamas]."[1425]

Another captivating account recalls the healing of a noble woman who also suffered from rigidity in her hand. Although the woman is reported to have anointed "her afflicted arm frequently with the perfumed ointments and relics of saints and the holy oils <that emanated> therefrom, expecting assistance and healing from them," she does not trust the reports about Palamas' numerous miracles, as "not only did she not have a proper opinion of him previously, but she had used her tongue maliciously against him."[1426] Kokkinos uses her case to launch into a harsh criticism of "vainglorious and unstable and flighty women" who spoke ill of his hero, especially those in Constantinople.[1427] Kokkinos most likely alludes here to the anti-hescyhast Eirene Choumnaina. His critique deserves quotation in full:

> For there are, indeed, many women of this sort nurtured by Constantinople in our days, who, together with their so-called nobility, are concerned with idle gossip and divisions and schisms, and licentious language, and strive to obtain a certain factional rivalry among themselves, and fame, and a bad name. They obviously <do this, that is, criticize Palamas> for these reasons. For why do it for any other? But this woman <acted thus> perhaps

[1424] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 119.41–46: προσπίπτει, δάκρυσι μεταμελείας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἱκεσίας ἐκείνην ἱκανῶς λούει· νῦν μὲν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐξαγγέλλων καὶ τὴν πάλαι κατ' αὐτοῦ τῆς γλώττης προπέτειαν—ἔφθασε καὶ γὰρ ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡμαρτηκώς—νῦν δ' αὖ τὴν συγγνώμην ἐξαιτῶν καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ πάθους. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 343.

[1425] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 119.54–55: Θεὸν ἀνακηρύττων σωτῆρα λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου μέγαν θεράποντα. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 343.

[1426] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 122.11–13, 15–17: μύροις καὶ λειψάνοις μᾶλλον ἁγίων καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἱεροῖς ἐλαίοις πυκνὰ περιχρίουσα ἣν τὴν πάσχουσαν χεῖρα, καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν βοήθειαν καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ἐκδεχομένη ... οὐ μόνον οὐ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἔχουσα πάλαι δόξαν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ κακῶς κατ' ἐκείνου χρωμένη. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 353, 355.

[1427] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 122.17–18: οἷα τὰ τῶν κενοδόξων τουτωνὶ γυναίων καὶ εὐριπίστων καὶ κούφων. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 355.

> out of feminine naivité and ignorance, if we should make allowance for these reasons and <offer> forgiveness in such matters, when there are now so many and such great teachers available.[1428]

Kokkinos further reports that the woman finally seeks Palamas' help out of necessity, encouraged by the stories of his miraculous healings. However, she entreats him with sceptical thoughts, "more as someone who was testing his powers than as someone who believed in them," certain of the failure of her recourse. Nevertheless, Palamas cures her affliction together with "the serious illness of her soul and her wicked lack of faith," which, Kokkinos adds, is "much more serious than physical illness." At the end of the account, Kokkinos draws out the morals of the story explicitly, underlining its edifying character and exhorts "those who still lack faith" to "pay heed and believe in like manner."[1429]

Kokkinos includes another miracle that presents the case of a woman who lashes out against Palamas (*v.G.Pal.* 123). However, in this case the woman does not express prior disbelief in the saint and her animosity is only revealed during the process of healing. After visiting his sarcophagus, Palamas cures the woman gradually, in such a way that she initially experiences an even greater pain than before. Therefore, she "began to cry out against the physician [Palamas] and abuse him with her tongue (…) as if he were completely responsible for the worsening of her pain." Although she returns to the saint's sarcophagus at the advice of acquaintances and neighbours and prostrates herself, the woman accomplishes this without a change of heart, "making the same reproaches as before and grumbling at him under her breath." This time, Palamas delivers the rest of the cure while the woman is fully aware of it, allowing her to return home completely healed. Although

[1428] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 122.18–25: ὁποίας δὴ πλείστας καὶ ἡ Κωνσταντίνου παρ' ἡμῖν μάλιστα τρέφει μετὰ τῆς ὀνομαζομένης εὐγενείας καὶ τὴν κενοφωνίαν καὶ τοὺς μερισμοὺς καὶ τὰ σχίσματα καὶ τὴν τῆς γλώττης περιποιουμένας ἀκολασίαν, καὶ φατρίαν τινὰ περὶ ἑαυτὰς καὶ φήμην καὶ αἰσχρὸν ὄνομα φιλοτιμουμένας κεκτῆσθαι· ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν προφανῶς διὰ ταῦτα· διατὶ καὶ γὰρ ἕτερον; ἡ δὲ καὶ δι' ἁπλότητα γυναικείαν ἴσως καὶ ἀμαθίαν, εἴπερ καὶ τούτοις δοίημεν ὅλως χώραν τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, καὶ ταῦτα διδασκάλων παρόντων τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 355. On Eirene Choumnaina, see Nicol, "Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina," in *The Byzantine Lady*, 59–70; Constantinides Hero, *A Woman's Quest for Spiritual Guidance*.

[1429] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 122.32: πειράζουσα μᾶλλον ἢ πιστεύουσα τοῖς ἐκείνου; 122.47–48: τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς χαλεπὸν ὁμοῦ πάθος καὶ τὴν πονηρὰν ἀπιστίαν πολλῷ τῶν κατὰ σῶμα παθῶν οὖσαν χαλεπωτέραν … τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας τούτους ὡσαύτως ἔτι κατακούειν ἔδει τέως καὶ πείθεσθαι. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 355, 357.

Kokkinos indicates that the woman "glorified God and His servant for everything with a thankful tongue" after the cure, he does not specifically single her out as a model, as in the case of the miracle previously discussed.[1430]

While the aforementioned beneficiaries who abused the saint are not identified by name, the last three *miracula* of the collection in the *v.G.Pal*. are performed for the benefit of the family of the *hetaireiarches* Andronikos Tzimiskes, a prominent man from Berrhoia and originally an anti-hesychast (*v.G.Pal*. 130–133). Kokkinos first offers a portrait of Tzimiskes: he was "wellborn and intelligent," once an "antagonist (*polemios*) of the Church," student of Akindynos, who drank from the "wicked and murky cup of heresies" and "became a downright second Akindynos in his impiety," "promoting resistance and discord and falsehood against the true doctrine." Kokkinos emphasizes that Tzimiskes' standpoint changes after Palamas cures his son from the grasp of an unspecified life-threatening illness. Similar to the aforementioned noble woman, Kokkinos portrays Tzimiskes as a sceptic, "testing the saint rather than supplicating him." Nevertheless, Palamas appears to him in a dream vision and cures his son. Consequently, Tzimiskes changes camps, embraces "the correct doctrine of piety," becomes "a friend instead of an enemy of the Church and of Gregory," and "a distinguished antagonist (*polemios*) of the wicked heresy of Barlaam and Akindynos."[1431] Kokkinos also offers the interesting detail that Tzimiskes burns the heretic books and treatises he had in his possession.[1432]

Kokkinos' hero "amply rewarded his former enemies who had become his friends" and worked two additional miracles for Tzimiskes' family by curing his son from another unspecified affliction, as well as saving his sister-in-law from a life-

[1430] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 123.29–33: συνελαθέντος εἰς τὸ στενόν, καὶ καταβοᾶν ἐπεχείρει τοῦ ἰατροῦ καὶ κακῶς κατ' ἐκείνου χρῆσθαι τῇ γλώττῃ … ὡς ἂν αἰτιωτάτου γεγονότος αὐτῇ τῆς ὀδύνης ταύτης τῆς χείρονος; 123.37–38: ταὐτὰ τοῖς προτέροις οἷον ἐπεγκαλοῦσα καὶ ὑπ' ὀδόντα τὸν γογγυσμὸν ἐκείνῳ προφέρουσα; 123.45–46: Θεὸν εὐχαρίστῳ γλώττῃ διὰ παντὸς μεγαλύνει καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου θεράποντα. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 361.

[1431] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 130.3, 8, 11–13, 18–19: πολέμιος ταύτης ἐκεῖνος ἄνωθεν ὢν ... τῶν εὖ γεγονότων καὶ συνετῶν ὤν ... τὴν δὲ τῶν αἱρέσεων πονηράν τε καὶ βορβορώδη κύλικα πᾶσαν ἐς ὕστερον παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐκπιών, ἄλλος Ἀκίνδυνος τὴν δυσσέβειαν ἄντικρυς ἦν ... τὴν ἔνστασιν καὶ τὴν ἔριν καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἑκοντὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας αἰεὶ προϊσχόμενος; 131.12, 21–25: πειράζοντι μᾶλλον ἢ δεομένῳ ... τὸν ὀρθὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀσπασάμενον λόγον, καὶ φίλον αὐτῆς τε καὶ Γρηγορίου ... ἀντ' ἐχθροῦ χρηματίσαντα ... περιφανῆ τῆς Βαρλαάμ τε καὶ Ἀκινδύνου πονηρᾶς πλάνης πολέμιον. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 391, 395.

[1432] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 131.26–27.

threatening illness (*v.G.Pal.* 132–133).[1433] In fact, from the very beginning of these accounts, Kokkinos states his edifying purpose, namely to relate them so that they "may become known to believers and nonbelievers alike, especially the latter."[1434] Thus, the first miracle of the triad prompts Tzimiskes' transformation from an enemy (*polemios*) to a friend (*philos*) and supporter of Palamas, whereas the ensuing two miracles reveal the benefits of such a change of attitude towards the saint. Kokkinos presents this triad of miracles at length (*ca.* 900 words) to show the advantages that one derives from becoming a supporter and friend of the saint, just as he emphasized in the *v.Isid.* the benefits that Nicholas of Monembasia enjoyed on account of Isidore's friendship, styled as a "horn of Amalthea."[1435]

Kokkinos also refers to attitudes of scepticism towards his saint in the *v.Nik.*, where he recounts, as mentioned, two punishment miracles showing that the saint is swift to heal the faithful and punish his detractors. The second miracle of the *v.Nik.* (ch. 9) features a high official who travels from Adrianople to Thessalonike in the imperial entourage, perhaps that of Michael IX Palaiologos.[1436] The man visits the saint's shrine and inquires about Nikodemos' life, hearing from those present about the saint's concern for almsgiving and his care for prostitutes, although pretending to consort with them. However, instead of marveling at the saint's life "exceedingly as he should have," he passes a moral judgement on the story, finding it "vulgar and base."[1437] Therefore, upon kissing the saint's coffin his lips are locked to it in punishment. As expected, this greatly terrify both the man and the bystanders, who supplicate the saint and save the disbeliever from his punishment. Kokkinos refers to the intra-textual audience (the onlookers) perhaps to serve as a role model for his audience and offer a cue about the reaction expected at hearing the account of this miracle. At the time when Kokkinos wrote the *hypomnema* there could have still been detractors of the saint, sceptics who morally questioned his actions and his sanctity. Therefore, the miracle could have served as a legitimizing device in support

[1433] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 133.3–4: φίλους ἤδη γεγονότας τοὺς πρὶν πολεμίους πλουσίως ἄγαν ἀμείβεται. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 397.
[1434] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal.* 130.6–7: ὑπ' ὄψιν οἷον ἀγέσθω καὶ πιστοῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπίστοις, καὶ μάλιστα τούτοις. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 391.
[1435] Kokkinos, *v.Isid.* 40.27.
[1436] On Michael IX Palaiologos, see Gickler, *Kaiser Michael IX. Palaiologos*.
[1437] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 9.12–13: οὔμενουν ὡς ἐχρῆν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπερεθαύμασεν, ἀλλὰ φαύλως πως καὶ ταπεινῶς τοῦθ' ὑπελογίσατο. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 230.

of Nikodemos' sainthood, as well as in spreading his cult, since the punishment turned the sceptic into a "loud herald and true expounder of the miracle" and implicitly of the saint.[1438]

The final miracle account of the *v.Nik.* includes an episode of *furta sacra.* Kokkinos writes of a woman who goes to the saint's shrine, seeking his help for an unspecified affliction that had troubled her for many years (*v.Nik.* 10). However, instead of limiting herself to praying and touching the saint's relics, she surreptitiously removes one of his teeth and flees the shrine. As Kokkinos presents it, the woman's act does not seem premeditated or aimed at material rewards from selling the tooth, as often happened in cases of *furta sacra*.[1439] Instead, she might have simply wanted to increase her chances of recovery from the affliction she was suffering. The "wretched woman" (*deilaia*), as Kokkinos calls her, is swiftly punished for the injury she caused to the saint's body, as she is struck with madness and only delivered after returning the holy object to its rightful place. Another unusual element in the story is that while most miracle accounts show the beneficiaries touching their afflicted body parts to the sarcophagus of a saint, the woman does the reverse, placing the "all-honoured head" of the saint on the afflicted part of her body.[1440] This would suggest that the saint's head was perhaps preserved in a different reliquary chest than his body. Kokkinos underlines the instructive function of these two punishment miracles. Thus, Nikodemos' coffin "educated" (*epaideue*) the "uneducated lips" (*apaideuta cheile*) of the sceptic man, while the woman who stole his tooth immediately received her "education" (*paideia*), or "was punished," as Talbot translated it.[1441]

Some final considerations on the literary style of Kokkinos' miracle accounts are in order. In the *v.G.Pal.*, Kokkinos makes an authorial aside, stressing his intention to present Palamas' *miracula* in a concise and factual style: "My narrative will now describe these miracles in part ... it will set these down as briefly as possible, without any amplification and wordiness, thus avoiding both excessive

[1438] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 9.25–26: κῆρυξ τε διαπρύσιος καὶ ἐξηγητὴς ἀψευδὴς τοῦ θαύματος ὁ αὐτὸς γεγονώς. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 230.
[1439] See Geary, *Furta Sacra*.
[1440] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 10.8–10.
[1441] Kokkinos, *v.Nik.* 9.16–19: τοῖς **ἀπαιδεύτοις** χείλεσιν ἐκείνου προσαπηώρητο … τοσοῦτον δ' ἐκεῖνα ὅμως κατεδαπάνα καὶ δεινῶς ἐξέθλιβεν ἢ εἰπεῖν **ἐπαίδευεν**; *v.Nik.* 10.12–13: Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ταχίστην τοῦτο δράσασα τὴν **παιδείαν** ἐδρέπετο (my emphasis). Talbot, "Nikodemos," 230.

length and a surfeit of words."[1442] Following Talbot's remarks on their style, Efthymiadis recently noted that "in his descriptions of miracles the author adopts a plain style, clinging to the realism of factual reports, thereby leaving aside the sophistication and rhetorical ornamentation observed in the rest of his account."[1443]

Although their style cannot be described as rhetorically sophisticated, they include, as already mentioned, dialogues, vivid descriptions, biblical and patristic quotations and references, liturgical hymns (for instance, the *troparia* in the *v.G.Pal*. 105.28–31, 106.16–17), classical references (such as "the horn of Amalthea" in the *v.Isid*. 40.27, "the dangers of Hades" in the *v.Germ*. 30.24, and the "worthless burden" from Homer, *Iliad* 18.104, in the *v.G.Pal*. 122.5), proverbial expressions, archaizing features, such as the term "satrap" (*v.Sab*. 40.14) or the Macedonian name "Gorpiaios" for September (*v.G.Pal*. 81.8, 97.19), rhetorical questions, exclamations, alliterations, and puns, such as the wordplay on Palamas' name in the *v.G.Pal*. 108.12–13: "Immediately taking his half-dead child in his arms, [Palates] placed him in the bishop's hands (*palamai*)."[1444]

Kokkinos insists on the emotional experience and suffering of the characters in his miracle accounts.[1445] He vividly portrays the grief of parents whose children are threatened by various diseases. The gold embroiderer Palates is "overwhelmed by emotion" and relates to Palamas "with tears and words of woe" the misfortune of his child suffering from a bloody discharge for fifteen months.[1446] Tzimiskes is consumed by grief seeing his son lying on his sickbed as if "breathing his last." Kokkinos presents how the desolated father seeks seclusion, "avoiding the very sight of the child," and grieves inwardly, adopting what the hagiographer calls "the posture of mourners:" he places his head in his right arm, which is, in turn, propped

[1442] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 116.28–33: Ἃ δήπου καὶ ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ... ἀπὸ μέρους ἤδη δηλώσει ... καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα συντετμημένως, καθ᾽ ὅσον οἷόν τε, καὶ περιβολῆς δίχα πάσης προθήσει καὶ λογικῆς αὐξήσεως, τὸ μῆκος ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν κόρον ἐκφεύγων. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 329.
[1443] Efthymiadis, "Collections of miracles," 128–129; Talbot, "Miracles of Palamas," 244–245.
[1444] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 108.12–13: τὸν ἡμιθνῆτα παῖδα ταῖν χεροῖν ἄρας εὐθέως ταῖς παλάμαις ὑποτίθησι τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 319. Cf. Talbot, "Miracles of Palamas," 244–245.
[1445] On emotions in Byzantine literature, see Hinterberger, "Emotions in Byzantium," 123–134; idem, "Tränen in der byzantinischen Literatur," *JÖB* 56 (2006): 27–51; Tsironis, "Emotion and the senses," in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium*, 179–196.
[1446] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 108.10–12: ὁ δὲ πατὴρ τῶν σπλάγχνων εὐθὺς ἡττηθεὶς καὶ δάκρυσι καὶ ῥήμασι γοεροῖς τὴν συμφορὰν ἐξαγγέλλει. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 319.

on his knees.[1447] As already mentioned, Kokkinos follows the emotional turmoil of Germanos' brother, Andronikos Maroules, most extensively. As the fever gripping his son worsens, the latter suffers more than the ailing child and is bent by the cruelty and the suddenness of the sickness. He therefore seeks the recourse of Germanos, falling at his feet in supplication with strong emotion (*peripatheia*) and with endless tears streaming forth from his eyes by the sickbed of his child while Germanos discusses with Hyakinthos Kerameus (*v.Germ*. 31–32). Kokkinos also presents the despair of Tzimiskes' wife in seeking Palamas' help for curing her sister afflicted with "an illness that threatened a terrible death:"

> Going out of her house alone late at night ... out of her love for her sister and due to the gravity of the illness, she traveled across the middle of the greatest city [Constantinople] as if she were drunk, so that she resembled a raving lunatic to those she met on the street.[1448]

To conclude, all of Kokkinos' heroes work miraculous deeds. However, their different profiles influence the number and types of miracles included in the account of their *vitae*. Having led a controversial lifestyle, Nikodemos was most likely not in want of detractors, as shown in one of his punishment miracles. However, his standing before God is attested by his relics and the posthumous miracles effected at his shrine. On the other hand, Kokkinos seems to have disregarded any possible posthumous miracles effected by Germanos and Sabas. All of Germanos' miracles are set on Mount Athos, the holy man's abode for *ca*. 66 years, and are effected to the benefit of his family members and his disciple. In the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos places more emphasis on Sabas' miraculous life, extreme feats of asceticism and vision of God than on his *thaumata*. In fact, the holy man is more often the recipient than the agent of miraculous healings. As he was a renowned ascetic of the period, there was less of a need to promote him through miracle accounts. Consequently, the *v.Sab*. only includes, as seen, two miracles of nature and two healing miracles. Isidore

[1447] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 131.1–8: Παιδίον ἄρρεν … πνέον ἤδη τὰ λοίσθια. Ὁ μέντοι πατὴρ ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης ὥσπερ καταποθείς, ὑπεχώρει μὲν καὶ αὐτήν πως τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποτρεπόμενος θέαν … ὁποῖα δὴ τὰ τῶν πενθούντων ἤθη καὶ σχήματα. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 393.

[1448] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 133.5, 7–11: ἡ νόσος φοβερῶς ἠπείλει τὸν θάνατον ... νυκτῶν ἀωρὶ τῆς οἰκίας ... ἐξιοῦσα μόνη, τῷ τῆς ἀδελφῆς δηλαδὴ φίλτρῳ καὶ τῷ περιόντι τοῦ πάθους, ὥσπερ μεθύουσα, μέσην τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν διῄει, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι καθ' ὁδὸν μαινομένης τινὸς καὶ ἐξεστηκυίας δόξαν παρέχειν. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 397.

works miracles both during his life and posthumously for people from Constantinople and members of his flock from Monembasia. Many of these are styled by Kokkinos on the biblical model of Christ, such as the multiplication of olive oil and food, and the healing of a nun suffering from blood discharge. Finally, the *v.G.Pal.* accounts for the bulk of miracle tales in the five *vitae,* assembled for the purpose of his canonization. Kokkinos shows concern for highlighting miracles effected both in Palamas' metropolitan see and beyond its borders, in Kastoria and Berrhoia. As seen above, the controversy surrounding Palamas' theology is reflected in the attitudes of the beneficiaries of his miracles, both believers and sceptics. Looking at the pool of miracle beneficiaries, especially in the case of the *v.G.Pal*., it seems that Kokkinos intended to promote the cult of his heroes, especially that of Palamas, by offering numerous examples of individuals of the upper class who benefitted from their miraculous powers.

Prior to the final invocation of the *v.G.Pal*., Kokkinos embedded a passage that serves as a cue for interpreting the dossier of miracles effected by the saint (*v.G.Pal*. 135). In this lengthy passage (almost 500 words), he underlines that God granted Palamas the power of miracle making in order to strengthen and confer legitimacy to his theology. Thus, he invites contemporary heretics (that is, the anti-hesychasts) who refuse to embrace Palamas' teachings—whom Kokkinos calls "the new antagonists (*polemioi*) of piety (*eusebeia*) who hasten to surpass the unbelief (*apistia*) of the Jews," "groping along the wall like the blind"—to at least believe in Palamas' miracle-making power, and thus make a first step in acknowledging his theology.[1449]

[1449] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 135.17–18, 22–23: ὡσεὶ τυφλός, ψηλαφῶντες τοῖχον […] τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἀπιστίαν σπεύδουσι παρελαύνειν οἱ καινοὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας πολέμιοι. Cf. Isaiah 59:10.

III.2. The Saint and the Emperor: Sabas and John VI Kantakouzenos

Emperors are part of the cast of characters in Kokkinos' *vitae*. He writes about the Palaeologoi Michael VIII, Andronikos II, and Andronikos III, the Kantakouzenoi John VI and his son Matthew, as well as other members of the imperial family, such as Anna of Savoy, Helene Kantakouzene Palaiologina, and Constantine Palaiologos, the son of Andronikos II. Throughout his *vitae*, Kokkinos praises imperial figures in customary fashion, as other hagiographers do, penning almost hagiographic portraits for some, while subtly criticizing others, and revealing his personal political inclinations.[1450] Of all the imperial figures, John VI Kantakouzenos is mentioned most often and is also offered the most extensive portrait, found in the *v.Sab*. Kokkinos' *vitae* thus offer relevant material for consideration in research on hagiographic depictions of imperial power and relations between the imperial office and the church. In the following, I will briefly investigate Kokkinos' depiction of imperial figures and their interactions with his heroes, reflecting on possible motivations that could have prompted such a depiction.

In the *v.Nik*., Kokkinos uses Andronikos II's reign as a temporal marker to indicate the approximate period when Nikodemos reached maturity. However, the emperor is not a character of the story and is only offered brief and generic praise, being referred to as "the most pious and celebrated Andronikos, ruler of the Romans, who could boast of his Palaiologan lineage."[1451] Towards the end of the *v.Nik*., Kokkinos mentions the emperor once more, probably referring again to Andronikos II, writing that a church was built "at the urging of the emperor and thanks to an imperial donation" at the site where Nikodemos' relics were discovered.[1452] Andronikos II also features briefly in the *v.Sab.* As mentioned, when referring to the Turkish raids on Mount Athos of *ca*. 1308, Kokkinos underlines the emperor's concern for saving "the choir of saints" living on Athos, and therefore saving the

[1450] This is also revealed, as seen, in Kokkinos' depiction of Nicholas of Monembasia, a supporter of John VI Kantakouzenos (*v.Isid*. 40–43).
[1451] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 2.5–7: τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ ἀοιδίμου Ῥωμαίων ἄνακτος Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ πάνυ, τοῦ γένους δηλαδὴ αὐχοῦντος Παλαιολόγων. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 224–225.
[1452] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 11.2: προτροπῇ καὶ δωρεᾷ βασιλικῇ. Talbot, "Nikodemos," 230.

empire (*basileia*).[1453] Therefore, Andronikos II writes letters urging all the monks practising *askesis* in various corners of Athos to seek refuge in fortified monasteries until the end of the raids.[1454] This may speak to Kokkinos' views on the role of the emperor as guardian of all, including Mount Athos, styled here as the heart of the empire. Moreover, this idea echoes Dagron's observation that "the feeling that the church and empire were indissociable prevailed in Byzantium."[1455] Kokkinos also alludes to Andronikos II in another instance in the *v.Sab.*, without mentioning his name, however. When reporting Sabas' sojourn in Constantinople, after his return from the Holy Land around 1328, Kokkinos writes that the emperor and the patriarch try several times to meet the holy man, without success. Sabas' refusal to meet them draws suspicions regarding his Orthodoxy, which he allays through a confession of faith (*homologia*) to the members of the senate. In addition, Sabas proclaims his reverence for both *ekklesia* and *basileia.* Although this episode does not involve the emperor directly, Sabas' reaction towards the members of the senate, representatives of the emperor and the patriarch, suggests his—and implicitly Kokkinos'—reverence and love for both the ecclesiastical and imperial office. Moreover, Kokkinos conveys the appreciation that Sabas receives from the imperial officials, highlighting that they, in turn, prostrate themselves before him, kiss his hands, mouth, eyes, and limbs.[1456]

The most extensive presence of Andronikos II is found in the *v.G.Pal.*, in the section covering Palamas' childhood (*v.G.Pal.* 4–5, 13). As previously discussed, Kokkinos underlines the high esteem in which the emperor holds Palamas' father, Constantine. Andronikos II also takes great pride in the young Palamas and makes plans for Palamas' future at the imperial court. However, as seen, these plans are thwarted by the holy man's decision to pursue a monastic life. Kokkinos reports that the emperor deems Palamas' departure from the imperial palace a great loss and "amputation of the empire" and reportedly uses promises of high official dignities to convince him stay to no avail.[1457] Constantine, Andronikos II's son, as well as Andronikos III, his grandson, also feature in the *v.G.Pal.* As noted already, Palamas'

[1453] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 13.27–29. See *supra* n. 878.
[1454] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 13.12–40.
[1455] Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 311.
[1456] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 55–56.
[1457] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 13.4–5: τοῦ κράτους ἀκρωτηριασμόν.

father convinces the former to return a large sum of money which he took from a poor widow,[1458] and acts as "father" and *didaskalos* for the latter. Kokkinos pens a brief psychological sketch of the young Andronikos III as intelligent, sharp and keen to gain primacy in all things.[1459]

Another imperial character in the *v.G.Pal*. is Empress Anna of Savoy, whose intervention allows Palamas to assume his metropolitan see. Kokkinos recounts how "the wise and Christ-loving empress" comes to Thessalonike together with her son John V Palaiologos and breaks the latter's alliance with Stefan Dušan.[1460] This passage includes a subtle criticism of John V. Although Kokkinos describes him customarily as wise and Christ-loving, he adds that the emperor is not able to make use of his superior qualities due to adverse circumstances.[1461] Kokkinos is also critical of emperor Michael VIII, as shown in the *v.Germ*., where he underlines the opposition of John, Germanos' master, to the Latin doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit. Without mentioning the emperor's name, Kokkinos refers to the people who have imposed it as "tyrants of the right belief," most likely a reference to, and criticism of, Michael VIII's unionist policy.[1462]

Empress Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina features in the *v.Isid*., where Isidore visits her and foretells that she will safely deliver her son Andronikos IV. Although Kokkinos does not include any laudatory remarks in the *v.Isid*., he praises the empress in his sermons on the beatitudes, which he composed in the mid 1350s, around the same period as the *v.Isid*. As seen, he styles her as the best and "the most intelligent, wonderful, and Christ-loving empress" in these sermons.[1463] As I argued, Kokkinos most likely dedicated these sermons to the empress to acknowledge her support for hesychasm, encourage her to continue it, as well as to attract (or perhaps maintain) her imperial patronage and political support.

John VI Kantakouzenos is the imperial figure who features most prominently in Kokkinos' *vitae*. Kokkinos writes about him in the *v.Isid*., the *v.G.Pal*., and most extensively in the *v.Sab*. As mentioned, he is alluded to in the *v.Isid*., where

[1458] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 5.14–36.
[1459] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 4.8–16.
[1460] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 96.3–8: […] ἡ θαυμαστὴ καὶ φιλόχριστος βασιλίς […].
[1461] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 96.9–14.
[1462] Kokkinos, *v.Germ*. 16.10–20: […] τυράννους … ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀρθῆς δόξης […].
[1463] See *supra* n. 283.

Kokkinos praises Isidore's protection of the house of Nicholas of Monembasia—a supporter of Kantakouzenos—during the civil war.[1464] Later in the *v.Isid*., Kokkinos describes Kantakouzenos' relationship with Patriarch Isidore and praises him as a benevolent emperor, who rebuilds the empire destroyed by the civil war (*v.Isid*. 57–60). In the *v.G.Pal*., when referring to the synod of July 1341, Kokkinos styles Kantakouzenos as the "brother" (*adelphos*) of Emperor Andronikos III, exercising power on his behalf, even before becoming emperor.[1465]

In the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos presents at length (*ca*. 3220 words) the scene of Sabas' refusal of ordination as patriarch, despite Kantakouzenos' efforts to convince him to accept the leadership of the Church (*v.Sab*. 75–78). In early February 1347, the patriarchal see of Constantinople was left vacant after Patriarch Kalekas had been condemned and deposed *in absentia*. Constantinople had two emperors, John V Palaiologos and John VI Kantakouzenos, but no patriarch. Kokkinos constructs the scene of Sabas' stubborn refusal of the worldly honour with psychological finesse. The section opens with a character sketch of the emperor, praised as champion of the Church, wise, noble, gentle, conciliatory, and a gifted rhetorician (*v.Sab*. 74). In an *analepsis* (*ca*. 380 words), Kokkinos highlights Kantakouzenos' role as *defensor ecclesiae*, both prior to becoming emperor, and after the death of Andronikos III. His description bears legitimizing undertones in light of the accusations of usurpation of power that Kantakouzenos faced later. Thus, Kokkinos mentions that prior to holding the sceptre of the empire, Kantakouzenos was ruling together with "his brother and emperor" Andronikos III, and held most, or rather all, of the power.[1466] The emperor is praised for his education and presented as well-versed in theology and prepared to discuss the dogmas of the Church at any moment. Kokkinos presents his involvement in the defence of Orthodoxy at the synod of 1347, where he skilfully argued against Akindynos.[1467]

Kokkinos offers legitimacy to Kantakouzenos' ascent to the imperial throne, describing it as prompted by divine providence, and praises him for bringing peace and God's blessing upon the empire, laying the best foundation (*krepis*) of power,

[1464] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 42.1–2.
[1465] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 64.21–26.
[1466] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 74.7–9. Cf. Gaul, "The partridge's purple stockings," in *Theatron*, 69–103.
[1467] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 74.13–68.

namely the proclamation and freedom of Orthodoxy, and skilfully rebuilding the ruins (*syntrimma*) of the Church.[1468] Kokkinos also makes a brief authorial aside, in which he reflects on the difficulty of mirroring reality, comparing it to a vain attempt of measuring a river with a cup,[1469] and expresses certainty that the emperor will not be resentful against him for this portrayal.[1470]

The election of a new head of the Church proved to be difficult as there was no consensus among the electors. However, Kokkinos stresses that the emperor's nomination of Sabas immediately elicited the agreement of everyone. Once the synod agreed on the holy man as the best candidate for the patriarchal see, the next step was to convince him to accept ordination. Kokkinos reports that the first embassy to this purpose was undertaken by the emperor's son, Matthew. Kokkinos portrays him as wise, educated in rhetoric, and with a sound knowledge of the Scriptures, like his father.[1471] Although Matthew carried letters and mandates and had a strong will, his imperial authority, as well as rhetorical and scriptural arguments, could not convince Sabas to accept the patriarchal see. As mentioned, Sabas had previously twice rejected ordination as priest, while serving under his master (*v.Sab.* 11) and during his stay at Vatopedi (*v.Sab.* 61–62).

After his son's reported failure, Kantakouzenos himself rounded up a force worthy of convincing Sabas, styled by Kokkinos as "the most powerful opponent."[1472] Accompanied by the "choir of the archbishops and the senate,"[1473] the emperor met Sabas at the monastery where the holy man was residing (that is, the Chora Monastery). Before presenting the dialogue between the emperor and the holy man, Kokkinos stresses that this could serve as instruction and canon (*paideuma kai kanon*) for those undertaking leadership (*prostasia*), that is, a *mirror for princes*.[1474] From the very beginning, the emperor promises "unrivalled obedience" (*aparamillos hypakoe*) to Sabas should he accept the patriarchal see. This attitude of submission of the imperial office to ecclesiastical power is repeatedly expressed by Kantakouzenos

[1468] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 74.39–68.
[1469] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 74.30: κοτύλῃ ποταμὸν ὅλον ἀναμετρεῖν. Cf. *CPG* I.71.
[1470] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 74.33–38.
[1471] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 75.50–55.
[1472] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 76.7–8: ἅτε δὴ καὶ πρὸς ἰσχυρότατον ἀνταγωνιστὴν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὄντος.
[1473] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 76.9–10: τόν τε χορὸν τῶν ἀρχιερέων εὐθὺς καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συμπαραλαβών.
[1474] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 76.11–14.

in his *Memoirs*, where he writes, for instance, that "now besides governing the church, the patriarch has also no less authority over political affairs, being admired by all Romans and called father and guardian of the emperor."[1475]

Although Sabas was allegedly amazed by the emperor's wisdom, he remained unyielding (*anendotos*), as Kokkinos stresses several times throughout the account, and justified his decision as divinely prompted. He thus revealed that God's will, made known to him three days prior, prevented him from assuming this worldly burden. Interestingly, Kokkinos writes that Sabas disclosed this after rising from his seat and taking hold of the emperor's hand.[1476] Although Kantakouzenos supported his own position by divine endorsement, he could not change Sabas' mind. Kokkinos writes that the holy man refuted all his arguments and those of others (ecclesiastics, senators, and court officials) with simple answers and overpowered everyone with his fragrance, captivating their hearts and minds.[1477]

Kokkinos further writes that after all the scriptural arguments, pleas and threats failed, the emperor was convinced by Sabas' disciple to give the holy man some time to ponder on this offer, in the hope that he would change his mind. Kokkinos reports that the discussions spanned five days, without the emperor making any progress. Moved by the same love for God, Kantakouzenos and Sabas staunchly defended diametrically opposed positions. As Kokkinos explains, Sabas was refusing the prospect of ordination and any worldly honour out of humility, fearing the loss of his spiritual gifts and the diminution of his ascetic discipline if assuming the responsibility of ecclesiastical office. Kantakouzenos, on the other hand, was acting out of his great care for the Church, striving to lift the man who surpassed all his contemporaries in virtue to the highest ecclesiastical office. Kokkinos seems to describe them as two obstinate *abbas* from early Christian literature, the emperor pleading, "Father, for God's sake, stay!", and the holy man replying, "Father, for God's sake, I must leave!"[1478]

[1475] Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* III.72 (II.438–439): νυνὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἄρχειν, καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων οὐδὲν ἧττόν ἐστι κύριος, περίβλεπτος ἐν πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις γεγενημένος καὶ πατὴρ καὶ κηδεμὼν βασιλέως προσαγορευόμενος.

[1476] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 76.22–23: Ὅθεν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστὰς τοῦ συλλόγου τῆς χειρός τε λαμβάνεται τούτου.

[1477] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 76.34–49.

[1478] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 77.17–19: "Στῆθί μοι διὰ τὸν Θεόν, πάτερ," ἔλεγεν· ὁ δ' ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγων, δριμυτάτῳ τῆς ἡσυχίας ἔρωτι, "Κἀγὼ διὰ τὸν Θεὸν φεύγω, πάτερ," ἀνέκραζεν.

Seeing all his arguments fail, the emperor decided to pursue a last-resort option, namely to ordain the holy man by force. On the fourth day, he therefore ordered that preparations be stealthily made for Sabas' ordination. Then, taking the holy man's hand, he cunningly led him towards the church, on pretence of having a discussion before the start of the Divine Liturgy. However, Sabas was forcefully seized, Kokkinos comparing him to prey trapped inside the hunter's net. The suspense of the scene is prolonged with an aside on other examples of forced ordination, namely Daniel the Stylite and Gregory Thaumatourgos.[1479] As he was about to be forced to enter the sancturary and undergo ordination against his will, Sabas clung to Kantakouzenos' hand as if it were a prop. Faced with the critical junction that endangered his inner peace and *hesychia*, the holy man called for a proof of the emperor's friendship and addressed him with *parrhesia*:

> Friends are useful in time of distress. This is the time for your help. Now it is time to show your true friendship. These men are now going to ruin the foundations of my soul [that is, *love of a quiet life* and *hesychia*] ... I beg you, for the sake of our friendship, do not allow for such things.[1480]

Sabas' plea includes common tropes of rejection of ordination, such as the fear of losing *hesychia* and the responsibility and inner struggle brought about by the duties of the patriarchal office. His request succeeded in capturing the ear and heart of the emperor, who freed him, confessing in front of all that he "rules over my heart."[1481] Kantakouzenos then praised Sabas' unrivalled (*aparamillos*) spiritual wisdom and virtue, stressing that one would sooner hold fire in the palm of his hands, tie the

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[1479] Forced ordination is amply attested in the sources and is a commonplace of hagiography. See Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 141–147. Daniel the Stylite and Gregory Thaumatourgos were ordained against their wish without the actual imposition of hands that is required in rituals of ordination. Daniel was ordained by Gennadios, patriarch of Constantinople, who stood at the bottom of the pillar the holy man dwelt on and invoked the grace of God. Gregory of Nyssa writes in his *Life of Gregory the Wonder-worker*, trans. Slusser, 3, that bishop Phaidimos of Amaseia ordained Gregory while the latter was hiding: "disregarding the intervening distance by which he was separated from Gregory (he was three days' journey away), but looking to God and saying that both of them were equally present to the sight of God, laid on Gregory his word in place of his hand, consecrating to God one who was not present bodily."

[1480] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 78.3–6, 10–11: "Φίλοι," πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἔλεγεν, "ἐν ἀνάγκαις ἔστωσαν χρήσιμοι. Νῦν βοηθείας καιρός· νῦν δεῖ σε πάντως ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τὰ τῆς ἀληθινῆς φιλίας ἐνδείξασθαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἕλκουσί με καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς βάσεις … ἀλλὰ σὺ μηδαμῶς τούτοις ἐπευδοκήσῃς· μή, πρὸς τῆς φιλίας αὐτῆς, δέομαι."

[1481] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 78.27–29: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἥττων τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φιλίας καὶ τῶν λόγων ὅλος γενόμενος, "Ἐκράτησέ μου τῆς καρδίας αὐτῆς," πρὸς τοὺς συνόντας ὁρῶν ἔλεγεν.

wind, or gather the rays of the sun in a bind, than reach Sabas' height of virtue. Finally, Kantakouzenos conceded the victory to the holy man and acknowledged his defeat, which, as Kokkinos stresses, did nothing but increase his affection for, and confidence in, the saint. The emperor thus became increasingly attached to Sabas and did not want to be away from his presence, visiting him often and listening to his precious words. According to Kokkinos, Sabas' example was influential for Kantakouzenos and opened his eyes to the pettiness of his worldly rule, sowing within his heart the seeds of longing to be a subject of the Heavenly Kingdom. The account ends with the words the emperor addressed to the holy man, which reveal his wish to become his spiritual son and disciple:

> Pray, father, from your soul. Pray, I beg you, so that we may bring order to the disorder … then leave everything so as to fulfil our promise to you… For I will be considering rubbish (*skybala*) all in my power, except to dwell and live with you and to become your son and disciple because you have clothed yourself entirely in Christ and live absolutely for Him even before your death.[1482]

Prior to recounting his encounter with Sabas, Kokkinos praises the emperor as wise, Christ-loving, a rhetorician, theologian, guardian, and champion of Orthodoxy. However, Kokkinos suggests that the encounter with the saint gave Kantakouzenos an opportunity for introspection and spiritual growth. This led to an awakening that marked the birth, as it were, of the future monk within his soul. Indeed, following his abdication in 1354, Kantakouzenos would assume monastic garments under the name of Joasaph.[1483]

There are other late-Byzantine saints' *lives* that speak of Kantakouzenos' monastic calling, namely the *vitae* of St. Maximos Kausokalybites composed by Niphon and Theophanes. In his *Life*, Niphon reports that Kantakouzenos visited Maximos on Athos together with John V Palaiologos around 1350. Later, Kantakouzenos received a gift from the holy man consisting of a rusk, a head of garlic and an onion, which represented the daily fare of a monk. In Theophanes'

[1482] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 78.54–63: Εὔχου, πάτερ, ἀπὸ ψυχῆς· εὔχου, δέομαι … ὡς ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς … τὰ τῆς προλαβούσης ἀνωμαλίας ἐξομαλίσαντες …, ἔπειτα πάντα καταλιπόντες, ἀθρόον ὅλοι τῶν πάλαι πρὸς σὲ συντεθειμένων γενώμεθα … σκύβαλα καὶ γάρ μοι λογισθήσεται τὰ τῆς παρούσης ἀρχῆς τε καὶ περιφορᾶς πάντα, εἰ μόνον συνοικεῖν καὶ συμβιοτεύειν σοι γένοιτο καὶ υἱῷ γενέσθαι καὶ φοιτητῇ τοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὅλον ἐνδεδυμένου κἀκείνῳ ζῶντος μόνον καθάπαξ καὶ πρὸ τῆς λύσεως.

[1483] The practice of an emperor donning the monastic habit was common in Byzantium, as in the case of Emperor Andronikos II who became the monk Antonios.

more extensive version, Maximos foretells that Kantakouzenos would assume the monastic habit and become the superior of a monastery. He also counselled him and John V to shun injustice and greed, forgive those who offended them, comfort the poor, and care for the needs of monks, who pray on their behalf.[1484] Nicol emphasized Kantakouzenos' monastic vocation, arguing that the emperor's support for the cause of hesychasm was not driven by the political aim of gaining the moral and spiritual support of Athos.[1485]

An interesting detail of Kokkinos' account requires further attention. He mentions several times that the emperor and Sabas hold hands. This gesture is also echoed in numerous biblical passages such as Psalms 73:23—"Yet I am always with you; you hold me by my right hand"—, Isaiah 41:13, Matthew 8:15 and Mark 5:23. An explanation of its significance is offered, for instance, by the tenth-century court official Niketas Magistros in his *Life of St. Theoktiste of Lesbos* (*BHG* 1723–24). He writes that he met a hermit by the name of Symeon during a short stay on the island of Paros, who seized his hand and confided in him the story of St. Theoktiste. Niketas explains that:

> He [the hermit Symeon] seized my hand and pressed it, as if he were an old acquaintance; this is what his simple disposition prompted him to do. For when the souls of great men are in communion with the highest power, they strive to become like it and, through communion with the Original Good, they become good in every way, pure, simple, removed from all our <affections>, just like this great man who, by being gracious and good, appeared in his unaffected manner to be one of us.[1486]

Possibly aware of the earlier example, Kokkinos could have similarly captured the detail regarding the holding of hands with the aim of conveying the close connection between Kantakouzenos and Sabas. He also stresses the emperor's strong spiritual ties to the holy man, even prior to nominating him for the patriarchal see. Thus, Sabas is presented as Kantakouzenos' trainer, who guides him through prayers and council (*v.Sab*. 74).[1487] Moreover, throughout the *v.Sab*. Kokkinos often fashions

[1484] Halkin, "Deux vies de S. Maxime," 57–58, 93–94.
[1485] Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 214.
[1486] Constantinides Hero, "Life of St. Theoktiste of Lesbos," 106.
[1487] For an ealier period, see Morris, "The political saint," in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung*, 285–402.

Sabas as an emperor, ruling over his own human nature, gilded with the power of Christ, or being acclaimed as such, for instance, at St. Sabas Monastery in Jerusalem.

As already mentioned, the search for a new patriarch, ending with Isidore's ordination, is also reported by Kokkinos more concisely in the *v.Isid*. (49–50), which he composed after the *v.Sab*. He recounts similarly that shortly after Kalekas was deposed, the quest for a new patriarch began. Of the many candidates, one of whom was Palamas, the electors chose Sabas.[1488] Kokkinos briefly portrays the holy man and emphasizes their connection: "my Sabas, the distinguished and most notable citizen of Athos, the steadfast pillar of all action and contemplation, truly the greatest and most radiant house of the highest and first wisdom."[1489] Kokkinos reports that the wise and beloved emperor approaches Sabas with many supplications, entreaties and force, because of his longing, but the holy man refuses on account of his love of modesty. After Isidore is appointed, Kokkinos describes Kantakouzenos as a benevolent emperor who listens to Isidore's pleas on behalf of his flock.

This literary representation of Kantakouzenos most likely echoes Kokkinos' view on the ideal relationship between the emperor and the patriarch. Kokkinos' understanding of this relationship also surfaces in the *Apologia*, a text which although he did not author, he most likely inspired.[1490] For instance, Congourdeau argued that the "philosophy" of the *Apologia* is a model of "séparation des pouvoirs," a "rejeton atypique" of the model promoted by the late ninth-century *Eisagoge*:[1491]

> Le patriarche n'a pas à intervenir dans le choix de l'empereur; il n'a pas, peut-on en inférer, à intervenir dans les affaires proprement politiques (et donc pas non plus dans le choix des alliances); en contrepartie, l'empereur n'a pas à intervenir dans les affaires de l'Église. Il ne faut pas confondre le domaine de César et le royaume de Dieu.[1492]

[1488] Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* 4.3 (III.25), Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 15.10 (II.786).
[1489] Kokkinos, *v.Isid*. 49.30–33: Σάβαν φημὶ τὸν ἐμόν, τὸν περιφανῆ καὶ κάλλιστον πολίτην … τοῦ Ἄθω, τὸν τῆς πράξεως ξυμπάσης ὁμοῦ καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἀπερίτρεπτον στῦλον, τὸν μέγιστον ὄντως καὶ λαμπρὸν οἶκον τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρώτης σοφίας.
[1490] Failler, *Apologia*; Congourdeau, "Deux patriarches," 45–46.
[1491] On the *Eisagoge*, see Lokin, "The significance of law and legislation," in *Law and Society in Byzantium*, 71–91, esp. 78–83; Chitwood, *Byzantine Legal Culture*, 29–32.
[1492] Congourdeau, "Deux patriarches," 46.

Congourdeau contrasts this with Patriarch Kallistos I's views, who, as she writes, "n'entend pas se cantonner au rôle d'instrument docile que Jean VI veut lui voir jouer." Instead, similar to Patriarch Athanasios I:

> Il entreprend de réformer l'Église sur le modèle monastique, et il entend bien moraliser la conduite de Jean VI comme Athanase moralisait celle d'Andronic II. Il se heurte cependant à plus fort qu'Andronic II. La politique de Jean VI, mis à part son soutien à la doctrine palamite, ne lui paraît pas conforme à celle d'un empereur chrétien digne de ce nom.[1493]

In two of his prayers, which he delivered, as customary, after his ordination as metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia, Kokkinos also refers to the relationship between *ekklesia* and *basileia*. A transcription of these prayers is offered in Appendix 4. According to Pseudo-Kodinos, newly ordained metropolitans were required to perform *proskynesis* to the emperor and deliver a prayer on his behalf.[1494] As Angelov pointed out, later, in the early 1380s, the new metropolitans were additionally required to make an official pledge of fidelity to the emperor.[1495] In the first prayer, Kokkinos asks for God's protection of "[Your] servants, our faithful emperors, whom You deemed to rule in the world in peace and concord."[1496] Moreover, he asks for divine intervention in the destruction of external enemies and the end of the civil war. He finishes the prayer with a plea for *ekklesia* and *basileia* to reciprocally strengthen and support each other, as he deems is appropriate. In the second prayer, Kokkinos lists a number of virtues he asks God to bestow upon the emperors and arm them with courage, prudence, moderation, and righteousness. Similar to Kokkinos, Palamas offered a prayer for the emperors after being appointed metropolitan of Thessalonike. He refers to them as guardians of the Church and faith and facilitators of concord among people. Palamas also prays that God increase their love for each other and strengthen them in the war against enemies and war-loving people.[1497]

Kokkinos completes the portrait of the ideal emperor in the *v.Sab.*, embodied in his view by Kantakouzenos, with the virtues of love, selflessness, monastic

[1493] Congourdeau, "Deux patriarches," 45.
[1494] *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 258–259.
[1495] Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 357.
[1496] For the Greek text, see Appendix 4.
[1497] PS V, 269–272.

vocation and the call for sainthood.[1498] Kokkinos' account of the encounter and dialogue between the emperor and the holy man is not devoid of the author's own political and ecclesiastical standpoint. Metropolitan of Herakleia at the moment of writing the *v.Sab.*, Kokkinos may have voiced his own views on the ideal relationship between the emperor and the patriarch, between the transient imperial office and the everlasting institution of the Church here represented by Sabas.[1499] Moreover, as Kokkinos wrote the *vita* around 1350, while Kantakouzenos was still in office, he may have fashioned his piece as an encomiastic one that would reach the emperor's ears. One could therefore wonder about Kokkinos' motivation for painting such a saintly portrait for the emperor, such as possibly a desire for personal gain or a wish to win or strengthen the emperor's benevolence towards the Church. Moreover, this episode serves as an indication of the importance of hagiographic discourse in mid-fourteenth-century Byzantine politics and theology. Shortly after writing the *v.Sab.*, Kokkinos was promoted to the patriarchal see in the context of Patriarch Kallistos I's refusal to crown Matthew Kantakouzenos.

[1498] Cf. Guran, *L'empereur hagiographe*; idem, "L'auréole de l'empereur," *MEG* 1 (2001): 161–186.
[1499] Cf. Guran, "Définitions de la function patriarcale," *RESEE* 40 (2002): 109–124.

III.3. The Saint and the 'Other': Encounters with Latins and Muslims

Outside the shrunken borders of Byzantium, the travels of Kokkinos' heroes brought them into contact with Muslims and Latins. During his year-long Ottoman captivity in Anatolia, Palamas met and engaged in theological discussions with Muslims (the grandson of the Ottoman sultan Orhan I, a *tasimanes* and the *Chionai*), each time having the courage to confess his faith. In contrast, Sabas, the most widely travelled of Kokkinos' heroes,[1500] had several (mostly violent) encounters with both Muslims and Latins during his travels. The *vitae* of the two holy men offer interesting material for the exploration of religious and cultural contacts. Moreover, in the *v.Nik.* Kokkinos refers to the Catalan Company that raided the outskirts of Thessalonike in 1308, calling them *Italoi*.[1501] This section will hence briefly analyse Christian–Muslim and Byzantine–Latin encounters in Kokkinos' *v.Sab*. and *v.G.Pal*.

Christian–Muslim relations in Byzantium have been recently explored in several works, including the five-volume series *Christian–Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History* (*CMR*) that offers a comprehensive survey of works by Christian and Muslim writers about and against one another. The Palaiologan period witnessed a steady expansion of Ottoman territory. As is well known, a decisive event in this expansion was the capture of Gallipoli in March 1354 by Süleyman Pasha, the eldest son of emir Orhan I. The event occurred in the aftermath of an earthquake that hit Gallipoli shortly before her fall, leaving the city defenceless.[1502]

In his account of Palamas' captivity in Anatolia (March 1354–spring 1355), Kokkinos cites 1) Palamas' *Letter* to his flock in Thessalonike (hereafter *Letter*) *in extenso*, with slight modifications, as well as 2) the minutes of Palamas' dialogue

[1500] Cf. Nicol, "*Instabilitas loci*," *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985): 193–202.
[1501] Kokkinos, *v.Nik*. 7.5–8. Cf. Palmer, "*Life of Sabas* as a source for the history of the Catalan Company," 36.
[1502] For a general survey on the rise of the Ottoman Empire, see Fleet, "The rise of the Ottomans," in *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 2, 313–331; Kiel, "The incorporation of the Balkans," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, 138–191; Lindner, "Anatolia, 1300–1451," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, 102–137.

with the *Chionai*, as recorded by Taronites, a Christian Greek physician in the service of the emir Orhan I.[1503] The passages that Kokkinos quotes in the *v.G.Pal*. add up to a total of *ca*. 4600 words, or 85% of the narrative section on Palamas' captivity. These two sources, together with an abridged version of the *Letter*, form what is often referred to as the 'dossier' of Palamas' Ottoman captivity, which has drawn a significant amount of attention from scholars, such as Philippides-Braat, Miller, Ziaka, and more recently Pahlitzsch.[1504]

The *Letter* describes the events preceeding Palamas' captivity, his travels through a number of cities under Ottoman occupation (Lampsakos, Pegai, Bursa, Nicaea), encounters with the Christians of the area and debates with Muslims. Kokkinos does not quote in the *v.G.Pal*. the first part of the *Letter*, which describes the first three months of Palamas' captivity and includes a diatribe against Muslims. During this time, as Palamas writes, he was taken from Gallipoli to Lampsakos and then Pegai, suffering deprivation and physical ill-treatment. In his counter-narrative of Palamas' captivity, Gregoras alleged that Muslims mocked Palamas, tossed his books into the sea and sodomized him.[1505] Interestingly, Kokkinos makes no attempt to refute these allegations, which could indicate that he was not aware of them. Palamas refers to his abductors only once as *Achaemenides* and subsequently uses the ethnic name *Tourkoi*.[1506] He describes them as "barbarians" who, although knowing Christ, did not revere him as God, but instead changed the truth into a lie and believed in, honoured and followed Muḥammad, a simple and mortal man. It is worth quoting what Kokkinos does not include in the *v.G.Pal*.:

[1503] The *Letter* was edited by Philippidis-Braat, "La captivité de Palamas," *TM* 7 (1979): 109–221; reedited by Phanourgakes in PS IV, 120–141, and translated into English by Sahas, "Captivity and dialogue," *GOTR* 25 (1980): 409–436, at 411–418. On Taronites, see Vučetić, "Taronites," in *CMR* 5, 109–113.

[1504] Philippidis-Braat, "La captivité;" Miller, "Palamas and the case of the Chionai," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2007): 27–42; Ziaka, "Orthodoxy and Islam," in *Orthodox Handbook on Ecumenism*, 714–724; Pahlitzsch, "Gregory Palamas," *CMR* 5, 101–108; "Greek Orthodox communities," in *Islam and Christianity*, 147–164; "Byzantine saints in Turkish captivity," in *Union in Separation*, 219–228.

[1505] Gregoras, *Romaike Historia* 29.7–9 (III.227–229). Kaldellis, *Ethnography after Antiquity*, 156.

[1506] In Byzantine sources, there is a number of designations for Muslims of various ethnic origins: *Agarenoi* and *Ismaelitai*, descendants of Hagar and of her son Ishmael (Gen. 16, 17, 21), *Arabes*, *Sarakenoi*. Late-Byzantine historians, such as George Pachymeres and John VI Kantakouzenos, designate the Turks as Persians (*Persai*), while Gregoras identifies the Turks of Asia Minor both as *Persai* and *Tourkoi*. See Todt, "Muslims in Byzantine historiography," 39.

> They—this impious and god-hated and all-abominable race—boast that they dominate the Romans on account of their won faith in God. They ignore that this world rests in evil and that evil men and servants of this low world are those who dominate the greatest part of it, who dislodge their neighbours with weapons. [...] they exchanged the truth for falsehood and they believed, honoured and followed a mere man, mortal and buried, Muḥammad that is, rather than the God-man, the ever-living and eternal Word. [...] they live a reproachful, inhuman and God-hated life ... to live a prodigal life in swords and knives, indulging in slavery, murder, plundering, rape, licentiousness, adultery, and homosexuality. Not only are they doing such things, but—what a madness!—they even believe that God gives them His consent. This is my impression of them, now that I know their ways better.[1507]

After three months, Palamas was taken to Bursa and from there to the summer residence of the Ottoman Sultan Orhan I (*r*. 1324–1360). There, he engaged in two dialogues, first with Ismael, the sultan's grandson, and second with the so-called *Chionai*. After being transferred to Nicaea, Palamas also discussed with a *tasimanes*, as he reports in the *Letter*. In his encounter with Ismael, he addressed and answered fundamental topics and questions, many of which are tropes from Christian–Muslim polemical literature already long established by the fourteenth-century, such as the acceptance and veneration of prophet Muḥammad by the Christians, the passion of Christ, the Holy Cross, and the Theotokos. Scholars have pointed out that by late Byzantium, a "sclerosis" had set in the genre of polemics against Islam.[1508] Palamas answered all of Ismael's inquiries with diplomacy, avoiding overt polemic. Moreover, he offered a particularly cautious and witty reply to a question on whether Christians love the prophet Muḥammad, saying generically that the one who does not believe in the teachings of a master cannot love that master. At the end of their dialogue, Palamas stresses that Ismael was not offended by his answers, although he was famous for his cruelty and madness against Christians.[1509]

Although Palamas' encounter with the *Chionai* follows chronologically to that with Ismael, Kokkinos continues to cite from Palamas' *Letter*, which next describes a meeting that occurs later in Nicaea, when the holy man comes across a *tasimanes* (a religious scholar), who finished performing a funeral. After Palamas

[1507] PS IV, 124–125. Sahas, "Captivity and dialogue," 414–415.
[1508] Kaldellis, *Ethnography after Antiquity*, 155.
[1509] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 99. PS IV, 129.

approaches the *tasimanes*, the two communicate through an interpreter, in front of a crowd of Christians and Muslims. They touch on the issues of Christ as judge on the Last Day and the veneration of Muḥammad by Christians. Palamas adopts a more combative tone than in his dialogue with Ismael, pointing out that there are no testimonies by the Old Testament prophets about Muḥammad and therefore Christians do not believe either in him, or in his book (the Qur'an). The *tasimanes* replies that such testimonies had been initially in the Scripture, but were removed by the Christians. Palamas, however, boldly defends the Christian view and refers to Muḥammad as having conquered territories through war, sword, robbery, slavery, and murder, resorting to violence and licentious things, which do not originate from God, but from the devil. Moreover, Palamas accuses Muslims of giving their souls to Muḥammad, although other people did not give theirs to other conquerors, such as Alexander the Great. However, as the irritation among Muslims escalates, Palamas ends the discussion.[1510]

It is worth pointing out other sections of Palamas' *Letter* that Kokkinos did not include in the *v.G.Pal*. First, he does not quote the fragment where Palamas criticizes Ismael's reported statements on the Theotokos; and second, the last part of the *Letter* where Palamas encourages his flock to reject the ways of the ill-willed Muslims who pretend to believe in Christ's divinity only to repudiate it later. Compared to Palamas' vitriolic diatribe against Muslims, Kokkinos' omissions seem to indicate a milder attitude on his part.

In order to provide a comprehensive picture of Palamas as athlete of Christ who fearlessly confessed his faith during his providential captivity in Asia, Kokkinos includes Palamas' encounter with the *Chionai*, incorporating their dialogue (*dialexis*) as recorded by Taronites. The identity of the *Chionai* has been disputed in scholarship, with Miller contesting the idea that they were Jewish converts to Islam.[1511] The encounter is reported to have taken place at Orhan's residence in the presence of numerous Muslim dignitaries and the sultan himself. The *Chionai* and Palamas discuss and argue about topics recurrent in Christian–Muslim encounters, such as the validity and authenticity of the Scriptures and the Qur'an, Christian concepts of divinity and the nature of Christ, as well as the reasons why Christians

[1510] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 100. PS IV, 137–138.
[1511] Miller, "Palamas and the case of the Chionai."

do not accept and love Muḥammad. The remarkably respectful atmosphere of this encounter, as described by Taronites, could be underlined. For instance, the physician notes that the Ottomans hold Palamas in good esteem and that when one of the *Chionai* insults and physically assaults Palamas, they harshly reprimand his acts. Finally, in spring 1355, after one year of captivity, Palamas is ransomed by Serbians from the hands of the "barbarians" and returns to Constantinople (*v.G.Pal.* 103).

Recent scholarship has questioned the truthfulness of Palamas' account of his dialogues as presented in his *Letter*. Pahlitzsch has raised the issue of "whether the reports of theological discussions found in the letter are true reports of the meetings it describes." He further stresses that such texts should not be interpreted as a sign of ecumenism, and argued that "[t]o interpret this letter as a document of tolerance and understanding does not seem justifiable." Moreover, in his view, they rather served the purpose "to strengthen the faith of the Christian community by refuting Muslim doctrine or to prepare Christians to deal with the arguments Muslims usually put forward."[1512] Similarly, it must be pointed out that Kokkinos specifically mentions that he included these lengthy excerpts from Palamas' *Letter* in the *v.G.Pal*. because of their theological importance (*v.G.Pal*. 102–103).

Kokkinos reports that Sabas encounters both Muslims and Latins during his travels. For instance, in his sojourn in Cyprus, a former Byzantine land which had been under Lusignan rule for more than a century, Sabas has two violent encounters with local Latins ("*Italoi*").[1513] These episodes have been briefly analysed by Hinterberger and Ivanov.[1514] The first takes place while Sabas is wandering through an unnamed Cypriot city, and his scant and peculiar clothing catches the attention of a certain noble and wealthy Latin. Kokkinos describes the latter as an arrogant man, highlighting this "arrogance" (*hyperopsia*) as a defining trait of his kin. The nobleman makes an intimidating display of power, as he rides "a frisky, spirited horse" and is accompanied by personal guards. Through the meddling of the devil, as Kokkinos explains, the Latin suspects Sabas to be a spy, dressed in rags only to

[1512] Pahlitzsch, "Gregory Palamas," 106.
[1513] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 21, 24. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*; idem, "The Latin and Greek Churches," in *A Companion to Latin Greece*, 145–184, and "Religion and ethnic identity in Lusignan Cyprus," in *Identity–Identities*, 13–25.
[1514] Hinterberger, "The image of the Latins in Byzantine hagiography," in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History*, 129–149, at 137–138. Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 225–227.

deceive people. Therefore, he orders his men to seize and bring him forth, then asks him to present himself. As the holy man does not want to break his vow of silence, "quietly reaching out with the cane which he normally carried, he knocked off [the Latin's] hat and dashed it to the ground."[1515] Kokkinos explains the action of his hero. He writes that Sabas wants to teach the arrogant man a lesson, namely that worldly fame is by no means superior to "ashes and dust."[1516] However, the nobleman misinterprets Sabas' gesture as a sign of disobedience and insolence and orders his guards to beat him. Kokkinos paints a powerful image of Sabas' suffering: he is beaten so savagely that pieces of his flesh fly from his body, his bones are crushed, and the land is reddened by the streams of his blood. However, his aggressors, likened to beasts, are in no way moved by Sabas' distress.[1517] As Kokkinos writes, little did it take for "the unfaithful" to kill him, had he not been rescued by some Orthodox people. The latter condemn the actions of the aggressors and take the feeble Sabas to a house, lovingly tending his wounds for a long time.[1518] In this scene, Kokkinos contrasts the overt arrogance of the Latin nobleman with Sabas' inner nobility, highlighting the former's lack of basic human empathy towards Sabas' pain.

Kokkinos reports a second violent brush between his hero and the Latins in Cyprus when the former visits a Latin monastic settlement. Kokkinos takes the opportunity to label the Latins as "the other," different not only by race and language, but also by their way of praising God. He styles their settlement as a gathering of hypocrites, who only pretend to lead a monastic life, in which Sabas enters as a light of discernment.[1519] As Kokkinos explains, the holy man enters to observe their way of life and finds them at mealtime in the refectory. After looking around, he prepares to leave, but is detained against his will. Although he is visibly in need of alms, the Latins offer him no food and show no kindness (*philanthropia*) towards him.[1520] As Kokkinos adds, these evil people (*hoi poneroi*) find fault in

[1515] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 21.17–19: τὸν γὰρ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ κάλαμον ἠρέμα προτείνας, τοῦτον γὰρ εἰώθει βαστάζειν, ἅπτεται τοῦ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ πίλου καὶ εἰς γῆν αὐτὸν καταβάλλει. English translation by Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 226.
[1516] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 21.20–22.
[1517] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 21.28–42.
[1518] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 21.67–85.
[1519] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 24.1–8.
[1520] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 24.9–20.

Sabas' silence and accuse him of theft. Next, they beat him like beasts, so savagely that they exceed the madness (*mania*) of the aforementioned "Italian."[1521] Kokkinos pens the same picture of the aggression Sabas endured as in the previous encounter: his bones are shattered, his body is ripped apart, and his blood reddens the earth once again. What is more, the "bloodthirsty" Latins take Sabas' seemingly dead body and mercilessly throw it out of the monastery gates, like an impure animal. Kokkinos describes them using pejorative animal imagery as "truly bloodthirsty and impure dogs."[1522]

After describing the attack, Kokkinos makes a long digression in which he explains Sabas' actions as driven by his mad love for God and the martyrs of Christ.[1523] However, Sabas does not receive a martyr's death at the hands of Latins, like the thirteen Athonite fathers did, for instance, less than a century before his stay in Cyprus. The martyrs of Kantara were tortured and burned at the stake on May 19, 1231 by the Latin clergy in Nicosia because they disobeyed the imposed Latin law and refused to use unleavened bread.[1524] On the other hand, Sabas is miraculously healed by God, as if resurrected from the dead. Interestingly, due to his vow of silence, he does not engage in any dogmatic discussions, either with Latins, or with Muslims, as Palamas does, but raises suspicion because of his appearance and vow of silence.

Sabas' first encounter with a Muslim occurs in the Holy Land.[1525] Kokkinos reports that his hero rents a camel from a Christian in order to undertake a trip to Mount Sinai. In addition to the camel, the holy man is also offered the master of the animal as companion for the journey, whom Kokkinos calls "Ismaelites."[1526] Although Sabas leaves Jerusalem on the back of the camel, he soon descends and offers his place to the Muslim. Kokkinos explains that Sabas wants to spare the latter the hardship of the journey, which takes twenty days to complete. Moreover, the holy man also offers his share of food to the Muslim, eating instead the herbs he finds on

[1521] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 24.20–25: […] ὑπερβαλέσθαι μὲν κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν τοῦ προλαβόντος μανίαν ὁμόφρονος αὐτοῖς Ἰταλοῦ.
[1522] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 24.26–34: […] οἱ ὄντως αἱμοχαρεῖς καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι κύνες.
[1523] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 24.50–70.
[1524] See Schabel, "Religion," in *Cyprus: Society and Culture*, 157–218.
[1525] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 31.20–70.
[1526] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 31.20–23.

the way.[1527] Although the man persistently asks Sabas to make use of the camel as a master, his pleas are to no avail. Therefore, Kokkinos reports that the Muslim calls Sabas "god" (*theos*), and kisses the soles of his feet with joy and reverence.[1528] After presenting the Muslim's reaction to Sabas' kindness, Kokkinos praises the chamelier, writing that he had good judgment and was a soul who could receive the good seed of the word of God, although a "barbarian" by birth.[1529] However, Kokkinos does not mention any overt action or attempt from Sabas' part to convert the Muslim. At the end of the journey to Sinai, the Muslim returns to Jerusalem, both with great joy in his heart for having witnessed such miracles, and with great sorrow for parting with Sabas. To convey Sabas' irresistible influence and power over people, Kokkinos writes that not even the Sirens would have dared to show themselves in front of his hero.[1530]

This peaceful encounter is followed by a nearly fatal one with two "*Arabes*," while Sabas is in the Jordan desert.[1531] Accused again of a false wrongdoing, this time that he is hiding a treasure, Sabas is savagely beaten by the two Muslims. After they believe him dead, they throw him into a pit. However, afraid that he will recover and denounce them to their leader, whom Kokkinos refers to by using the archaizing term *satrape*, they decide to kill him. Kokkinos makes an explanatory aside at this point, highlighting that the Muslim rulers (that is, the Mamluks) of that region have good relations with the Byzantines.[1532] When one of the "*Arabe*s" lifts his sword to cut Sabas' head off, his arm immediately withers. This punishment causes the Muslim to repent and shed many tears, whereas the second one runs away in fear of punishment. The denouement of the scene is brought by Sabas, who asks God to heal the hand of his aggressor.

As seen, in the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos criticises Latins for their defining arrogance and pride. This is in line with Byzantine rhetoric of the period surrounding Latins, which described them as arrogant and greedy.[1533] Moreover, Kokkinos employs

[1527] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 31.24–36.
[1528] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 31.51–52: θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἐκπληττόμενος ἔλεγε καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπον.
[1529] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 31.53–57.
[1530] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 31.61–70.
[1531] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 40
[1532] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 40.12–16.
[1533] Messis, "Lectures sexuées de l'altérité," *JÖB* 61 (2011): 151–170, at 154.

pejorative animal imagery to style them as bestially aggressive.[1534] On the other hand, he repeatedly points out that Muslims acknowledge Sabas' spiritual achievements and honour him, giving him praise alongside the Orthodox. Thus, if Kokkinos uses strong language to describe Latins, he uses a more irenic tone for Muslims, even praising them. After Sabas leaves the desert and enters the Mar Sabas Monastery, the news of his return from the desert spreads and his fame attracts numerous people. Kokkinos mentions that even Muslims are amazed at his virtue and fame, and speak about him with wonder, although they are of a different faith. Moreover, they join the crowds who seek and honour Sabas.[1535]

Later in the account, during Sabas' short stop in Jerusalem en route to Constantinople, Kokkinos reports again that his hero is honoured by a large number of people, many of whom are Muslims, or rather that their entire race honours the holy man. Moreover, even the Muslim leader comes to see Sabas and entreats him to say a few words.[1536] Congourdeau pointed out that the Muslim leader that Kokkinos had in mind could have been the head of one of the Arab tribes, a Mamluk leader, such as the emir of Jerusalem, or even the sultan of Cairo, although his identity remains obscure.[1537] Kokkinos points out that this leader brings a large sum of money as reward and promises obedience (*hypakoe*) to Sabas (much as John VI Kantakouzenos would do at a later point in the *v.Sab*. 74). Despite the fact that the holy man does not utter a word in reply, his silence is not interpreted as insolent or deceitful, as it had been in his both encounters with Latins. Instead, Kokkinos points out that the leader excessively admires Sabas' steadfastness and unbridled mind, showing him great reverence. Moreover, Kokkinos stresses that, due to the encounter with the holy man, the Muslim leader shows even more respect towards the Orthodox faith and even blames "the lawgivers and leaders of his own religion."[1538]

In his *vitae*, Kokkinos seems to take a more favourable stance towards Muslims than he does towards Latins. On the one hand, this comes as no surprise, as the Byzantines had many relations with the Ottomans, sometimes as allies and other

[1534] On comparisons of Latins to beasts, see Hörander, "Das Bild des Anderen," *BSl* 54 (1993): 162–168, at 166; Jeffreys, Jeffreys, "The 'Wild Beast from the West'," in *The Crusades*, 101–116, at 109.
[1535] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 41.31–35.
[1536] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 50.33–48.
[1537] Congourdeau, "La Terre Sainte," 132.
[1538] Kokkinos, *v.Sab*. 50.45–48: […] τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας δόξης πολλοῦ τινος ἀξιῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου, τοῖς δὲ νομοθέταις τε καὶ προστάταις τῆς ἰδίας θρησκείας πολλήν τινα τὴν μέμψιν ἐπῆγε […].

times as enemies.[1539] On the other hand, Kokkinos' negative attitude towards Latins must be considered in the larger ecclesiological context of Byzantine–Latin relations after the Fourth Crusade, which triggered an abundant literature *contra Latinos*. Historical developments such as the installation of a Latin hierarchy in Constantinople, Cyprus and other regions, contributed even more to escalating the rivalry between Byzantines and Latins. These aspects have been explored extensively by scholars, including Papadakis and Kolbaba.[1540] Moreover, Palaiologan emperors were often tempted to trade their Orthodoxy for Latin military support. For instance, in 1355, the year of Palamas' ransom from Ottoman captivity, Emperor John V Palaiologos sent a letter to Pope Innocent VI, promising to submit to the Latin Church in exchange for military support, which he later did in Rome on October 18, 1369. However, even in this context, signs of hostility were not omnipresent. This is indicated, for instance, by Kokkinos' involvement in the preparation of an ecumenical council intended to accomplish the unity of the Church.[1541]

When it comes to late-Byzantine hagiography, as Hinterberger pointed out, "some inconsistencies notwithstanding, unsurprisingly the overall image of the Latin … is entirely negative." [1542] Thus, Kokkinos' *v.Sab.* can be placed into a larger trend of the period in terms of the negative portrayal of Latins. However, Hinterberger also pointed out that *lives* of saints present Latins as "violent and wicked" without going deeper into the theological substance of the dogmatic differences between the two Churches. As he writes, "there was no wide-spread Byzantine anti-Latin propaganda via hagiographic texts during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries" and even in accounts of the exceptional cases of Byzantine martyrs killed by Latins, the emphasis is laid on the martyr's desire to die and not on the agents.[1543] This can also be seen in the case of the *v.Sab.*, where there is no dogmatic discussion between the hero and Latins or any authorial digression on this subject. Moreover, Kokkinos explains Sabas' contact with his aggressors as driven by his love and desire to emulate the

[1539] For instance, the alliances of John VI Kantakouzenos with the Ottoman Turks.
[1540] Papadakis, "Byzantine perceptions of the Latin West," *GOTR* 36 (1991): 231–242; Kolbaba, "Byzantine perceptions of Latin religious 'errors'," in *The Crusades*, 117–143. See also Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures*, and Nicol, "The Byzantine view of western Europe," *GRBS* 8.4 (1967): 315–339.
[1541] Meyendorff, "Projets de concile œcuménique."
[1542] Hinterberger, "The image of the Latins in Byzantine hagiography," 148.
[1543] Hinterberger, "The image of the Latins in Byzantine hagiography," 149.

martyrs of Christ. However, Kokkinos does touch to a certain extent on the dogmatic substance of the Filioque controversy in the *v.Germ*. In the section covering the martyr death of Germanos' spiritual master John, Kokkinos writes that John endured persecutions for the profession of the right faith. As he explains, John upheld the belief that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father and is of the same substance and equal in all respects to the Father and the Son (*v.Germ*. 16).

Fourteenth-century Byzantium struggled with political instability, territorial contraction, external threats, natural disasters, turmoil in ecclesiastical affairs, and increasing impoverishment. As seen, this turbulent and insecure political and religious context is reflected in Kokkinos' *lives* of contemporary saints. The Catalan incursions that shattered the relative peace of Andronikos II's reign are mentioned in the *v.Nik*. and the *v.Sab*. Repeated Turkish raids on Athos also disrupted the way of life and *hesychia* of Athonite monks, including Kokkinos' heroes, forcing them to seek refuge in fortified monasteries or flee the Holy Mountain. Kokkinos also comments on the contemporary upheaval in Thessalonike, making an extensive *psogos* against the Zealot revolt. Moreover, he refers to the ecclesiastical and political implications of this uprising when presenting Palamas' failed attempts to assume his metropolitan see. References to the civil war also abound. Kokkinos often uses nautical imagery, such as a worldly sea, winds, rough waters, mighty waves, and hurricanes, to convey the sense of disorder and danger brought about by political instability. The poverty and hardships that followed the civil war and characterized Isidore's mandate as patriarch are starkly described by Kokkinos. He presents the dearth of resources and the struggles of the patriarchate, clergy and the people, underlining Isidore's care for the destitute, including the poor members of the clergy.

These insecurities made the need for intercession before God stronger and more urgent. Thus, Kokkinos fashions his heroes as figures of identification and refuge in the context of the grim contemporary realities that he depicts in his *vitae*. He presents his saints metaphorically as harbours of salvation and holy anchors, offering safety and stability in a world in flux. The *vitae* present the benefits that Kokkinos' heroes bestow upon men during their life, but also after their death. They

use their miracle–making powers for the benefit of individuals, but also the community, by ending drought, stopping an outburst of plague, and multiplying food for the poor. For instance, Isidore's miracle of multiplication of food, following the biblical model, is one of several examples of his philanthropy and care for his flock. Sabas' cell becomes a magnet for people from Constantinople, Thessalonike and all over and he is revered even by Muslims. Moreover, Kokkinos' heroes offer spiritual guidance and are an example of a way of life not only for monastics, but, as Kokkinos emphasizes, for everyone, regardless of age, gender, and social standing. They perform the function of spiritual leaders in their monastic communities, as well as in the middle of the world, be it their native cities (Isidore, Palamas) or the places they visit (Sabas).

Kokkinos' heroes also offer spiritual guidance to members of aristocracy and people in positions of power, including Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos. As seen, Kokkinos styles Isidore as an urban hesychast, sought for comfort and advice by many members of the Thessalonian aristocracy. Later, he offers spiritual guidance to an aristocratic woman in Constantinople and protection to a hesychast supporter, part of Kantakouzenos' entourage. Germanos teaches and advises his own father in spiritual matters, as well as on issues related to material possessions. Moreover, Kokkinos depicts the emperor as showing deep reverence towards Sabas, often seeking his prayers and council and enjoying his "angelic conduct and way of life." After their death, Nikodemos and Palamas continue their presence in the community, performing miracles at their shrines and interceding with prayers before God. The final invocations of the *vitae* are highly indicative of contemporary concerns. Kokkinos invokes his saints as celestial mediators, asking them for protection from a "great hurricane and cyclone" (*v.Isid.* 81.7–9), "this terrible storm and universal mixture like a night-battle in a moonless night" (*v.Germ*. 46.33–35), and "the hurricane of these manifold passions and trials, which is rising up for a long time and rising every day a fearful billow and storm" (*v.G.Pal*. 136.30–32). As Kokkinos writes, his heroes have not abandoned the people in these times of crisis, but intercede on their behalf in heaven, offering sacrifices and prayers.

Moreover, Kokkinos promotes a spiritual revival of society through his saints. As seen, his *vitae* echo his *Logos* on All Saints and convey the idea that anyone can

be a candidate for sanctity, as all men are of equal honour before God and because the gifts of the Holy Spirit are imparted equally. Consequently, he underlines that although Isidore was born and lived "later in time," he was not inferior to the saints of old. Kokkinos styles his heroes as models of a hesychastic way of life, which can be emulated both by monastics and people living in the world. Thus, he emphasizes repeatedly throughout the *vitae* the need for detachment from material possessions, and a focus on prayer and *hesychia*. He offers, for instance, the examples of Palamas' and Germanos' fathers, who assume an urban hesychastic programme of intense prayers and vigils, although they live in the world and fulfil their familial and occupational duties.

CONCLUSION

My dissertation constitutes the first systematic attempt to contextualize and analyse the hagiographic compositions dedicated by Philotheos Kokkinos, a fourteenth-century monk, theologian, gifted man of letters, and Constantinopolitan patriarch, to his contemporaries Nikodemos the Younger, Sabas the Younger, Germanos Maroules, Isidore Boucheir, and Gregory Palamas. This dissertation was structured in three parts. Part I first offered an extensive biographical portrait of Kokkinos, highlighting the socio-political context of his life and activity; secondly, it introduced his *lives* of contemporary saints and established a tentative chronology of their date of composition; thirdly, it placed these *vitae* within Kokkinos' literary œuvre and discussed their manuscript tradition, underlining his active role in the process of copying, reviewing, and publishing his works. This section included the interesting history and unusual fate, as well as a brief codicological and palaeographic analysis of the "author's edition" manuscript *Marcianus graecus* 582 (*M**), arguably one of, if not the most important witness of Kokkinos' *lives* of contemporary saints. Part I concluded with short biographical sketches of the five holy men eulogized by Kokkinos, presenting them as historical figures and highlighting their relationship to their hagiographer.

Kokkinos' biographical portrait was particularly focused on his upbringing and early ecclesiastical career, which have been cursorily documented and treated in scholarship. Biographical details have been drawn from his writings, especially his *vitae*, other contemporaneous sources, such as the fourteenth-century *akolouthia*, and interpreted against scholarly literature. This section included an extensive discussion of Kokkinos' birth and origin, education, early monastic life on Athos, hegoumenate at Philokalles and the Great Lavra, tenures as metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia and patriarch of Constantinople, and prolific ten-year intermezzo spent at the Akataleptos Monastery in Constantinople.

Based on information derived from Kokkinos' own works and scholarship, I established a tentative chronology for the composition of the five *vitae* and proposed

that Kokkinos most likely wrote them in the following sequence: *v.Nik.*, *v.Sab.*, *v.Isid.*, *v.Germ.*, and *v.G.Pal*. Kokkinos wrote the *v.Nik.*, the shortest of the *vitae*, titled *hypomnema*, during his brief hegoumenate at the Philokalles Monastery in Thessalonike and delivered it in front of the monastic community, most likely on Nikodemos' feast day. Despite an alleged busy schedule, Kokkinos' six-year tenure as metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia was a prolific period. During this time, he composed several works, among which was the *v.Sab.*, the second longest *vita* (*ca*. 50,000 words) and arguably his masterpiece. This *vita* was most likely written within two years of Sabas' death, during the first part of Kokkinos' tenure, since he offers a harsh criticism of the Zealot revolt, which suggests that the civil unrest in his *patris* of Thessalonike was still ongoing at the time of writing. Kokkinos most likely composed the rest of the *vitae* during the period of enforced leisure he spent at the Akataleptos Monastery, following his first patriarchate. Internal evidence suggests that he had already served on the patriarchal throne when he wrote the *v.Isid*. He also seems to have composed the *v.Germ*. and the *v.G.Pal.* during the same period.

A man of significant literary talent, Kokkinos was a prolific author who composed numerous writings, ranging from dogmatic and apologetic treatises, to homiletic, liturgical, poetical and especially hagiographic works. After offering an overview of these writings, especially his hagiographic compositions, I discussed their manuscript tradition, underlining, where possible, the relationship between the codices. My analysis highlighted Kokkinos' involvement in the process of copying, reviewing, and publishing his works. For instance, the striking similarities in terms of codicological and palaeographical characteristics, as well as content, between the fourteenth-century manuscripts *M** and *Paris. gr*. 421, carrying Kokkinos' works, suggest that they were part of his 'editorial' project of collecting and publishing his œuvre, which he most likely undertook during his second patriarchate. Kokkinos' numerous autograph interventions throughout a series of fourteenth-century codices carrying his works suggest that he collaborated closely with his scribes, including Manuel Tzykandyles and Malachias, added the last 'retouches,' and prepared the 'edition' of his works, as it were.

Kokkinos' accounts are the main source of information on the lives of Nikodemos, a monk from Berrhoia who joined the Philokalles Monastery in

Thessalonike at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and Germanos, an Athonite monk born into the aristocratic Maroules family. On the other hand, the lives of Isidore and Palamas, central figures of the hesychast debates, are well documented by contemporary sources (including their own writings) and extensively discussed in scholarship. Sabas Tziskos was a renowned ascetic who undertook two decades of vagrant asceticism and refused the patriarchal throne towards the end of his life. Apart from the biographical details provided by Kokkinos in the *v.Sab*., Sabas is also mentioned in Kantakouzenos' *Memoirs*. With the exception of Nikodemos, Kokkinos knew the holy men in person, who were either his spiritual fathers (Sabas and Germanos) or friends and fellow combatants in the hesychast debates (Palamas and Isidore). He highlights his connection and friendship with his heroes from the beginning of the *vitae* and throughout the accounts.

Part II offered the first literary analysis of Kokkinos' *vitae* of contemporary saints, highlighting their structure, narrative speed, order, and other narratorial devices. The narratological analysis was preceded by a discussion of the types of hagiographic composition ('hagiographic genre') Kokkinos employed for his *vitae*, that is, *hypomnema, bios kai politeia*, and *logos*. Finally, Part II offered several considerations on Kokkinos' literary style and intended audience. The narratological analysis of Kokkinos' *vitae* was divided according to broad sections of a hagiographic composition into *prooimia*; childhood and early life, with a discussion of the *patris*, parents, childhood and education of the saint; monastic life; ecclesiastical office; end of life; posthumous account; and final invocation. Additionally, I analyzed the hesychastic elements embedded by Kokkinos in the *vitae*, which range from visions of the divine to descriptions of extreme ascetic practices.

Kokkinos follows his heroes' lives chronologically, praising their origin and *patris* and highlighting early signs of their sanctity. The early life accounts, which are more extensive than customary, include vivid details on their parents, siblings, education, and everyday activities. It is worth pointing out the almost hagiographic portrait penned by Kokkinos for Palamas' father, Constantine, a member of the Constantinopolitan senate, as well as the interesting details offered on the layout of Germanos' house. Kokkinos boasts the good lineage of his heroes, as well as their

education. Moreover, similar to other Byzantine *literati*, his civic pride transpires in extensive *laudationes* of his *patris* in the *v.Sab*., the *v.Isid*., and the *v.Germ.* He styles Thessalonike as a centre of wisdom and city of saints and deplores the Zealot revolt that ravaged her in an extensive *psogos* in the *v.Sab*.

The largest part of each *vita* covers the monastic years of the holy men. Kokkinos' talent as a hagiographer is revealed in his account of Sabas' complex monastic trajectory, which includes all types of monasticism: idiorrhythmic, wandering asceticism, holy foolery, eremitic, cenobitic, and reclusive. The holy man's travels in the Holy Land and Sinai are interspersed with extraordinary feats of asceticism, spells of holy foolery, contests with the devil, divine visions, miracles, and encounters with Muslims and Latins. These are presented by Kokkinos in a lively and engaging account, which features extensive and finely crafted dialogues, frequent anachronies, and authorial interventions. Kokkinos fashions Isidore as an urban hesychast saint, who lives as a monk in the middle of the world long before his tonsure, and who assumes an urban hesychast apostolate in Thessalonike for more than ten years. He later continues it in Constantinople (as bishop-elect of Monembasia and subsequently as patriarch), offering spiritual guidance especially to members of the aristocracy, both men and women, as well as imperial figures. Germanos spends his monastic life as an idiorrhythmic monk on Mount Athos, serving under no less than six spiritual fathers. His first ten years as disciple are presented in detail, which he spends under the guidance of his first two masters, the hieromonks John and Job, in the vicinity of the Docheiariou Monastery and the Great Lavra respectively. Kokkinos also covers the major events of Palamas' life as a monk on Athos and in a *skete* in the vicinity of Berrhoia, as abbot of the Esphigmenou Monastery, and later as metropolitan of Thessalonike. He gives particular attention to his hero's involvement in the hesychast debates as defender of Orthodoxy against the anti-hesychasts and presents his imprisonment and Ottoman captivity. Kokkinos' *vitae* follow the holy men's progression of achievements in the ascetic life and *hesychia* and include vivid glimpses into their lives as monks and ascetics, from dietary details to information regarding their clothing and ascetic routine. Moreover, in the case of Isidore and Palamas, Kokkinos conveys the

difficulties involved in the exercise of their ecclesiastical office, from lack of financial resources to disobedience, political opposition, and even imprisonment.

As my dissertation has shown, Kokkinos' *vitae* of contemporary saints sought to shape and were shaped by the theological dispute surrounding hesychasm. He weaves into his narrative elaborate descriptions of divine visions, presents his heroes' devotion to hesychastic prayer and *hesychia*, and offers invectives against the anti-hesychasts. Moreover, Kokkinos displays his grasp of theological issues in authorial interventions in support of hesychasm and extensively covers Isidore's, and especially Palamas', involvement in the hesychast debate. Therefore, as I argued, Kokkinos fashions his *vitae*, especially the *v.Sab*., as a hagiographic argument in support of hesychast theology. The *vitae* end with prayers offered by Kokkinos on behalf of his flock and himself, which reflect the turbulent political and ecclesiastical context during which he composed the accounts. He conveys contemporary turmoil using nautical imagery and invokes the saints as intercessors before God for peaceful times.

Kokkinos renders his saints' *lives* in an elevated stylistic and linguistic register, weaving figures of speech, biblical, liturgical, patristic, hagiographic, and classical quotations and allusions that reflect his *paideia* and familiarity with both classical and Christian literature. Kokkinos alludes to, or includes quotations from, Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Plato's *Republic* and *Phaedo*, and Pindar's *Olympian Odes*. His patristic references include Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, Athanasios of Alexandria, Maximos the Confessor, and John of Damascus. Moreover, he enlivens his accounts with frequent use of dialogue, numerous authorial digressions, *apostrophes*, and rhetorical questions. He makes his presence felt and guides the narrative in numerous explicit authorial interventions. Thus, he comments on the organization and length of the work, especially in the *prooimia*; interprets the events presented and expresses astonishment, pride, appreciation, disapproval or grief; explains the meaning of signs and visions, and strives to fashion his works as a truthful account of the holy men's lives, by presenting his sources or personally vouching for the veracity of the information he offers. While the *v.Nik.* was most likely delivered in front of the monastic community at Philokalles, the rest of the *vitae* most likely targeted an educated audience, in Constantinople or

Thessalonike, judging by their intricate style and level of intertextuality. Moreover, based on a reading exercise, which offered an approximation of the time it would take one to read Kokkinos' *vitae*, it seems that the *v.Sab*., the *v.Isid*., the *v.Germ*., and the *v.G.Pal*., were most likely not delivered in front of an audience in one session, but probably in installments. Moreover, the length of these *vitae* suggests that they may have been reworked and extended from shorter versions that were possibly presented in front of a congregation or literary gathering. Manuscript tradition suggests that the *vitae* were later read in installments in monastic milieux, either at mealtimes in the refectories or at church services.

Part III examined Kokkinos' depiction of fourteenth-century Byzantine society. It first offered a detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of the miracle accounts woven into the *vitae*, focusing on the miracle typology, types of afflictions healed, methods of healing, and the demographic characteristics of the beneficiaries. Second, it presented Kokkinos' view on the relationship between *basileia* and *ekklesia*, focusing on his portrayal of emperor(s) in the *vitae*. Additionally, it analysed the holy men's encounters with the 'other' (Muslims and Latins). Finally, it argued that Kokkinos presented and proposed his heroes as models of identification and refuge in the troubled social and political context of fourteenth-century Byzantium, promoting a spiritual revival of the Byzantine society.

Kokkinos included miracle accounts to promote the holy figures he praised, as well as their cult. However, notable differences have been observed across the *vitae* in terms of the number and typology of miracles, depending on the profile of each holy man. For instance, Kokkinos places more emphasis on Sabas' miraculous life, extreme feats of asceticism and vision of God than on his *thaumata*, as the *vita* includes only two miracles of nature and two healing miracles. In fact, the holy man is more often the recipient, than the agent, of miraculous healings. This relative scarcity of miracles could be explained by the fact that Sabas had been a renowned ascetic of the period, which made the need to promote him through miracle accounts less stringent. Isidore works miracles both during his life and posthumously for people from Constantinople and members of his flock from Monembasia. Kokkinos styles him as a model hierarch, who effects several miracles following the biblical model of Christ, such as the multiplication of olive oil and food, and the healing of a

nun suffering from blood discharge. In the case of the *v.G.Pal.*, which accounts for the largest part of miracle tales in the five *vitae*, Kokkinos presents miracles—assembled for the purpose of canonization—that Palamas effected both in his metropolitan see of Thessalonike and beyond, in Kastoria and Berrhoia.

Kokkinos' *vitae* harbour a wealth of information on the recipients of the saints' miracle-working powers, such as their name, age, gender, place of origin, activities or social status. These details enhance the credibility of the account and create at the same time a literary representation of the society and thought-world of the time. A quantitative and qualitative analysis of these miracles has revealed that Kokkinos' heroes seem to favour members of the aristocracy and those from a religious milieu, including nuns, monks, priests, and even hierarchs, while the poor are underrepresented in the sample of miracle beneficiaries. Especially in the *v.G.Pal.*, it appears that Kokkinos intended to promote the cult of his hero by offering numerous examples of people from the ranks of the aristocracy, who benefitted from his miraculous powers. Moreover, the distribution by gender has indicated that men roughly outnumber women as recipients of the saints' miraculous powers by a ratio of 2:1. Moreover, the societal controversy surrounding the figures of Nikodemos and especially Palamas is reflected in the attitudes of the beneficiaries of their miracles, both believers and sceptics. Kokkinos offers an account of several miracles that Palamas works for his opponents, men and women, to underline his hero's good standing before God, legitimacy of his ecclesiastical office, and soundness of his theology. He explicitly draws out the morals of these miracles and underlines their edifying nature. Moreover, two triads of miracles reveal the benefits of being a friend or supporter of the holy men. The first triad is worked by Isidore for his friend Nicholas of Monembasia, and the second one by Palamas for the family of the *hetaireiarches* Andronikos Tzimiskes, a prominent man from Berrhoia, whose anti-hesychast views change following Palamas' miraculous interventions to the benefit of his family.

Throughout his *vitae*, Kokkinos praises, as customary, several imperial figures. However, he describes Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos most extensively and offers him an almost hagiographic portrait. In the *v.Sab*., the scene of Sabas' refusal of ordination as patriarch of Constantinople presents the encounter between

Kantakouzenos and Sabas. Kokkinos fashions the dialogue between the emperor and the holy man as instruction and canon (*paideuma kai kanon*) for those undertaking leadership (*prostasia*), namely a *mirror for princes*. Kokkinos stresses that Kantakouzenos' encounter with Sabas constitutes an opportunity for introspection and spiritual growth for the former, which opens his eyes to the pettiness of his worldly rule and sows within his heart the seeds of a monastic calling, which he later embraced. Kokkinos completes the portrait of the ideal emperor, embodied in his view by Kantakouzenos, with the virtues of love, selflessness, monastic vocation, and call for sainthood. Moreover, Kokkinos' account reflects his political and ecclesiastical standpoint and is not devoid of his own personal interests. He may have fashioned the *v.Sab*. as an encomiastic piece that would reach the emperor's ears, out of a desire for personal gain or wish to win or strengthen the emperor's benevolence towards the Church.

Kokkinos also presents his heroes' encounters with Muslims and Latins. He quotes extensively from the dossier of Palamas' Ottoman captivity, presenting his hero's theological discussions with the grandson of the Ottoman sultan Orhan I, a *tasimanes*, and the *Chionai*. As he underlines, Kokkinos included these lengthy excerpts due to their theological importance. Sabas, however, does not engage in dogmatic discussions with either the Muslims or the Latins he encounters, although Kokkinos touches briefly on dogmatic differences with Latins regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit in the *v.Germ*. In the *v.Sab*., Kokkinos depicts Latins as arrogant and violent, in line with the negative portrayals of Latins in the period, especially those found in hagiography. On the other hand, he seems to take a more favourable stance towards Muslims. Interpreted in the context of the frequent Byzantine-Ottoman relations, this relatively irenic tone is less surprising.

My dissertation has shed more light on the life and hagiographic activity of Philotheos Kokkinos. The literary analysis of his *lives* of contemporary saints has revealed Kokkinos' literary acumen, exemplified at its highest point in the *v.Sab*., dedicated to his spiritual father and renowned fourteenth-century ascetic. The *vita* offers a lively and touching account of Sabas' numerous trials, including spectacular descriptions of his near-death experiences, extensive and finely crafted dialogues, frequent anachronies, and authorial interventions on theological subjects and political

matters of the day, such as his *psogos* against the Zealot revolt. Kokkinos uses these *vitae* as a means of self-representation, highlighting his relationship with the holy men he eulogizes and venting his personal and professional difficulties and misfortunes, concerning his health or ecclesiastical office. By focusing on this important figure of late Byzantium, and analyzing and contextualizing his *vitae* of contemporary saints, my dissertation has contributed to the study of late-Byzantine literature, church history and theology, as well as made the first inroads into a systematic study of hesychast hagiography.

EPILOGUE

Sunday morning of the second week of Great Lent, one week after the Sunday of Orthodoxy. The metropolis of Thessalonike was breathing prayers and incense, and singing hymns. Churches were ringing their bells. A myriad of people, men, women and children, rich and poor, native and foreigners, monks and laymen, were flowing onto her streets, weaving garlands that flourished and crowned the city. Faces of angels seemed to mingle in the crowd. They were all heading towards the wondrous church of the great Wisdom of God, taking in the smell of incense and singing in one voice, "What hymns of praise shall we sing and what words of song shall we weave as a garland to crown our holy bishop, the glory of Thessalonike."[1544] Together with them sang a young man who was carrying a codex under his arm. He descended the hilltop of Thessalonike, making his way to the cathedral with difficulty through the multitude of people. Spotting the nearby church of St. Demetrios, he entered it eager and elated to seek the help of the saintly *strategos* and patron of the city. Upon kissing Demetrios' forehead, the saint gushed forth holy *myrrhon*, blessing the young man, as well as the entire crowd, and joined them for the feast. As if by a miracle, the crowd suddenly arrived in front of Hagia Sophia; although seemingly infinite numbers of people were pouring into the church, it nevertheless received all those who wished to enter; the entire city of Thessalonike and the entire world entered the church and became one *ekklesia*.

Men and angels were praising God "who is glorified among his saints." The walls of the church came to life. Christ was overlooking and blessing all from above; He was seated on the heavens and surrounded by angels, the Theotokos, and the chorus of his Apostles. All the saints, as well as the triad of the theologians, were present to partake in the joy of the feast. Heaven and earth met to praise the bishop of Thessalonike. Archdeacons, hieromonks, archbishops, and a synod of holy fathers formed a holy circle. In their midst was Gregory, who was wearing his holy stole

[1544] Cf. *Lenten Triodion*, 314.

"inscribed with nine gold crosses."[1545] The entire crowd was praising their beloved metropolitan with ineffable joy. Archdeacons censed him, hieromonks sang hymns in his honour, archbishops rejoiced in his presence. Gregory's "God-loving" friend also took part in the celebration. He was clad in patriarchal attire, holding the patriarchal staff in his right hand, while in his left he had a scroll and a codex. Together with him came numerous metropolitans, hieromonks, archdeacons and the *melodoi* of the Great Church in Constantinople. Philotheos greeted his friend, kissing his hands. The hymns then ceased and the church stood in complete silence, while Philotheos read aloud from the scroll:

> I consider that holy and divinely inspired man a saint, I mean the holy Gregory, and in nothing inferior to those great teachers and divinely inspired fathers of the Church, because of his wonderful and angel-like conduct and his great spiritual contests which he fought against the passions and the demons ... and further because of those [contests] he nobly fought for the holy Church of Christ, enforcing her, as her leader, with writings, treatises and discourses and with everything in his power. And to this word bear witness my *enkomia* to him, which were worked hard by me in canons and hymns, and his life composed by me in the category of *enkomia*. And above all, I am fully assured about this, and I love and honour him as saint because of his miracles, which he wrought after his departure from here to God, showing his own tomb a spring of miracles.[1546]

When mentioning the life he composed for Gregory, Philotheos lifted the codex that he held in his left hand. After he finished reading, his archdeacons and *melodoi* began handing out scrolls with the hymns composed by him and all praised Gregory in one voice:

> Holy and divine instrument of wisdom, joyful trumpet of theology, with one accord we sing thy praises, O Gregory inspired by God.

[1545] Kokkinos, *v.G.Pal*. 118.38–39: σταυροῖς ἐννέα χρυσοῖς ἐντετυπωμένον. Talbot, *Miracle Tales*, 337.

[1546] Kokkinos, *Synodal Tomos* of 1368, ll. 724–737, ed. Rigo, "Il *Tomo Sinodale* del 1368," 125–126: τὸν ἅγιον ἐκεῖνον ἐγὼ καὶ θεοφόρον ἄνδρα, τὸν ἱερὸν λέγω Γρηγόριον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας τῆς θαυμαστῆς ἐκείνης καὶ ἰσαγγέλου, καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἀγώνων, οὓς ἠγωνίσατο κατά τε τῶν παθῶν καὶ τῶν δαιμόνων … ἔτι τε καὶ ἀφ᾽ ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας γενναίως ἠγωνίσατο, καὶ ταύτης προέστη, καὶ συγγράμμασι καὶ λόγοις καὶ διαλέξεσι καὶ παντὶ τῷ δυναμένῳ στηρίξας αὐτήν, ἅγιον ἔχω τοῦτον, καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἐκείνων διδασκάλων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῶν θεοφόρων πατέρων κατ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐλλείποντα. Καὶ μαρτυροῦσι τῷ λόγῳ τὰ ἐμὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐγκώμια, διά τε κανόνων καὶ ὕμνων ἐμοὶ πονηθέντα, καὶ ὁ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ συγγραφεὶς βίος ἐκείνου ἐν ἐγκωμίων μέρει. Μάλιστα δὲ ἀκριβῶς πεπληροφόρημαι τοῦτο καὶ στέργω καὶ τιμῶ τοῦτον ὡς ἅγιον ἀπὸ τῶν θαυμάτων αὐτοῦ, ἃ μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκδημίαν εἰργάσατο, ἰαμάτων πηγὴν τὸν ἴδιον ἀναδείξας τάφον.

> But since thou standest now in mind and spirit before the Original Mind, guide our minds to Him, O father, that we may cry to thee: Hail, preacher of grace.[1547]

Philotheos led the procession holding Gregory's icon, while the other holy fathers carried Gregory on their arms. The *ekklesia* flooded again the streets of Thessalonike. When Philotheos passed by the young man, he silently gave him the codex he had carried all this time. For a short time the young man held hands with Philotheos and both sang together with the rest of the faithful:

> Thou hast appeared on earth as an angelic messenger, proclaiming unto mortal men the mysteries of God. Endowed with a human mind and flesh, yet speaking with the voice of the bodiless powers, thou hast filled us with amazement, O saint inspired by God, and made us cry aloud to thee:
>
> Hail, for through thee the darkness is dispelled.
> Hail, for through thee the light has returned.
> Hail, messenger of the uncreated Godhead.
> Hail, reprover of created folly.
> Hail, height impossible to climb that tells us of God's nature.
> Hail, unfathomable depth that speaks of His energy.
> Hail, for thou hast rightly proclaimed God's glory.
> Hail, for thou hast denounced the opinions of evildoers.
> Hail, torch that shows us the Sun.
> Hail, cup filled with nectar.
> Hail, for through thee the truth has shone forth.
> Hail, for through thee falsehood has been plunged in darkness.
> Hail, preacher of grace.[1548]

It is now early morning in the second Sunday of Great Lent, one week after the Sunday of Orthodoxy. The metropolis of Thessalonike breathes prayers and incense, and sings hymns. Churches ring their bells. So does the new metropolitan cathedral where Gregory now dwells. Countless people enter the church to greet its patron.

[1547] Kokkinos, *Ἀκολουθία, κοντάκιον* (Boloudakes, 114): Τὸ τῆς σοφίας ἱερὸν καὶ θεῖον ὄργανον, / θεολογίας τὴν λαμπρὰν συμφώνως σάλπιγγα, / ἀνυμνοῦμέν σε, Γρηγόριε θεορρῆμον· / ἀλλ᾽ ὡς νοῦς τῷ Πρώτῳ Νῷ νῦν παριστάμενος / πρὸς Αὐτὸν τὸν νοῦν ἡμῶν, Πάτερ, ὁδήγησον / ἵνα κράζωμεν· χαῖρε, κήρυξ τῆς χάριτος. English translation in *Lenten Triodion*, 324.

[1548] Kokkinos, *Ἀκολουθία, ὁ οἶκος* (Boloudakes, 114): Ἄγγελος ἀνεφάνης ἐπὶ γῆς τῶν ἀρρήτων / τὰ θεῖα τοῖς βροτοῖς ἐξαγγέλων· / ταῖς γὰρ τῶν ἀσωμάτων φοναῖς / ἀνθρωπίνῳ νῷ τε καὶ σαρκὶ χρώμενος / ἐξέστησας καὶ ἔπεισας / βοᾶν, σοι, θεορρῆμον, ταῦτα· / χαῖρε, δι᾽ οὗ τὸ φῶς ἐκηρύχθη· / χαῖρε, δι᾽ οὗ τὸ σκότος ἠλάθη· / χαῖρε, τῆς Ἀκτίστου Θεότητος ἄγγελε· / χαῖρε, τῆς κτιστῆς καὶ μωρᾶς ὄντως ἔλεγχε· / χαῖρε, ὕψος ἀνεπίβατον τὴν Θεοῦ φύσιν εἰπών· / χαῖρε, βάθος δυσθεώρητον τὴν ἐνέργειαν εἰπών· / χαῖρε, ὅτι τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καλῶς εἶπας· / χαῖρε, ὅτι τὰς δόξας τῶν κακούργων ἐξεῖπας· / χαῖρε, φωστὴρ ὁ δείξας τὸν Ἥλιον· / χαῖρε, κρατὴρ τοῦ νέκταρος πάροχε· / χαῖρε, δι᾽ οὗ ἡ ἀλήθεια λάμπει· / χαῖρε, δι᾽ οὗ ἐσκοτίσθη τὸ ψεῦδος· / χαῖρε, κήρυξ τῆς χάριτος. *Lenten Triodion*, 324.

From the middle of the naos he emanates a fragrant odour that fills the entire city. The young man is already inside the cathedral. He carries a book under his arm, his soul is filled with awe, and his lips praise Gregory, singing:

> Hail, glory of the fathers, voice of the theologians, tabernacle of inward stillness, dwelling-place of wisdom, greatest of teachers, deep ocean of the word. Hail, thou who hast practised the virtues of the active life and ascended to the height of contemplation; hail, healer of man's sickness. Hail, shrine of the Spirit; hail, father who though dead art still alive.[1549]

The entire church is alive. The transfigured Christ blesses everyone from the summit of the Tabor, cladding in His uncreated light His Apostles, and the whole *ekklesia*. The walls of the church have countless eyes and mouths that sing hymns of praise to God's servant Gregory together with God-loving ears. The heavens seem to have descended to earth or perhaps they are held, or even better, they rise from the earth by means of living columns, for "the Spirit of God prevailing over your dust has raised you, O fathers, to the heavens, although men by nature and grown out of earth and flesh."[1550] Archbishops and metropolitans of Thessalonike animate these columns, as well as her *strategos* Demetrios the Myroblytos. In front of the iconostasis, on the left column, Philotheos stands together with his friend Gregory. Following closely into the footsteps of his beloved saint, the hagiographer and hymnographer is now partaking in God's beauty. Saints, angels, and men sing together praising God, who is wonderful and glorified in his saints: "Hail, O Gregory, for thou hast rightly proclaimed God's glory. Hail, unfathomable depth that speaks of His energy. Hail, preacher of grace."[1551]

A solemn procession begins. The whole city of Thessalonike is chanting hymns, churches with their bells join the chorus, candles and censers mix their perfume and light with the light and fragrant odour emanating from Gregory. The saint is carried on everyone's arms and walks again on the streets of his beloved

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[1549] Kokkinos, *Ἀκολουθία, ἐξαποστειλάριον* (Boloudakes, 131–132): Χαῖρε, Πατέρων καύχημα, / θεολόγων τὸ στόμα, / τῆς ἡσυχίας σκήνωμα, / οἶκος ὁ τῆς σοφίας, / τῶν διδασκάλων τὸ κράτος, / πέλαγος τὸ τοῦ λόγου· / πράξεως χαῖρε ὄργανον, / θεωρίας ἀκρότης, / θεραπευτὰ / τῶν παθῶν καὶ νόσων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων· / Πνεύματος χαῖρε τέμενος, / καὶ θανὼν καὶ ζῶν, Πάτερ. *Lenten Triodion*, 329.

[1550] Kokkinos, *Ἀκολουθία, εἱρμός* (Boloudakes, 104): γῆς μὲν ὑμεῖς / καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀνεδύθητε / κατὰ φύσιν / ἄθρωποι γεγόμενοι, / τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ Πνεῦμα δὲ τὸν χοῦν / ὑμῶν ἐκνικῆσαν / εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνεβίβασεν.

[1551] *Lenten Triodion*, 324 (slightly modified).

metropolis. The young man looks with awe at the fresco of Gregory's "God-loving" friend, kisses his icon, and then places his book in Gregory's palms, chanting together with Philotheos' contemporaries and with the whole *ekklesia*:

> All the devout coming together in unity of mind, let us praise the hierarch in appropriate voices, for he appeared as a swift champion of the Orthodox, and a sharp persecutor of the impiety and of the ill-repute, and in all matters he revealed himself as an unshaken pillar of the Church.[1552]

The book gifted to Gregory and his saintly friends, starts and ends, as well as bears in acrostic the stamp of their friend, hymnographer, and hagiographer: Philotheos.

[1552] Kotzabassi, "Akoluthie," 304, ll. 23–26 (*κοντάκιον*): Συνελθόντες ἅπαντες οἱ εὐσεβεῖς ὁμοφρόνως ἐν φωναῖς ὑμνήσωμεν τὸν ἱεράρχην αἰσίαις· ὤφθη γὰρ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων θερμὸς προστάτης, δυσσεβείας τε καὶ κακοδόξων ὀξὺς διώκτης καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνεδείχθη τῆς ἐκκλησίας στῦλος ἀκράδαντος.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Chronology of Kokkinos' life and writings

Philotheos Kokkinos		Contemporary events	
ca. 1295–1300	– birth in Thessalonike (as Phokas)	*ca*. 1296	– birth of Gregory Palamas
	– education in Thessalonike under Thomas Magistros	*ca*. 1307	† Nikodemos the Younger
1320s	– novice (monk ?) at the Chortaïtes Monastery	1321–28	– civil war
ca. 1328–31	– monk at Vatopedi under the guidance of Sabas the Younger	*ca*. 1328	– Sabas the Younger returns to Vatopedi after twenty years of wandering asceticism
ca. 1331–41/2	– monk at the Great Lavra	*ca*. 1336	† Germanos Maroules
1340	– signs the *Hagioreitikos tomos* as hieromonk	1340	– Palamas composes the *Hagioreitikos tomos*
1340/1–1342	– *hegoumenos* of the Philokalles Monastery in Thessalonike – writes the *v.Nik.* – composes the *logos* on St. Anysia	1341	– hesychast synod in C/ple
		1341–47	– civil war
1342–1345	– *hegoumenos* of the Great Lavra – writes the *diataxis* of the Divine Liturgy	1342–50	– Zealot revolt in Thessalonike
1345–1347	– *askesis* and *hesychia* on Athos – writes two *logoi dogmatikoi* against Gregory Akindynos – composes the *vita* of St. Febronia (?)	1347	– hesychast synod in C/ple
1347–1353	– metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia – writes three sermons on Proverbs 9:1	1347–50 1347–54 1348 1350	Patriarch: Isidore Boucheir *r*. John VI Kantakouzenos † Sabas the Younger † Isidore Boucheir
	– writes the *v.Sab*.	1350–53	Patriarch: Kallistos I
1351	– composes the synodal *tomos* of 1351 – writes the *confession* of faith – sends a *letter* to the inhabitants of Herakleia after the fall of the city – writes the *logos historikos* – composes the first three *antirrhetikoi* against Gregoras	1351	– hesychast synod in Constantinople – the Genoese capture Herakleia
1353–1354/5	– first patriarchate – delivers sermons on the crippled woman, and on Psalm 37	1354	– capture of Gallipoli by the Ottomans
		1354–55	– Palamas' Ottoman captivity
1355–1364	– intermezzo at the Akataleptos Monastery – writes the *v.Isid*. – dedicates three sermons on the beatitudes to empress Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina – writes the *v.Germ*. (?) – composes the *akolouthia* for Gregory Palamas and other hymnographic compositions in his honour – writes the *v.G.Pal*. (draft ?)	1355–63 1354–76	Patriarch: Kallistos I *r*. John V Palaiologos
		1357/9	† Gregory Palamas
		1363	† Kallistos

1364–1376 1368	– second patriarchate – delivers the homily on the Dormition of the Theotokos – writes the synodal *tomos* of 1368	1368	– synod of April 1368: canonization of Palamas and condemnation of Prochoros Kydones
1376/7	– deposed and replaced by Makarios	1376	– the *coup* of Andronikos IV
1378	– demise in C/ple		
1380s	– celebrated as a saint		Patriarch: Neilos Kerameus

Appendix 2: Narrative structure of Kokkinos' *vitae* of contemporary saints

Abbreviations:

Ts. = chapter number in Tsames' critical edition
n/w = number of words
Chron. = chronology
d. = day(s)
m. = month(s)
y. = year(s)

1. Narrative structure of the *v.Nik*.

Ts.	Narrative sections	n/w	Duration	Chron.
1	*Prooimion*	132		
2	Early life	45		*ca*. 1267
	Ellipsis of *ca*. 18 y.			
2–7	Monastic life	1393	*ca*. 22 y.	*ca*. 1285
2–3	Wandering asceticism	487	*ca*. 20 y.	
4–5	At the Philokalles Monastery	612	*ca*. 1–2 y.	*ca*. 1305
6–7	Stabbing, death and burial	294	1 d.	*ca*. 1307
	Indefinite *ellipsis* of several years			
7–11	Posthumous account	930		
7	Discovery of Nikodemos' relics and their reburial	227		
8–10	Miracle accounts	600		
8	– healing miracle: Nikodemos' relics cure the Serbian George Karabides of paralysis	121		
9	– miraculous punishment of a man who doubts the saint	251		
10	– miraculous punishment of a woman who steals the saint's tooth	228		
	Indefinite *ellipsis* of several years			
11	Construction of a church at the reburial site	103		
12	Final invocation and prayer	135		
	Total number of words	2635		

2. Narrative structure of the *v.Sab*.

Ts.	Narrative sections	n/w	Duration	Chron.
1	*Prooimion*	395		
2–5	Early life	2059	18 y.	*ca*. 1283
2–3	*Patris:* Thessalonike	965		
	– *laudatio* of Thessalonike	258		
3	– *psogos* against the Zealot revolt	373		
4	Parents	443	.	
5	Education in Thessalonike	650		
6–82	Monastic life	45,950	*ca*. 47 y.	*ca*. 1301
6–16	Disciple on Mount Athos	4847	*ca*. 7 y.	*ca*. 1301
6	Departure from home	126		
	Sabas enters Mount Athos	238		
	– *laudatio* of Mount Athos	82		
	– *synkrisis* with Moses	156		
7	Monastic tonsure in Karyes	656		
8	Sabas' ascetic endurance and hardships	287		
9–10	Praise of Sabas' obedience, *askesis*, virtues, and spiritual achievements	779		
11	Rejection of ordination as hieromonk	627		
12	Sabas' physical strength: journey to the Esphigmenou Monastery	526		
13	Last days on Athos	1698		
	– Catalan raids on Athos	453		*ca*. 1308
14	– Sabas' hesitation to follow his spiritual father to Thessalonike	428		
	– *analepsis*: the grief of Sabas' parents at his departure from home	268		
15	Kokkinos' hesitation to continue the account	230		
16	Sabas decides to travel to the Holy Land	212		
16–57	Wandering asceticism	24,568	*ca*. 20 y.	*ca*. 1308
16–17	Travel to Cyprus *via* Lemnos, Lesbos, Chios, Ephesus, and Patmos	130		
17–30	Sabas in Cyprus: a fool for Christ's sake	8119	*ca*. 1–2 y.	
17	– Sabas gives up his clothes and takes up the vow of silence	365		
	– authorial digression on almsgiving	290		
18	– *synkrisis* with Elijah and John the Baptist	227		
	– Sabas' fierce asceticism	498		
19	– Sabas plays the holy fool (*moros*)	445		
20	– Sabas in a pit of filth	486		
21	– Sabas' encounter with a wealthy Latin (*Italos*)	861		
	– *synkrisis* with the Maccabees	247		
22	– an "irrational" mob beats Sabas	538		
23	– Sabas' dialogue with the devil: Sabas refutes the devil's temptation to slacken his asceticism and return to his previous way of life	1111		
24	– Sabas' encounter with Latin monks (*Italoi*): savage beatings and miraculous healing	552		
	– Sabas' desire for martyrdom	439		
25	– the importance of silence for holy foolery	414		
26–27	– Sabas interrupts his wandering for a short stay at a man's abode, where he breaks the vow of silence, uttering his name	493		
27–28	– Sabas' cult in Cyprus	699		
29–30	– Sabas in a pit of filth; departure to Jerusalem	557		

30–49	The Holy Land and Mount Sinai	12,099	*ca*. 12 y.	
30	In Jerusalem: visiting the holy places	375		
31	At the River Jordan	133		
31–32	At Mount Sinai	674	2 y.	
31	– Sabas' journey to Sinai together with an *Ismaelites*	591	20 d.	
32	– Sabas joins the monastic community	83		
32–37	In the vicinity of the River Jordan: unceasing prayer and divine contemplation in a cave	3055	3 y.	
32	– authorial digression on the fear of God	293		
33	– warfare and defeat of the devil	1022		
34	– the hagiographer summons the attention of his audience	134		
	– Sabas' vision of Christ' glory and beauty, contemplation of the divine and Taboric Light; *synkrisis* with the Apostles on Tabor	679		
35	– *prolepsis*: on Athos, on the Feast of the Transfiguration, Sabas tells Kokkinos about the ineffable mystery of the vision of God on Tabor	313		
36–37	– Sabas' fame attracts streams of people	303		
37–41	In the Jordan desert	1528	4 y.	
37	– extreme asceticism; *synkrisis* with St. Mary of Egypt	238		
37–38	– fifty days of fasting; an angel of God strengthens Sabas; Sabas' vision of Christ the Emperor	400	50 d.	
39	– Sabas in the desert	267		
40	– Sabas' encounter with two Arabs (healing miracle)	399		
41	– Sabas spends one more year in the desert	35	1 y.	
41–48	At Mar Saba Monastery	5028	3 y.	
41	– Sabas' fame attracts numerous people	365		
42	– Sabas is thrown into a deep chasm by the devil and is miraculously saved	595		
43–45	– Sabas spends there 40 days unbent, in unceasing prayer and contemplation	2229	40 d.	
44	– Sabas' rapture to heaven (*ekstasis*), vision of God (*theophaneia*), angels and heavenly light; an angel explains him the vision	923		
45	– excursus on the economy of salvation, vision of the divine – *synkrisis* with Apostles Peter and John, Steven the Protomartyr, John the Baptist and Antony the Great	924		
46–47	– monks carry Sabas in a cave, where he spends two years without moving (the first year reclining on one side, and the second sitting on a chair)	780	2 y.	
47	– on Sabas' spiritual achievements and on miracles	678		
48	– authorial digression on humility	211		
48–49	At the Monastery of St. John the Baptist	1306		
48	– Sabas as a novice	402		
49	– Sabas tames lions	590		
	– *prolepsis*: Sabas explains to his disciple his love for beasts	194		
50–54	En route to Constantinople	2340	> 7 y.	
50	In Jerusalem	344		
	– the Mamluk leader of Jerusalem shows reverence to Sabas	135		

51	On the way to Damascus and Antioch, Sabas resurrects the son of a woman	279		
52	In Crete: fierce asceticism without sleeping or sitting down	555	2 y.	
53	In Euripos (Chalkis on Euboea), Peloponnesos, Athens, Patras, Tenedos, Thracian Chersonese (Gallipoli)	317	5.5 y.	
53–54	In Thracian Herakleia	309		
53	– short description of an icon of Christ from a church inside a grotto, where Sabas lived as a recluse	110		
54–57	In Constantinople	1782	< 1 y.	*ca*. 1328
54	Sabas practises *askesis* and *hesychia* as a recluse at St. Diomedes Monastery	392		
55–56	The emperor [Andronikos II] and the patriarch [Isaiah] question Sabas' Orthodoxy; Sabas' written confession of faith	953		
57	Sabas flees the capital due to his rising fame	433		
57–66	At Vatopedi on Mount Athos	6732	14 y.	*ca*. 1328
58	Sabas' conduct and duties at Vatopedi; he renounces the vow of complete silence	911		
59	Kokkinos' friendship with Sabas	460		
60	Sabas on divine contemplation	412		
61–62	Rejection of ordination as hieromonk	811		
61	– Sabas' parable of the shrub	118		
62–63	The abbot scolds Sabas at the suggestion of Sabas' disciple; Sabas as example of humility	1541		
64	The abbot scolds the flock in the refectory	570		
65–66	Sabas explains to his disciple the vision he had in the refectory, where angels imparted heavenly gifts to the monks who received the scold of the abbot with humility	1829		
Indefinite *ellipsis* of several years				
67–82	In Constantinople	9902	6 y.	1342
67–69	Sabas joins the Athonite embassy to Constantinople to plead for the end of the civil war	1763		03.1342
69–82	In a Constantinopolitan monastery (Chora)	8713		
70	– *analepsis* (10 y. back): Andrew Palaiologos' visit to Vatopedi; Sabas' refusal to receive him	730		*ca*. 1336
71	– Sabas' explanation for his refusal to receive Andrew: he foresaw Andrew's future crimes as the leader of the Zealot revolt	477		
72–73	Excursus on hesychast debates and synods	1597		
72	– criticism of the anti-hesychasts Barlaam, Gregory Akindynos and Patriarch John XIV Kalekas – Sabas' *synkrisis* with Peter of Alexandria and Alexander of Constantinople	650		
73	– *analepsis*: Sabas' vision of Akindynos' solemn condemnation	470		
74–78	Sabas as candidate for the patriarchal throne	3218	5 d.	1347
74	– Kokkinos' hagiographic portrait of Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos	692		
75–78	– Sabas' stubborn refusal to become patriarch – Sabas escapes ordination by force	2473		
79–82	Praise of Sabas' virtues	1913		
81	– *analepsis*: Sabas at the deathbed of a sick man	101	4 m.	

83	Sabas' end of life	390	10 d.	*ca*. 1348
83	– foresight and preparations for death – death and last words on humility	185 205		
84	Posthumous account	832		
84	The office of the hagiographer – Sabas confirms the veracity of Kokkinos' account of his *vita* to Kokkinos' scribe in a dream vision	832 544		
85	Final invocation and prayer	208		
	Total number of words	49,834		

3. Narrative structure of the *v.Isid*.

Ts.	Narrative sections	n/w	Duration	Chron.
1	*Prooimion*	752		
2–9	Early life	2730		*ca*. 1300
2	*Patris*: *laudatio* of Thessalonike	210		
2–3	Family: parents	465		
3–8	Childhood and education	2055		
4	– Isidore is miraculously cured from a deadly sickness at the age of three	237		*ca*. 1303
5–6	– education; vision of the Theotokos	541		
7–8	– ascetic way of life: prayers, fasting, genuflections	951		
9–69	[Monastic] life	23,747		
9–12	Isidore as *didaskalos* in Thessalonike	1519		
9	– Isidore's *curriculum*: classical education *cum* theological education	358		
10	– *analepsis*: dream visions of the Cappadocian Fathers	316		
11	– Isidore as *didaskalos* and guide (*hodegos*): tactfulness in the classroom	302		
12	– *psogos* against Julian the Apostate and his educational reform (362); Isidore teaches virtue	543		
13–25	Ascetic practice in the world [Thessalonike]	4660		
15–17	– disciple in Thessalonike of the Athonite monk Gerasimos (disciple of Gregory of Sinai)	871		
18	– Isidore as leader of monks	262		
19–20	– *synkrisis* with John the Baptist	588		
21	– Gerasimos' death; *synkrisis* of Isidore with Elisha	157		
22	– short sojourn on Athos, in the entourage of Gregory of Sinai	426		*ca*. 1324
23–24	– Isidore's urban hesychast apostolate in Thessalonike	1136	10 y.	1325–35
24–25	– Isidore returns to Athos and is tonsured by Palamas	672		1335
26–29	Hesychast combats	1235		
26	– *psogos* against Barlaam	273		
27	– Isidore as "hunter" of Barlaam's anti-hesychast writings; he summons Palamas to Thessalonike	253		
28	– Isidore in Constantinople together with Palamas to defend hesychasm at the synods of 1341	286		1341
29	– *psogos* against Barlaam and Akindynos	423		
30–36	Bishop elect of Monembasia	2681	*ca*. 3 y.	1341–44
30–32	– shepherd for the people of Monembasia residing in Constantinople	825		
33	– Isidore cures the barrenness of a woman from Monembasia	470		
34	– attitude towards worldly possessions	487		
35–36	Isidore's deposition	899		11.1344
37–44	Spiritual guidance in Constantinople	3318	*ca*. 2 y.	
37–39	Spiritual father of an aristocratic woman	1512		
38	– Isidore miraculously chases away the vermin that overtook the woman's house	444		
39	– Isidore's clairvoyance: he reveals the hiding place of the woman	713		
40–43	Three miracles for Nicholas of Monembasia	1444		
40	– biographical sketch of Nicholas	478		
41	– multiplication of olive oil	325		
42	– protection from danger of Nicholas' house	389		
43	– healing miracle: he saves Nicholas' son Isidore from an untimely death	252		

44	Isidore as hymnographer: dream vision of John of Damascus and Kosmas the Melodos	362		
45–69	Patriarch of Constantinople	10,147	3 y.	1347
45–47	Dream visions on Isidore's election as patriarch			
45–46	– *prolepsis*: Ioannikios Gabras' dream vision	761		
47	– *prolepsis*: Isidore's dream vision	1532		01.1347
48	Praise of Isidore	226		
49–50	Consecration as patriarch of Constantinople	585		
51	Isidore ordains thirty-two new bishops	320		
52–53	Kokkinos' autobiographical digression	880		
54	Isidore brings reconciliation in the Church	307		
55	Praise of Isidore	343		
56	Isidore faces opposition from a number of bishops [the synods of July and August 1347]	224		
57–58	Digression on the aftermath of the civil war and its grim realities	1497		
59–60	Isidore as an active intercessor before the emperor on behalf of his flock; David Disypatos' testimony	594		
61–64	Isidore's philanthropy	1023		
63	– he offers his shoes to a man in need during the winter	180		
64	– he multiplies food [like Christ]	200		
65	Healing miracle: cure of a nun from the Pertze convent suffering of blood discharge	946		
66	Isidore's encounter and dialogue with Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina; he reassures her that she will deliver safely the future heir to the throne, Andronikos IV	350		10.1347
67	The Theotokos reveals to Isidore where the stolen money of his physician was hidden	265		
68–69	Praise of Isidore's care for the clergy and Church	894		
70–73	End of life	1423		1350
70	Foresight of his death	197		
71–72	*Synkrisis* with holy figures (Apostles Peter, Paul and John; Athanasios of Alexandria)	815		
73	Testament, death, funeral ceremony	411		
74–80	Posthumous account	1192		
74	Vision of a hieromonk from the Constantinopolitan Monastery of St. John the Baptist: angels carry Isidore's soul to heaven	121		
76	Healing miracle: cure of a priest of nephritis	109		
77	Healing miracle: cure of a poor woman of paralysis	121		
78	Healing miracle: cure of the metropolitan of Rhodos of blood discharge	388		
79	Isidore as intercessor in heaven	180		
80	Kokkinos summons his audience [quote from Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 43.81]	207		
81	Final invocation and prayer	200		
	Total number of words	29,861		

4. Narrative structure of the *v.Germ*.

Ts.	Narrative sections	n/w	Duration	Chron.
1	*Prooimion*	353		
2–8	Early life	3556	*ca*. 18 y.	*ca*. 1252
2	*Patris*: *laudatio* of Thessalonike	57		
2	Family: parents and siblings	470		
3–8	Childhood and education	3029		
5	– he offers alms to the poor	493		
6	– prayers and vigils	464		
7	– he shows mercy towards his father's labourers	591		
8	– encounter with the Athonite monk John in Thessalonike	570		
9–44	Monastic life	15,557	*ca*. 66 y.	1270
9–27	Disciple on Mount Athos	7582		1270
9–17	Germanos under the spiritual guidance of John (in the vicinity of the Docheiariou Monastery)	3876	5 y.	
9	– *synkrisis*: Germanos' entrance to Athos as an entrance to paradise; monastic tonsure	519		
10	– obedience towards his master	666		
11	– praise of John's physical endurance	177		
12	– Germanos at Vatopedi with his spiritual father John; Germanos as an example of obedience	398		
13–14	– in Thessalonike: Germanos offers spiritual advice to his family	972		
15–17	– *prolepsis*: John's prophecies about his death (together with his disciple Gregory) and Germanos' monastic life at the Great Lavra – John's murder in Thessalonike for his anti-unionist standpoint	1144		1275
18–25	Germanos under the spiritual guidance of Job (in the vicinity of the Great Lavra)	3135	5 y.	1275
18–19	– praise of Job	890		
20–24	– Job's hegoumenate at the Great Lavra	1867		
23	– Job visits Germanos outside the Lavra	304		
24	– Job gives up the hegoumenate	539		*ca*. 1280
25	– Job departs from Athos to Hellas; *synkrisis* with the biblical Job	378		
26–27	Germanos as disciple of a series of spiritual fathers	571		*ca*. 1280
26	– Germanos' spiritual fathers: Myron, Malachias, Athanasios (Metaxopoulos) and Theodoretos	290		
27	– the virtues that Germanos gathers from all his spiritual fathers	281		
Indefinite *ellipsis* of several years				
28–37	Germanos as spiritual father	4680		
28	Germanos at the grotto near the Great Lavra; rejection of numerous disciples; at the request of the abbot of the Lavra, he accepts Ioannikios as his only disciple	526		
29	Austerity of clothing and life in the grotto	341		
30	Germanos miraculously saves Ioannikios from falling into a precipice	329		
31–32	Healing miracle: Germanos heals his nephew John from a life-threatening fever caught during his trip to Athos with his father Andronikos Maroules	1133		1317–25
33	Eulogy of Germanos by Hyakinthos Kerameus and Sabas the Younger	400		
34	Biographical portrait of Iakobos Maroules, Germanos'	325		*ca*. 1320

	nephew and Kokkinos' friend and former schoolmate; Iakobos on Athos			
35	Germanos miraculously heals Iakobos of a terrible headache [trigeminal neuralgia]	625		after 1325
36–37	*Analepsis*: example of Germanos' humility: his encounter with the monk Pezos at Karakallou	1001		
38–44	Praise of Germanos' virtues and spiritual achievements	3295		
39	– attitude towards material possessions	588		
40	– Germanos offers spiritual instruction to men	425		
41	Details on Germanos' health and diet	393		
42	Germanos on hesychasm	392		
43	Germanos' gift of clairvoyance	460		
44	Prayer and divine contemplation (hesychasm for all)	382		
45	End of life	281	6 d.	*ca*. 1336
46	Final invocation and prayer	435		
	Total number of words	20,186		

5. Narrative structure of the *v.G.Pal*.

Ts.	Narrative sections	n/w	Duration	Chron.
1–2	*Prooimion*	524		
3–13	Early life	3611	*ca*. 20 y	*ca*. 1296
3	*Patris*: *laudatio* of Constantinople	185		
4–9	Family: praise of Palamas' father, Constantine	1984		
5	– Constantine helps a poor widow wronged by the emperor's second son, Constantine Palaiologos	207		
6	– Constantine's love for God and attitude towards the death of one of his children	361		
7	– Constantine miraculously catches a fish as a gift for their spiritual father	473		
8–9	– Constantine's monastic tonsure and death	399		*ca*. 1303
10–13	Education at the imperial court and monastic calling	1362		
14–114	Monastic life	36,505	*ca*. 42 y.	
14–23	On Mount Athos	3270	*ca*. 6 y.	
14–17	On Mount Papikion (Thrace): encounter with the Bogomils	1641	*ca*. 9 m.	*ca*. 1316
17–19	In the vicinity of Vatopedi	597		*ca*. 1318
17	– disciple of Nikodemos and tonsure	127		
18–19	– *askesis*, prayer, and vision of John the Evangelist	470		1319
20–21	At the Great Lavra [after Nikodemos' death]	438	3 y.	1320
22–23	Palamas at the *skete* of Glossia in the entourage of Gregory Drimys	594	2 y.	1323
24–29	In Thessalonike and Berrhoia	2009	*ca*. 6 y.	1325
24–25	In Thessalonike [following the Turkish raids on Athos]	493		
24	– dream vision of St. Demetrios of Thessalonike	244		
25	– ordination as priest	249		
26–29	In a *skete* in Berrhoia	1317	5 y.	1326
27	– travel to Constantinople, following his mother's death; he brings his sisters to Berrhoia	327		
28	– death of his sister Epicharis	209		
29	– Palamas' discussion with the monk Job on the practice of unceasing prayer by all	478		
30–37	At the *skete* of St. Sabas on Mount Athos	3195		1331
31–33	Excursus on divine illumination and deification	1862		
32	– quote from Palamas' *antirrhetikos* VII.34–40	1201		
33	– praise of Palamas' teachings	197		
34–35	Foresight and dream visions	708		
34	– foresight on the appointment of *hegoumenos* Makarios to the metropolitan see of Thessalonike	257		1331
	– dream vision of the Theotokos	183		
35	– dream vision prompting Palamas' literary debut	268		*ca*. 1332
36–37	Palamas' literary debut	405		
37–39	*Hegoumenos* at the Esphigmenou Monastery	936		*ca*. 1335
37	Palamas as a model *hegoumenos*	390		
38	Palamas cures the spiritual "sickness" of monk Eudokimos	292		
39	Two miracles of nature: multiplication of olive oil and healing olive trees	254		
40–64	Hesychast debates: first phase	7826	*ca*. 6 y.	*ca*. 1335
40	Introductory authorial digression	155		
41–62	Palamas *vs*. Barlaam	7082		
41	– *analepsis*: Barlaam in Byzantium	378		
41–42	– Barlaam's criticism of the hesychasts	346		

43–44	– Isidore Boucheir summons Palamas to Thessalonike	480		
45–47	– encounter and dialogue between Palamas and Barlaam in Thessalonike	884		
48–51	– on Palamas' *Triads*: review and praise	1370		
52	– Barlaam departs to Constantinople	363		
53	– Palamas' vision of St. Antony the Great: argument for a communal life	229		
54	– Palamas receives the support of Mount Athos: the *Hagioreitikos tomos*	205		08.1340
55	– the death of Palamas' sister Theodote	476		
56–57	– Barlaam receives Constantinopolitan support	278		
57	– Palamas is summoned to Constantinople and defends hesychasm in front of the patriarch	489		
58	– the patriarch convokes the synod	271		
59	– *analepsis*: David Disypatos joins Palamas in Constantinople	250		
60–61	– Dionysios' dream vision and its interpretation: Palamas' victory over heretics and appointment as metropolitan	656		
62	– narratological commentary	80		
	– condemnation of Barlaam: first hesychast synod	437		06.1341
63–64	Condemnation of Akindynos, second hesychast synod	592		07.1341
65–78	Hesychast debates (second phase) and civil war	4918	*ca*. 5 y.	1342
65–66	Patriarch John XIV Kalekas' hostility towards Palamas	632		
67–78	Palamas' imprisonment	4286	4.5 y.	09.1342
67	– *synkrisis* with Jeremiah the Prophet	158		
68–70	– Kalekas' promotion of Akindynos, *psogos* against the two	864		
71	– quote from Palamas' second letter to his brother Makarios, describing retrospectively the patriarch's opposition towards Palamas	719		
72	– narratological commentary	126		
73–74	– a promoter of Akindynos, servant of the governor of the Peloponnesos, relinquishes his support following three dream visions	777		
75	– censorship of Akindynos' heretical writings – reference to Sabas' vision about Akindynos' condemnation described in the *v.Sab*. 73	128 88		
76–77	– Palamas' theological œuvre in prison (*antirhetikoi* against Akindynos)	550		
78	– the downfall and deposition of Kalekas and the end of the civil war	517		03.1347
79–114	Metropolitan of Thessalonike	14,595		
79–80	Palamas is elected metropolitan of Thessalonike, but is prevented from assuming his metropolitan see due to the Zealot revolt (1342–1350)	429		
81	Healing miracle: cure of the daughter of a Thessalonian priest of paralysis	240		8.09. 1347
81–83	Palamas on Mount Athos: encounter with Stefan Dušan	586		
84	Palamas is prevented the second time from assuming his metropolitan see	243		

85	In Lemnos: Palamas cures a village from an isolated outburst of plague	297		*ca*. 1349
86–90	Return to Thessalonike	1665		
86–87	– Palamas' solemn procession through Thessalonike (*synkrisis* with the entry of Athanasios the Great in Alexandria and of Christ in Jerusalem)	524		
88	– procession with icons, first liturgy and homily	261		
	– healing miracle: during the Divine Liturgy he cures the son of the same priest (*v.G.Pal*. 81) from lunacy	159		
89–90	– administrative and pastoral activity	721		
91–94	Palamas in Constantinople for the hesychast synod of 1351	960		05–06. 1351
95	On the way back to Thessalonike, Palamas calms a storm and saves the ship from shipwreck	215		
95–96	Prevented from entering Thessalonike, Palamas temporarily resides on Mount Athos, then resumes his metropolitan see	433	3 m.	
97	Healing miracle in Thessalonike: he cures the cataract of the nun Eleodora	477		8.09
98–103	Ottoman captivity	5516	1 y.	03.1354
98	Palamas' illness	218		
99–101	Extensive quote from Palamas' letter to his flock describing his captivity in Anatolia: encounters with Ismael (the nephew of the Ottoman emir Orhan) and with the *tasimanes*	2270		
101	Encounter with the Chionai (quote from the account of Orhan's physician Taronites)	2325		
102	Kokkinos' commentary on Palamas' Ottoman captivity	241		
103	Palamas is ransomed by Serbians	193		spring 1355
104–14	Last years as metropolitan of Thessalonike	3290		
104	In Constantinople: theological discussions (with Gregoras)	121		
	In Thessalonike: miracle of nature: he ends the drought by praying to God	79		
105	Healing miracle: he cures monk Porphyrios' rib pain	361		
106	Healing miracle: he cures the same Porphyrios of a throat affliction	275		
107	Healing miracle: he cures an orphan girl of incontinence of the bowels	236		
108	Healing miracle: he cures a five-year-old boy of hemorrhage	108		
109–10	Palamas as pastor of his flock	290		
111–13	Contemporaneous testimonies about Palamas' virtues (Sabas the Younger, Germanos Maroules, Theodore Atouemes)	1616		
114	Last writings: against Gregoras	92		
114–16	End of life [after 63 years of life and 12.5 years as metropolitan]	723		14.11. 1357/9
117–35	Posthumous account	8386		
117	Healing miracle: cure of a monk of headaches	439		
118	Healing miracle: cure of a man of severe constipation	524		
119	Healing miracle: cure of the rigid right hand of a choir leader	581		

120	Healing miracle: cure of an imperial weaver of dysentery	435		
121	Healing miracle: cure of a doctor and his wife	455		
122	Healing miracle: cure of the rigid arm of a noble woman	523		
123	Healing miracle: cure of the painful shoulder of a widow	474		
124	Healing miracle: cure of two nuns of blindness and loss of hearing	97		
125	Healing miracle: cure of a man from Thrace suffering from calluses on his hand; healing of an unidentified monk	1168		
126	Palamas' cult and miracles outside Thessalonike	320		
127	Healing miracle: cure of the noble woman Zoe from Kastoria of a menstrual disorder	387		
128	Palamas' cult in Kastoria	95		
129	Healing miracle: cure of the infected leg of the monk Ephraim from Kastoria	874		
130–33	Three healing miracles for the family of the *hetaireiarches* Andronikos Tzimiskes from Berrhoia	929		
131	– healing miracle: cure of Tzimiskes' son of a life-threatening disease	287		
132	– healing miracle: cure of the same boy of a different unspecified disease	99		
133	– healing miracle: cure of Tzimiskes' sister-in-law of a life-threatening disease	293		
134	Dream vision of a monk of the Great Lavra: Palamas as a leading theologian	604		
135	Miracles as confirmation of Palamas' theology	481		
136	Final invocation and prayer	374		
	Total number of words	50,123		

Appendix 3: Critical edition and English translation of Kokkinos' *Introduction* (*protheoria*) to his *Logos* on All Saints (*BHG* 1617g)

Philotheos Kokkinos' hitherto unedited *Logos* on All Saints (*BHG* 1617g) has been transmitted by ten manuscripts, all of which date to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Only three of them carry his *Introduction* (*protheoria*, *hypothesis*) to the *Logos*, namely *Marc. gr.* 582, f. 3r (*M**), *Mosq.* 164, f. 37rv (S*), and Athens, EBE, *Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou* 504, f. 224rv (A*).[1] As discussed in Part I.2, *M** and S* transmit Kokkinos' writings, especially his saints' *lives*, and were copied under his close supervision. Kokkinos' autograph editorial interventions in these codices show that after his texts had been copied he carefully proofread them and added corrections wherever he considered necessary. For instance, in S*, Kokkinos supplemented the title of the *Introduction* with τοῦ εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας.[2] Additionally, he seems to have corrected τελευτὴν to τελετὴν (l. 7). Similarly, he also inspected at some point the codex A*, correcting and adding what its scribe had failed to copy. For instance, on f. 259v, Kokkinos deleted the second half of l. 4 and squeezed in on the same line and in the left margin of the next line: τ(ῶν) πε(ρὶ) ταῦτα φημὶ τέ(ως) ἱερωτ(ά)τ(ων) τοῦ πν(εύματο)ς. Additionally, other autograph interventions can be identified in the margins of ff. 256v and 258r.

Below I offer a critical edition and an English translation of Kokkinos' hitherto unedited *Introduction* to his *Logos* on All Saints (*BHG* 1617g). The critical edition of Kokkinos' lengthy *Logos* on All Saints (around 14,000 words) will be published in a forthcoming monograph together with the critical edition of his unedited *Logos* on the Holy Apostles (*BHG* 160h) (more than 20,000 words). For the current edition I follow closely the punctuation and the accentuation in M* and S*. Although the text is not an autograph, it was diligently read and corrected by Kokkinos. Therefore, the present edition aims at rendering the text as closely as possible to Kokkinos' version. With few exceptions, the three manuscripts (M*, S*, A*) agree on the punctuation, as well as on the accentuation of the enclitics. For instance, one of the exceptions is that M* and S* write ἥτις ἐστὶ, while A* accentuates ἥτίς ἐστι. Moreover, with regards to the oxytones, I have decided to

[1] On these manuscripts and their content, see *supra* Part I.2.
[2] See Appendix 6, plate 1.

retain the manuscript accentuation, namely that oxytone words keep their grave accent before any punctuation marks (for instance, l.10: παντὸς, l. 20: ὀνομαστὶ, l. 25: ἀρχὴν,) with the exception of the teleia.

Sigla

M *Marcianus gr.* 582

S *Mosquensis Bibl. Synod. gr.* 164

A Athens, EBE, *Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou* 504

Philotheos Kokkinos

Introduction to his *Logos* on All Saints (*BHG* 1617g)

Προθεωρία τοῦ λόγου, τοῦ εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας

Τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ σκοπός ἐστιν, οὐ τὸ τοὺς ἁγίους ἁπλῶς ἐγκωμιάσαι, οὐδὲ μερικῶς τι περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ἥτις ἐστὶ δεῖξαι καθόλου τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ καὶ τῆς θεώσεως τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως· ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων αἰτία κοινὴ καὶ ὑπόθεσις οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ διὰ σαρκὸς μέγα καὶ φρικτὸν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἰκονομίας μυστήριον, δι᾽ οὗ τῆς τε πρώτης ἀρᾶς καὶ τοῦ θανάτου ἡ φύσις ἐλευθερωθεῖσα, ζωῆς καὶ υἱοθεσίας καὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν ἠξιώθη τῇ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος ὑπερφυεῖ κοινωνίᾳ, καὶ διατοῦτο, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελετὴν τῶν τε παθῶν καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ἐπιδημίας, τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ταύτην ἑορτὴν ἐκτελεῖν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία παρέλαβεν, ὡς ἀποτέλεσμα καὶ σκοπὸν οὖσαν τοῦ μυστηρίου παντὸς, τούτου χάριν καὶ ὁ λόγος, προηγουμένως μὲν, διὰ βραχέων, τῆς προτέρας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραβάσεως καὶ καταδίκης μέμνηται· καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐφεξῆς καθυπερβολὴν ἐν τῷ γένει τῷ ἡμετέρῳ χεθείσης, καὶ μήτε νόμου, μήτε προφητῶν, οὐκ εὐεργεσιῶν, οὐ κολάσεων, ἰσχυσάντων τὴν ταύτης στῆσαι νομὴν, ἐδεήθημεν αὐτῆς τῆς διὰ σαρκὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιδημίας.

ἐνταῦθα δὲ γενόμενος, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἐπεξέρχεται ἀναγκαίως, σαφηνίζων ἅμα τὲ καὶ συντέμνων, ἀμφότερα καθ᾽ ὅσον ἐνδέχεται· εἶτα καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ὁ λόγος, εἰσάγει ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀρχόμενος καὶ εἰς μάρτυρας κατιὼν ἄνδρας τὲ καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους καθολικῶς· μέμνηται δὲ καί τινων ἀποστόλων καὶ μαρτύρων ὀνομαστὶ, ἀπὸ τῶν καιριωτέρων καὶ τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς θαύματος, αὔξων δηλαδὴ τὸ τοῦ μυστηρίου μέγα κατόρθωμα· καὶ τελευταῖον, εἰς αὐτὸ πάλιν ἐπάνεισι τὸ θεῖον μυστήριον, κατὰ δύναμιν ἐκθειάζων, καὶ τὸν λόγον τῆς τε ἐνταῦθα υἱοθεσίας καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἀθανασίας τὲ καὶ θεώσεως, τῷ πάντων αἰτίῳ λόγῳ καὶ Θεῷ ἐπιγράφων, καὶ τὴν πάντων ἀρχὴν ἀρχὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τέλος ποιούμενος.

tit. προθεωρία: ἡ ὑπόθεσις A | τοῦ εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας add. S **3** ἀνθρωπίνης: ἀνθρωπείας p.c. S **7** τελετὴν: τελευτὴν a.c. S

Philotheos Kokkinos

Introduction to his *Logos* on All Saints (*BHG* 1617g)

Introduction to the *Logos* on All Saints

The goal of the present account is neither to simply eulogize the saints, nor to say something in particular about them, but to show on the whole what is the cause of the sanctification and deification of human nature. But since the common cause and reason for these [is] nothing else than the great and awe-inspiring mystery of Christ's stewardship [of salvation] through flesh [that is, the Incarnation], through which [human] nature was freed from the first curse and death, and was deemed worthy of life, adoption as a son, and the Kingdom of Heaven through the extraordinary communion of the all-holy Spirit, and because of this also after the celebration of Christ's Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, and the arrival of the Holy Spirit [namely Pentecost], the Church of God undertook to celebrate this feast of [all] the saints, as it were a fulfilment and a goal of the whole mystery, for this reason [is] also the [present] account. On the one hand, it initially recalls briefly the first transgression and condemnation of man, and that because sin poured in excess into our [human] race and neither the law, nor the prophets, neither benefactions, nor retributions were able to halt the spreading of this [that is, of sin], we petitioned this arrival of God in the flesh.

On the other hand, after reaching this point, it [that is, my account] proceeds by necessity to particular examples, explaining and at the same time keeping it brief, both as much as possible. Then it introduces the saints on behalf of whom [is] the [present] account, starting from the Apostles, and coming down to the martyrs, both men and women, and in general all the saints. And then it recalls by name some of the Apostles and martyrs from the most important [of their deeds] and their wondrous [way of life], clearly glorifying the great [spiritual] achievement of the mystery. And finally, it returns again to the same divine mystery, extolling [it] to [the best of] its ability, and, ascribing [it] to the cause of all, [namely] the Logos and God, and making its own beginning and end the reason for the adoption as a son there and the future immortality and deification [of human nature] and the beginning of all.

Appendix 4: Transcription of Kokkinos' prayers to the emperors

The early fifteenth-century manuscript Sofia, *D. gr.* 89, a liturgical miscellany once in the possession of the Monastery of Panagia Acheiropoietos (also known as Kosinitsas or Eikosiphoinissas) on Mount Pangaios (located in eastern Macedonia)[1] and nowadays housed by the Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies "Prof. Ivan Dujčev" at Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski,[2] transmits a series of eight prayers (ff. 56r–73v) composed (and most likely delivered) by Kokkinos.[3] The codex carries other hymnographic texts by Kokkinos[4] and his contemporaries Demetrios Gemistos[5] and Nicholas Chamaetos Kabasilas.[6] Kokkinos' prayers, as transmitted by *D. gr.* 89 (f. 56r: τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Φιλοθέου εὐχαὶ διάφοροι), are as follows:

1.	ff. 56r–59r	εὐχὴ ἣν μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν εἶπεν εἰς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἄρτι πρώτως κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων συνήθειαν εἰσελθών	prayer which he addressed to the emperors after his ordination, after he had just made for the first time his entrance in the manner of the archpriests
2.	ff. 59r–60r	εὐχὴ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα	prayer to the emperor
3.	ff. 60r–63r	εὐχὴ ἐπιβατήριος, ἣν εἶπεν ὅτε πρῶτον εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἡράκλειαν	festal prayer which he said when he first entered Herakleia
4.	ff. 63r–64v	εὐχὴ εὐχαριστήριος ὁμοῦ καὶ ἱκετήριος	prayer of thanksgiving and supplication
5.	ff. 64v–67v	εὐχαὶ ἱκετήριοι συντεθεῖσαι ἐπὶ τῇ φοβερᾷ καὶ παγκοσμίῳ πληγῇ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἀναγινωσκόμεναι ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς	prayers of supplication for times of deadly disasters (plague, war)
6.	ff. 67v–69r	εὐχὴ λεγομένη ἐν τῇ λιτῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἰνδίκτου	prayer said in supplication at the beginning of the indiction
7.	ff. 69v–71v	εὐχὴ εἰς ἀνομβρίαν	prayer for times of drought
8.	ff. 71v–73v	εὐχὴ μετανοίας καὶ δεήσεως λεγομένη ἐν λιτῇ	prayer of repentance and entreaty said in supplication

[1] Glabinas, "Το Μοναστήρι της Εικοσιφοίνισσας," *ΕΕΘΣΠΘ* 2 (1991/92): 9–111.
[2] See Getov et al., *Κατάλογος*, 17–22; idem, *Catalogue*, 198–202.
[3] I am very grateful to Dr. Vasya Velinova for sending me digital reproductions of these folios.
[4] The codex transmits Kokkinos' *stichera* on Theodore Stratelates and Theodore Teron (ff. 73v–74r) and two suppliant *kanones* to Christ against internal and external enmities, and deadly disasters (ff. 74r–81v).
[5] Gemistos was patriarchal notary and deacon at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. He composed a *Διάταξις τῆς τοῦ πατριάρχου λειτουργίας* that survived in numerous manuscripts, among which Sofia *D. gr.* 89, ff. 122r–160r. This *diataxis* outlines the role of the patriarch and other members of the patriarchal chancery during the Divine Liturgy and different rites of ordination. A note on the upper margin of f. 3r of the late fourteenth-century *Vatopedi* 135, copied shortly after the composition of this *diataxis*, dates Gemistos' composition to August 1386. In his unpublished dissertation on "The 14th century patriarchal liturgical *diataxis* of Dimitrios Gemistos," Rentel shows that Gemistos used extensively an Athonite *diataxis* of the Divine Liturgy which became associated with, although not composed by, Kokkinos; see further Rentel, "The origins," 363–385.
[6] *D. gr.* 89, ff. 162r–239v, transmits Kabasilas' *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*.

I offer below the transcription of the first two prayers transmitted in *D. gr.* 89, ff. 56r–60r. They were addressed by Kokkinos to emperors John VI Kantakouzenos and John V Palaiologos after he was ordained metropolitan of Herakleia by Patriarch Isidore Boucheir. For the second prayer I have also collated *Mosq.* 349*, f. 57.[7]

Sigla

D Sofia, *D. gr*. 89

S *Mosq. Bibl. Synod. gr*. 349

[7] On *Mosq*. 349*, see *supra* Part I.2. For catalogue descriptions, see Archimandrite Vladimir, *Систематическое*, 651–652; Fonkič, Polyakov, *Greek manuscripts*, 140–141.

Philotheos Kokkinos

Prayer which he addressed to the emperors after his ordination, after he had just made for the first time his entrance in the manner of the archpriests

Εὐχὴ ἣν μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν εἶπεν εἰς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἄρτι πρώτως κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων συνήθειαν εἰσελθών

Ὁ Θεός, ὁ σωτήρ ἡμῶν, ἡ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας προαιώνιος καὶ ἀΐδιος ἀρχή, δι᾽ οὗ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσι καὶ δυνάσται κρατοῦσι γῆς, ὁ τῷ παρὰ σοῦ δημιουργηθέντι κόσμῳ κόσμον καὶ τάξιν ἀρίστην διὰ τῆς καθέκαστον ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας παρασχόμενος, καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἁπλαῖς φύσεσιν ἁπλῆν καὶ μονοειδῆ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστήσας, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐκ πνεύματος καὶ σαρκὸς συντεθειμένοις καὶ ταύτην καταλλήλως διπλῆν καταστήσας, ἵνα δι᾽ ἀμφοτέρων τῆς τε νομίμου βασιλείας καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς προστασίας, ἀμφοτέρωθεν καταρτιζόμενον διασῴζοιτό σοι τὸ λογικὸν τοῦτο ποίμνιον, ὅπερ τῷ σταυρῷ καὶ τῷ τιμίῳ σου αἵματι περιεποιήσω, ὁ καὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον ἐμὲ σοφίας κρυπτοῖς λόγοις, διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης χρίσματος ἐπιστήσας τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς τούτοις οἰκονόμοις καὶ μεσίταις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν συναριθμήσας, πρόσδεξαί μου τὴν ἀπὸ συντετριμμένου πνεύματος προσφερομένην σοι δέησιν ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ.

καὶ φύλαξον τοὺς δούλους σου τοὺς πιστοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν, οὓς βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐδικαίωσας ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ· τοὺς ἔξωθεν πολέμους τῇ ἀμάχῳ σου δυνάμει κατάλυσον, πᾶσαν βαρβαρικὴν ἀπελαύνων πλεονεξίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπερήφανον ἐκείνων γνώμην καὶ τὴν ὀφρὺν τοῖς τούτων ποσὶν ὑποτάσσων, τὰς ἐμφυλίους στάσεις καὶ τοὺς θορύβους, οἱονεί τινα καπνὸν ἔνδον εἱλούμενον, καὶ τῷ διακριτικῷ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν ἐπισκοτοῦντα, τῷ τῆς χάριτός σου φωτὶ καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐντολῶν ζωτικαῖς αὔραις, ὡς ἀγαθὸς διασκέδασον, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἀλλήλους καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς βασιλέας ὑποταγὴν γνησίως ἐπιγινώσκοιεν ἅπαντες· καὶ ὥσπερ τὴν παρελθοῦσαν φοβερὰν τῶν πειρασμῶν φλόγα πρὸς μέγιστον ὕψος ἀρθεῖσαν, καὶ τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην σχεδὸν εἰς τέλος λυμηναμένην νεύματί σου μόνῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν

1–2 cf. Palamas, *εὐχὴ ἣν μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ὀφθεὶς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι συνήθως ηὔξατο* 1.3–4 (PS V, 269): δι᾽ οὗ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσι καὶ ἄρχοντες κρατοῦσι γῆς

ἐλπίδα κατέσβεσας, καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡμῶν εἰρηνικὸν ὑπὲρ πάντα λόγον τὸ κράτος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπέδωκας, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς ἐναπολειφθέντας ἐκεῖθεν ὀλίγους ἄνθρακας καὶ τὸν καπνὸν ἐκ μέσου τελείως ποίησον· τὸ μέγα τῆς εἰρήνης χρῆμα καὶ ὁμονοίας, τὸν ὑπέρτιμον καὶ ἐξαίρετον πλοῦτον, ὃν ὡσπερεί τινα πατερικὸν κλῆρον τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς καταλέλοιπας, κακῶς παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀποβληθέντα διὰ πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν, τοῖς χρηστοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικέσι βασιλεῦσιν ἡμῶν, δαψιλέστερον ἀνασωθῆναι τῇ σῇ χρηστότητι καταξίωσον.

δός, δέσποτα, τοὺς μὲν πιστοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν, ὡς εἰς ἀρχέτυπον ὁρῶντας εἰκόνα τὴν σὴν ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μακροθυμίαν, καὶ τὸ συμπαθὲς πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους, τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀρετὴν διαπαντὸς αὔξειν, ἀναβάσεις ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ καλῶς διατιθεμένους· τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ χεῖρα πᾶσιν, αὐτοὺς εἰκόνα καὶ ἀρχέτυπον ἀγαθῆς πολιτείας προκεῖσθαι, βασιλεῖς ὄντως καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιγείους χρηματίζοντας καταχάριν, τῇ καταδύναμιν ἐκμιμήσει σοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ μόνου Θεοῦ τε καὶ βασιλέως.

ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ πρὸ πάντων, τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτῶν θειότατον ζῆλον, ἀκράδαντον καὶ ἀκλινῆ διατήρησον, φύλακας καὶ προστάτας αὐτοὺς ἰσχυροὺς τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ παντουργοῦ σου Πνεύματος ἐργαζόμενος· αὐτὴν δὲ ταύτην, εἰρηνικὴν κατὰ πάντα καὶ ἀστασίαστον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡμῶν χάρισαι, σχίσματος καὶ σκανδάλου παντὸς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀρρωστημάτων, οἱονεί τινος ἱερᾶς νόσου καὶ λοιμώδους φθορᾶς αὐτὴν ἀπαλλάττων· ὅπως τῆς ἐκκλησίας τε καὶ τῆς βασιλείας, καταλλήλως ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων στηριζομένων τε καὶ συνισταμένων, ἀκολούθως καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τοῦ χριστωνύμου λαοῦ σώματι, ὥσπερ ἐξ ὑγιαινούσης κεφαλῆς καὶ καρδίας, τὰ τῆς ζωτικῆς δυνάμεως χορηγῆται, καὶ ζῇ μὲν τὸ ὑπήκοον καλῶς ἐν τοῖς σεπτοῖς ἡμῶν βασιλεῦσι, τὴν πρέπουσαν χριστιανοῖς ζωὴν ἐνδιαιτωμένοις τῷ κόσμῳ, ζῶσι δὲ καὶ οἱ φιλόχριστοι βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ζωὴν εἰρηνικήν τε καὶ ἀστασίαστον καὶ βασιλικὴν ὄντως, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλοντι τὴν ὄντως ἀληθινήν τε καὶ ἀδιάδοχον, κληρονόμοι δεικνύμενοι τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν ἐκείνων· πρεσβείαις τῆς ὑπερευλογημένης Θεοτόκου, εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ χάριτι τοῦ ἀνάρχου καὶ ὁμοτίμου σου Πατρός, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

Philotheos Kokkinos

Prayer to the Emperor (for the emperors)

Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα

Δέσποτα Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἡ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας ἄναρχος βασιλεία καὶ ἀρχή, δι᾽ οὗ βασιλεῖς τε καὶ ἄρχοντες ἄρχουσι καὶ βασιλεύουσι τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τεταγμένων, ἡ δημιουργὸς καὶ συνεκτικὴ τῶν ὄντων δύναμις, ὁ τῷ συναϊδίῳ καὶ συμφυεῖ σου Λόγῳ καὶ τῷ ὁμοτίμῳ Πνεύματι, ἐκ μὴ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα παραγαγών, σῶσον τοὺς δούλους σου τοὺς πιστοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν, οὓς ἐδικαίωσας βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ὅπλισον αὐτοὺς ταῖς γενικωτάταις καὶ βασιλικαῖς τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἀνδρίᾳ φημὶ καὶ φρονήσει, σωφροσύνῃ τε καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἵνα δυνηθῶσιν ἀντιστῆναι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πονηρᾷ πρὸς τὰς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου, πρὸς τὸν ἀόρατον καὶ ὁρώμενον πόλεμον τῶν νοητῶν τε καὶ ὁρωμένων ἐχθρῶν· ἐνίσχυσον αὐτῶν τὸν βραχίονα· κράτυνον αὐτῶν τὴν δεξιάν· περίζωσον αὐτοὺς δύναμιν ἐξ ὕψους κατὰ πάντων τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων σου τῇ κληρονομίᾳ, ὁρᾷς ὅπως διεφθαρμένῃ καὶ ἠφανισμένῃ, φιλάνθρωπε δέσποτα.

λάλησον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου· δώρησαι τούτοις ὑγείαν εἰλικρινῆ καὶ δύναμιν ἄμαχον, τῆς σῆς κληρονομίας προθυμουμένοις πάσῃ δυνάμει προΐστασθαι καὶ προπολεμεῖν· χάρισαι αὐτοῖς τὴν δεδομένην ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ βασίλειον κράτος εἰρηνικόν τε καὶ ἀστασίαστον, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ γαλήνῃ αὐτῶν ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν, ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι· εὐχαῖς καὶ πρεσβείαις τῆς ὑπερευλογημένης Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων σου τῶν ἁγίων, εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ ἀγαθότητι τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ, μεθ᾽ οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

1 ἄναρχος S **2-3** cf. Kokkinos, *εὐχὴ ἣν μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν* 2; Palamas, *εὐχὴ ἣν μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν* 1.3–4 (PS V, 269) **6** ὅπλησον S **9** ὁρώμενον: ὀρόμενον S **11** ὁρᾷς S **13** ὑπὲρ: διὰ D **14** ὑγίαν S **15** πάσῃ: πάσι | προπολεμεῖν: προπολεμῆν S

Appendix 5: The 'author's edition' *Marc. gr.* 582: content and autograph interventions

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***Marcianus graecus* 582**			
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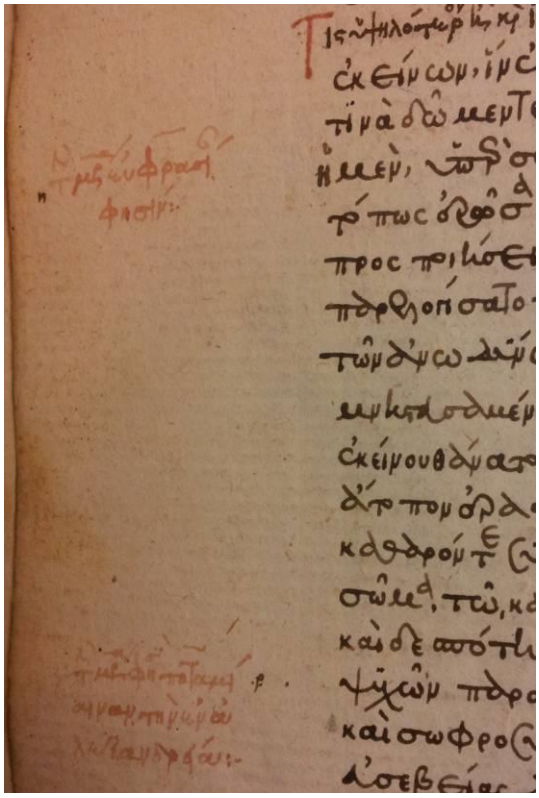
1	3r–23v	PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS	*Logos* on All Saints (*BHG* 1617g)
2	23v–42r		*Bios kai martyrion* of St. Febronia (*BHG* 659g)
3	42r–51r		*Logos* on St. Anysia of Thessalonike (*BHG* 146)
4	51r–136v		*Life* of St. Sabas (Tziskos) the Younger (*BHG* 1606)
5	137rv	THEODORET OF CYRRHUS	*Philotheos Historia* (*BHG* 1439–1440) (excerpts)
		PALLADIOS	*Historia Lausiaca* (*BHG* 1435–1438) (excerpts)
			Apophthegmata Patrum (*CPG* 5560) (excerpts)
		JOHN CHRYSOSTOM	*In Matthaeum homilia* 21 (*CPG* 4424) (excerpt)
6	138r–178v	PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS	Two *logoi dogmatikoi* against Akindynos on the Tabor Light
7	179r–185v		*Confession* of the Orthodox faith
8	186r–213v		*Life* of St. Germanos (Maroules) the Athonite (*BHG* 2164)
9	214r–255v		*Life* of St. Isidore Boucheir (*BHG* 962)
10	255v–285r		Three *logoi* on Proverbs 9:1
11	285v–298r		Two *logoi* on the Sunday of the crippled woman (Luke 13:10–17)
12	298r–306r		*Enkomion* of St. Phokas (*BHG* 1537d)
13	307r–321v		*Logos historikos* on the capture of Herakleia
14	322r–327r		*Letter* to the Herakleians
15	327r–335r		14 *kephalaia* against Akindynos and Barlaam
16	337r–349r		*Bios kai politeia* of St. Onouphrios (*BHG* 1380)
17	349rv		*Akolouthia* for All Saints
18	349v–352r		*Kanon* on All Saints
19	352v–353r		*Kanon* on St. Demetrios of Thessalonike
20	354r–390v		Two *logoi* on Psalm 37
21	392r–422r		*Logos enkomiastikos* on the Holy Apostles (*BHG* 160h)

A selection of Kokkinos' autograph interventions in *Marc. gr*. 582[1]

Logos on All Saints

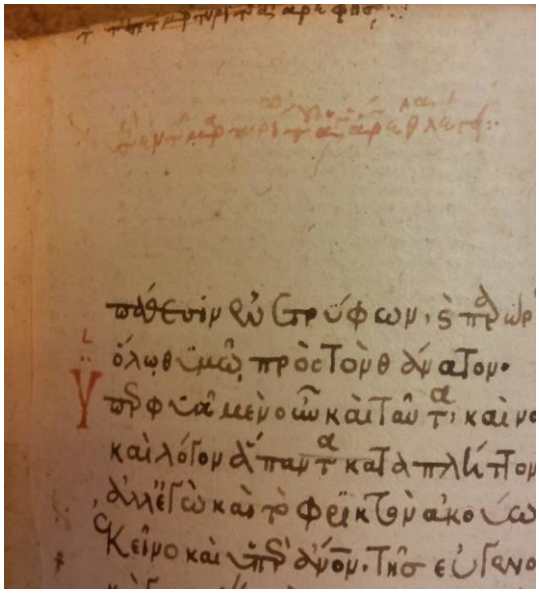
f. 18v, left column, marginal notes



τὴν μάρτυρα Εὐφρασίαν φησίν

τὴν μάρτυρα φησὶ Ποταμίαιναν
τὴν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ

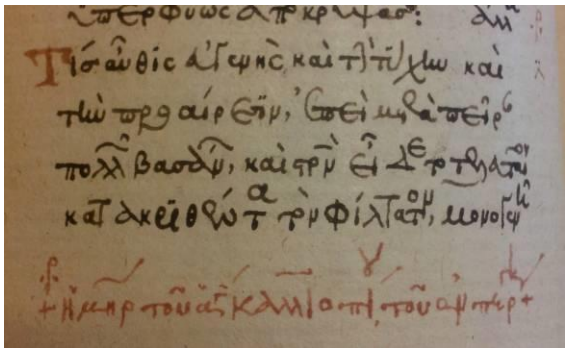
f. 19r, left column, marginal note



τὴν ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀρέθα λέγει

[1] The photographic reproductions were taken by the author upon the autopsy of *M** in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Venice) and from the microfilm VEN.2.22 of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (Washington, D.C.).

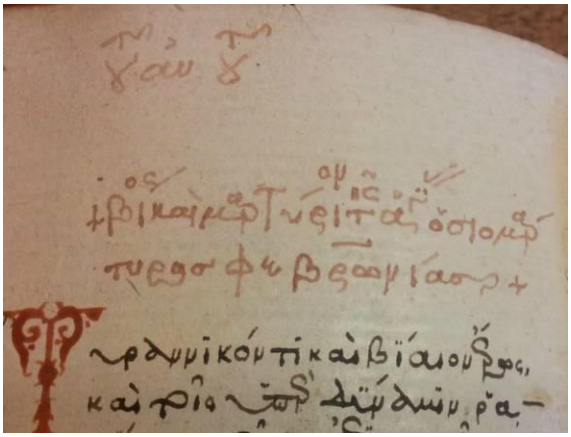
f. 19v, lower side, right column, marginal note



† ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ ἁγίου Καλλιοπίου τοῦ ἐν Πέργῃ †

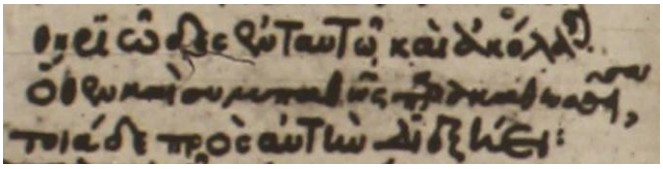
<u>*Bios kai martyrion* of St. Febronia</u>

f. 23v, upper side, right column, title



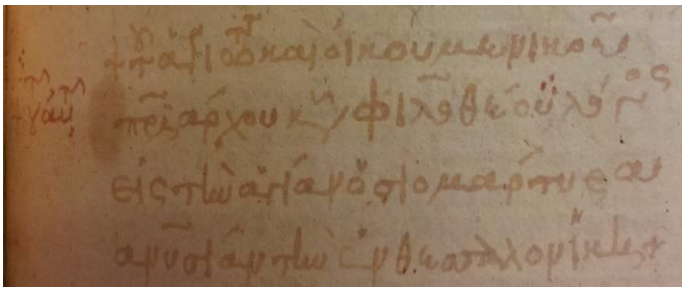
†βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας ὁσιομάρτυρος Φεβρωνίας †

f. 31v, middle, right column, correction *in rasura*



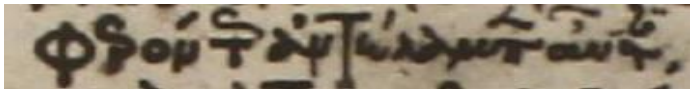
<u>*Logos* on St. Anysia of Thessalonike</u>

f. 42r, lower side, left column, title

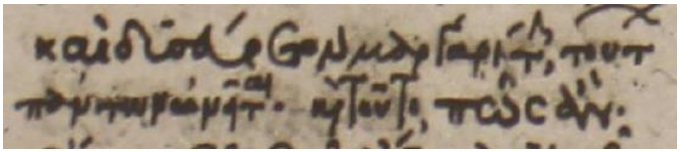


† τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Φιλοθέου λόγος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ὁσιομάρτυρα Ἀνυσίαν τὴν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ †

f. 45r, upper side, left column, correction *in rasura*

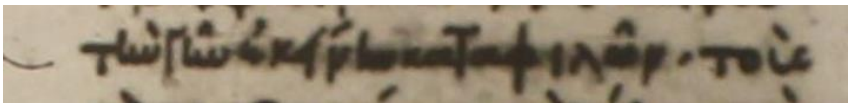


f. 45v, lower side, right column, correction *in rasura*

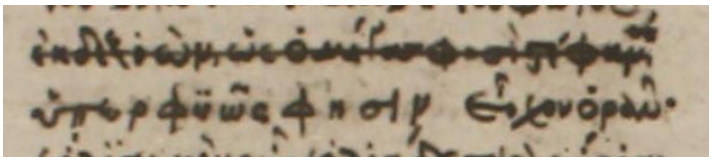


Life of St. Sabas

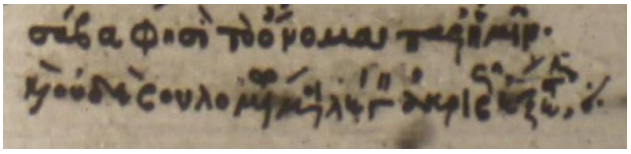
f. 79r, upper side, left column, correction *in rasura*



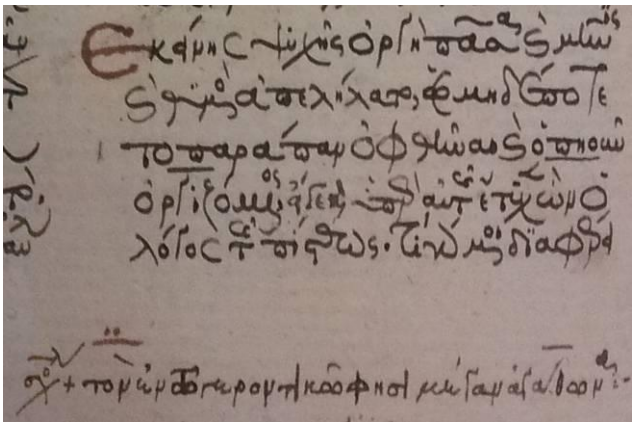
f. 90v, upper side, right column, crossing out text



f. 91r, lower side, left column, addition of missing text



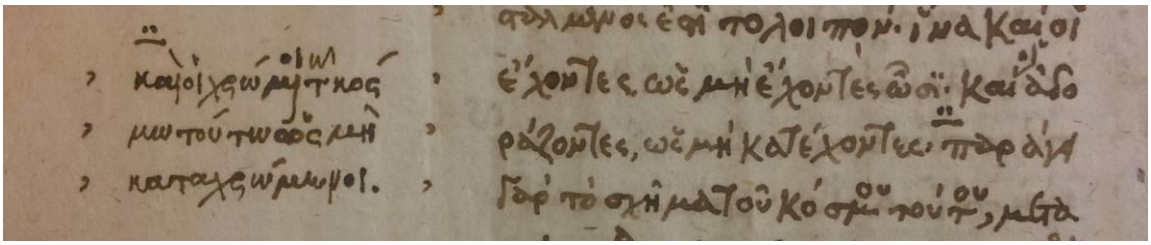
f. 133v, lower side, right column *scholion* to the *v.Sab*. 81.28–34 (Tsames, 319–320)



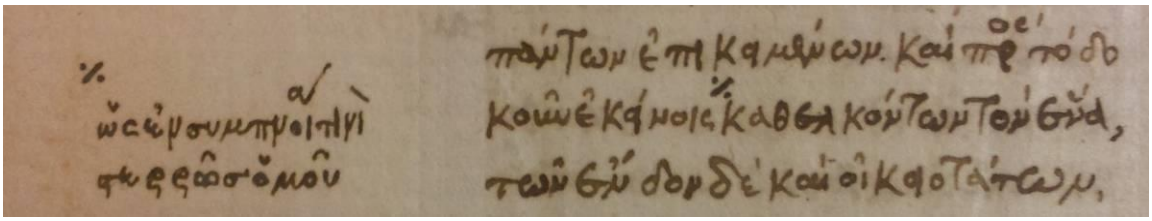
σχόλιον· † τὸν ἐν τῷ γεροντικῷ φησι μέγαν Ἀγάθωνα

Life of St. Germanos

f. 194v, middle, left column, addition of missing text, *v.Germ*. 14.48–49 (Tsames, 116): “καὶ οἱ χρώμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ ὡς μὴ καταχρώμενοι” [1 Cor 7:31]



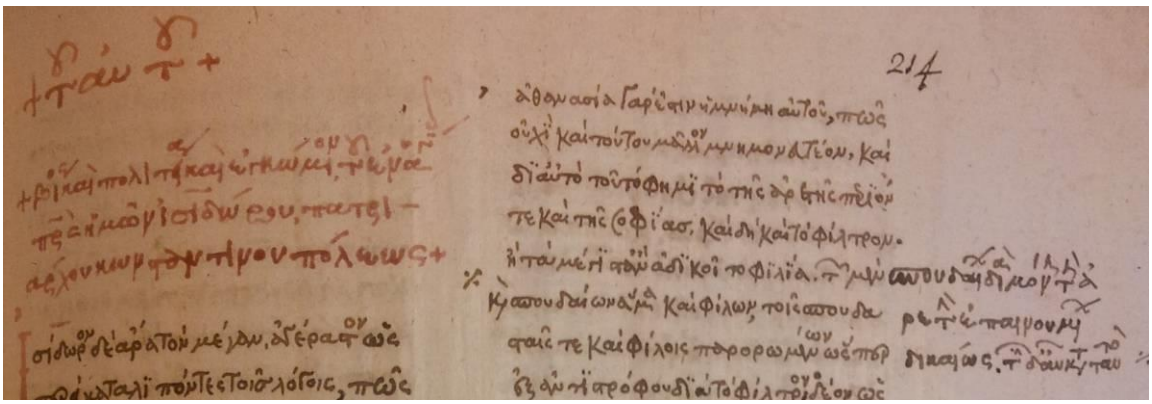
f. 198v, upper part, left column, addition of missing text, *v.Germ*. 21.16 (Tsames, 125): ὡς ἐν συμπνοίᾳ τινὶ στερρῶς ὁμοῦ



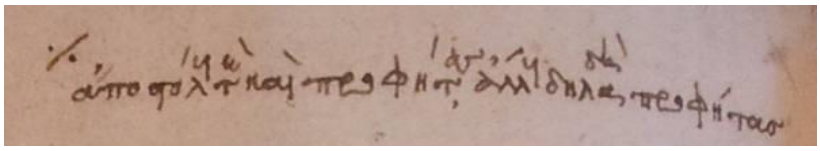
Life of St. Isidore

f. 214r, upper part, left column, title
† Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ ἐγκώμιον τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰσιδώρου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως †

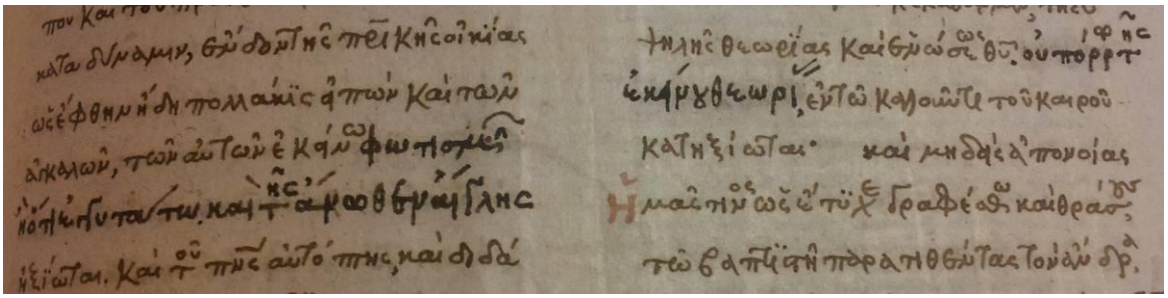
right column, addition of missing text, *v.Isid*. 1.19–20 (Tsames, 330)
σπουδαίων διὰ μόνην τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπαινουμένων δικαίως, τῶν δ’ αὖ κατὰ ταυτὸ



f. 218v, upper part, right column, addition of missing text, *v.Isid*. 9.18–19 (Tsames, 341): ἀποστόλους τὲ καὶ προφήτας, ἄλλους δηλαδὴ προφήτας

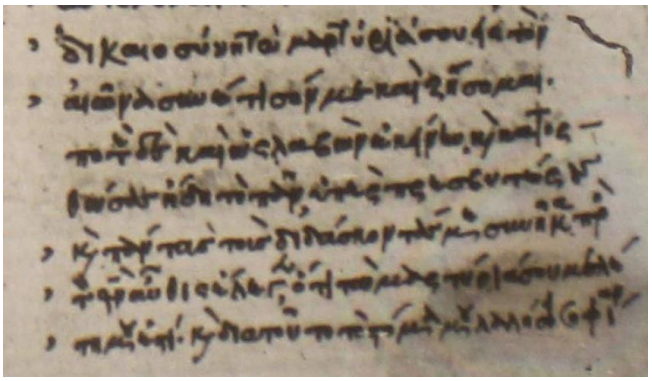


f. 223r, corrections *in rasura*

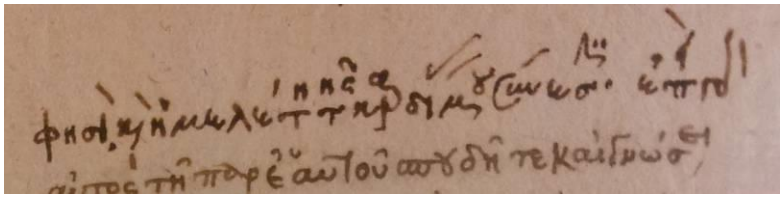


<u>*Logos* 2 on Proverbs 9:1</u>

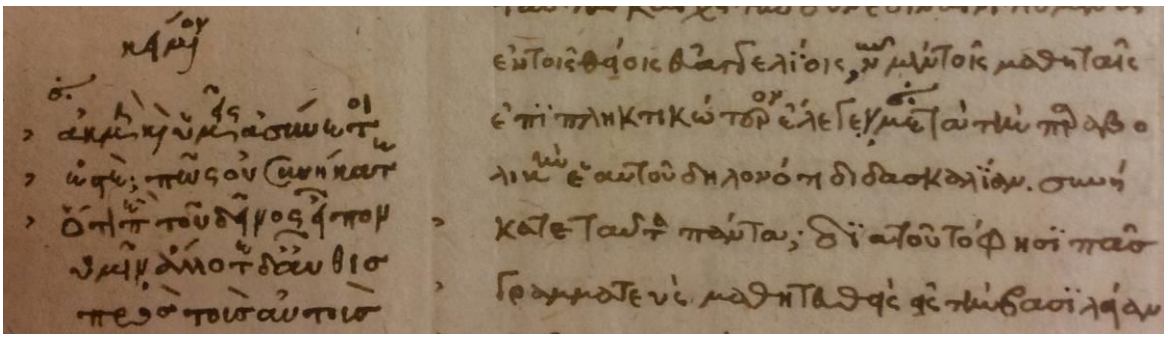
f. 270r, lower part, right column, addition of missing text, *Logos* 2.543–548 (Pseutonkas, 111–112)



f. 270v, addition of missing text, *Logos* 2.554–556 (Pseutonkas, 112)

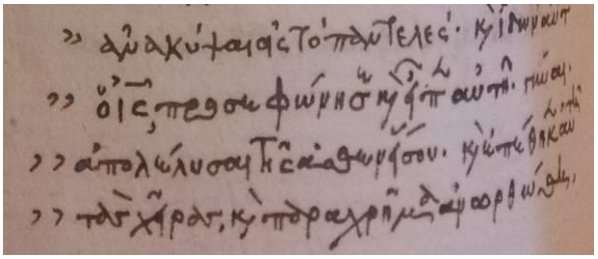


f. 270v, addition of missing text, *Logos* 2.554–556 (Pseutonkas, 112)



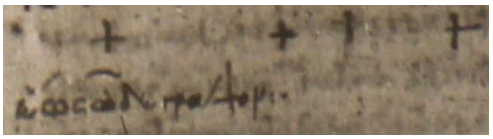
Logos 1 on the Sunday of the crippled woman

f. 288v, lower part, right column, addition of missing text, *Logos* 1.242–245 (Pseutonkas, 209)



After the *Life* of St. Onouphrios

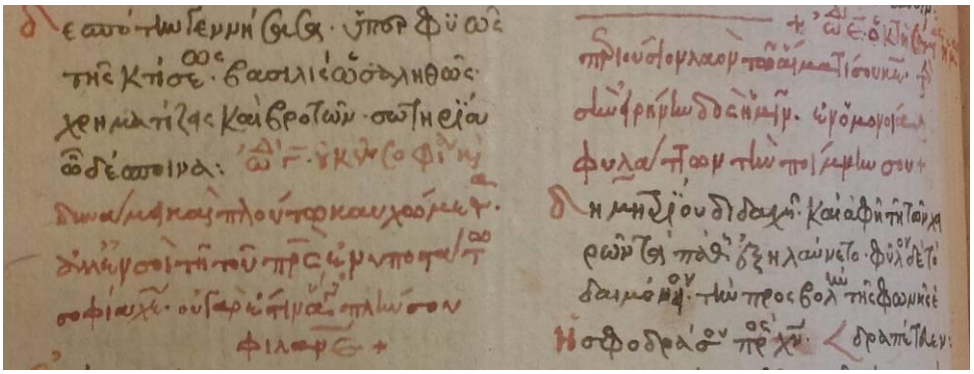
f. 349r, lower part, left column, marginal note: ἕως ὧδε γράψον

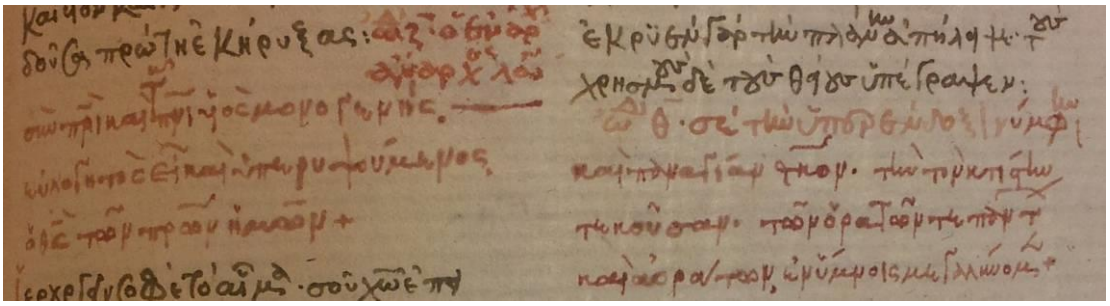


Kanon on St. Demetrios of Thessalonike

ff. 352v, 353r

copying text (red ink) in collaboration with Malachias (brown ink)





Appendix 6: Manuscript plates

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3. Moscow State Historical Museum (GIM), *Mosq. Bibl. Synod. gr*. 164, f. 48v
4. Moscow State Historical Museum (GIM), *Mosq. Bibl. Synod. gr*. 164, ff. 49v, 50r
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10. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, *Monacensis graecus* 466, f. 171r
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12. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, *Monacensis graecus* 466, f. 178v

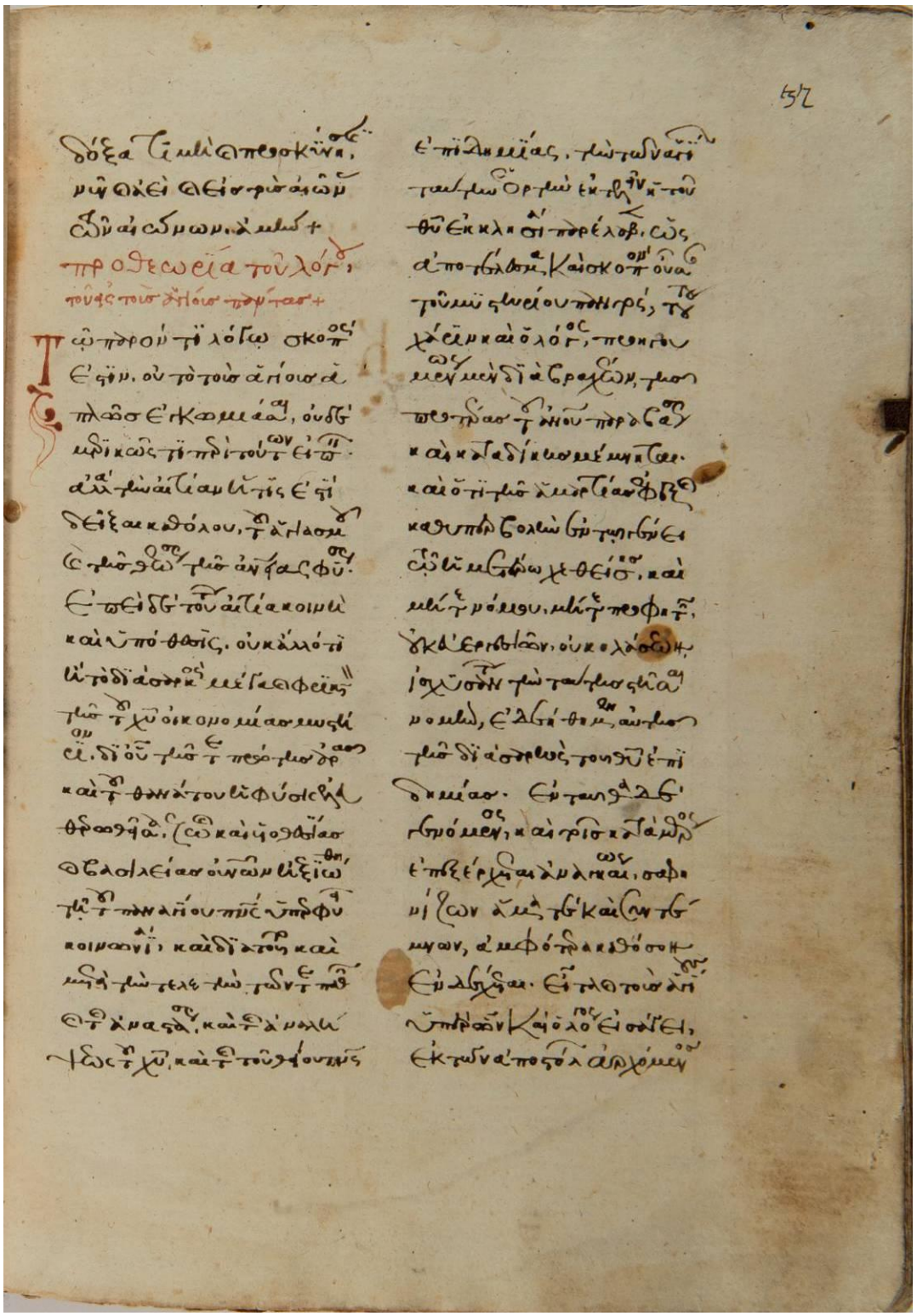

Plate 1
Moscow State Historical Museum (GIM), *Mosq. Bibl. Synod. gr*. 164, f. 37r

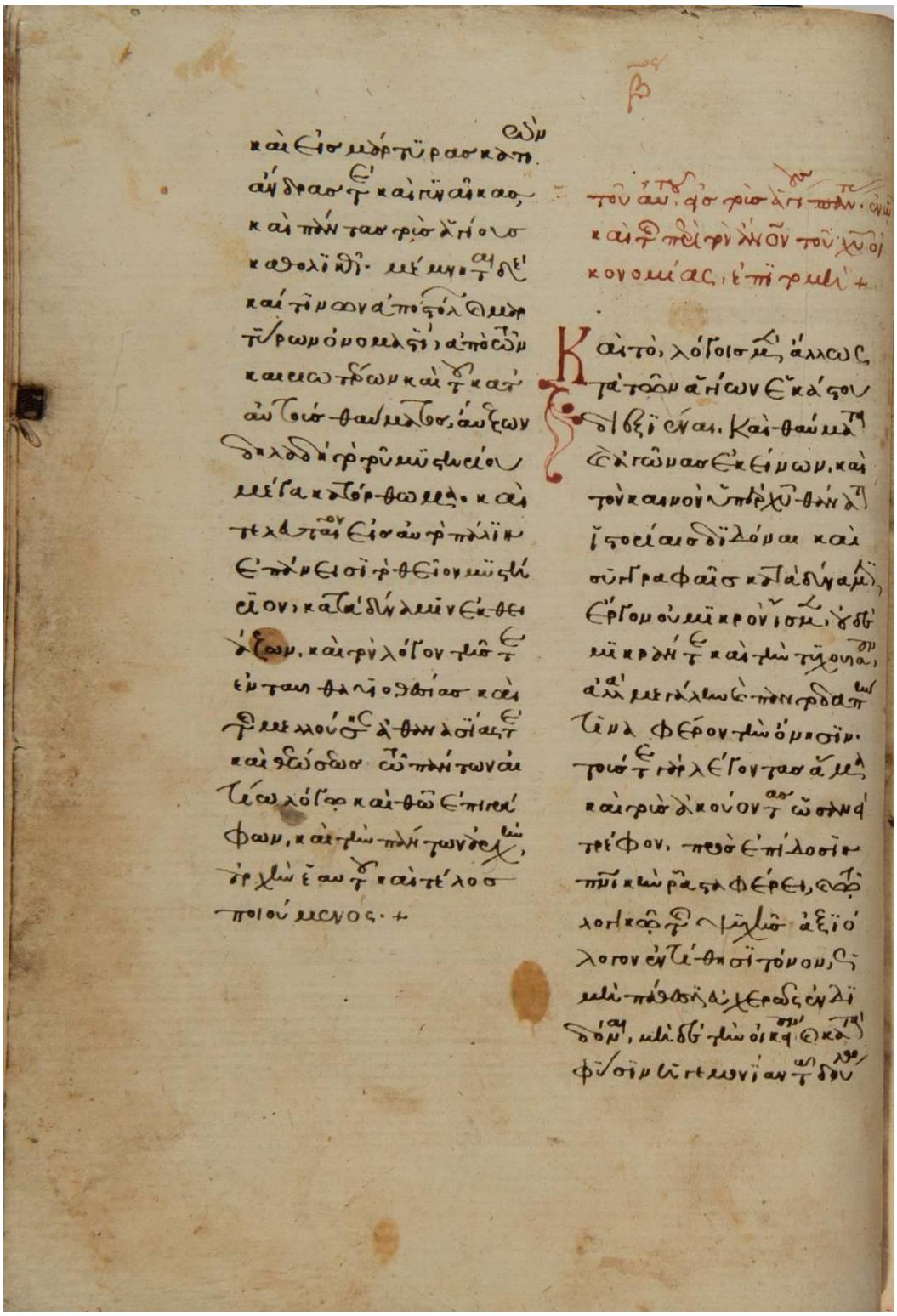

Plate 2
Moscow State Historical Museum (GIM), *Mosq. Bibl. Synod. gr*. 164, f. 37v

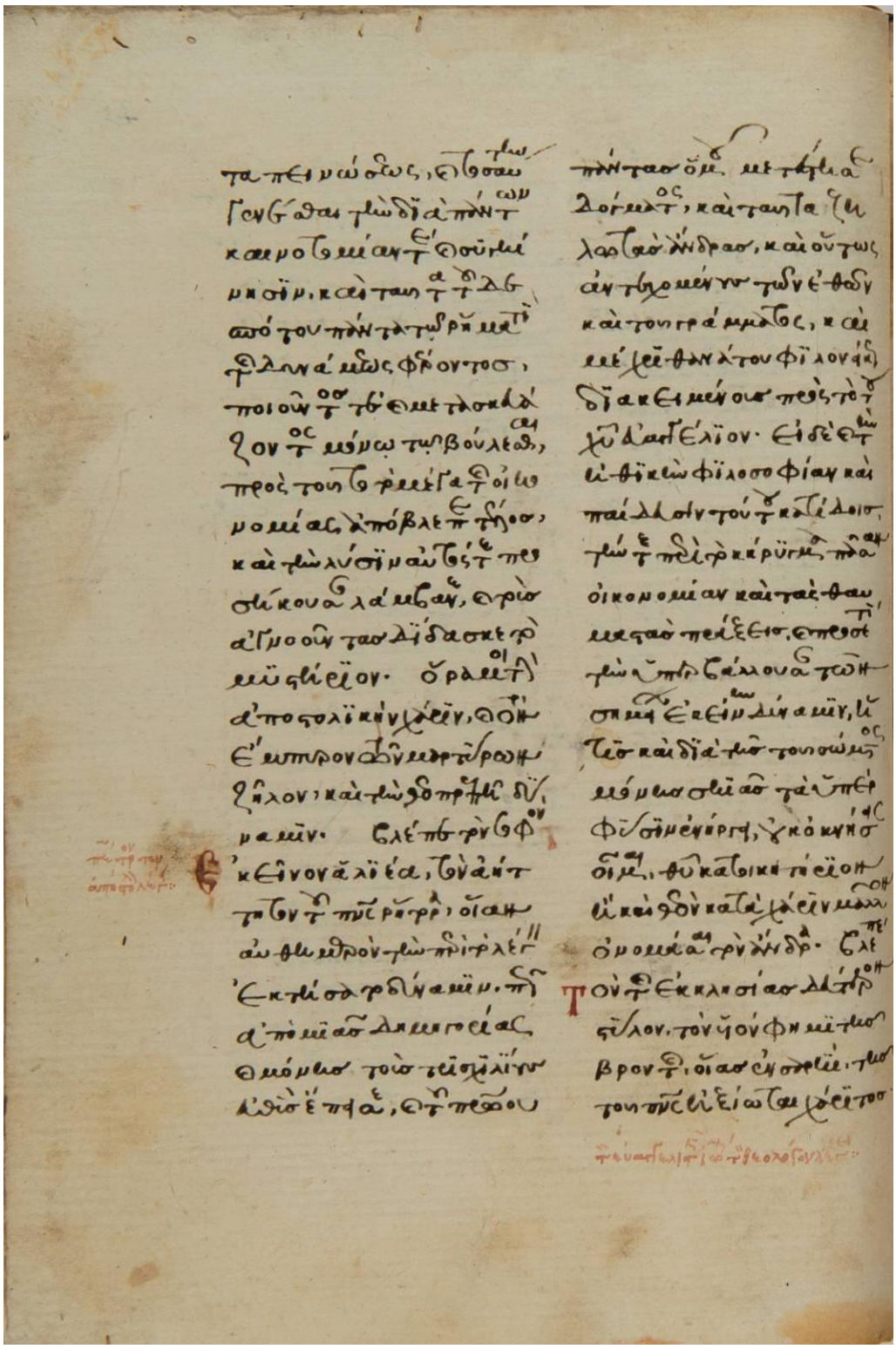

Plate 3
Moscow State Historical Museum (GIM), *Mosq. Bibl. Synod. gr*. 164, f. 48v

Plate 4
Moscow State Historical Museum (GIM), *Mosq. Bibl. Synod. gr*. 164, ff. 49v, 50r

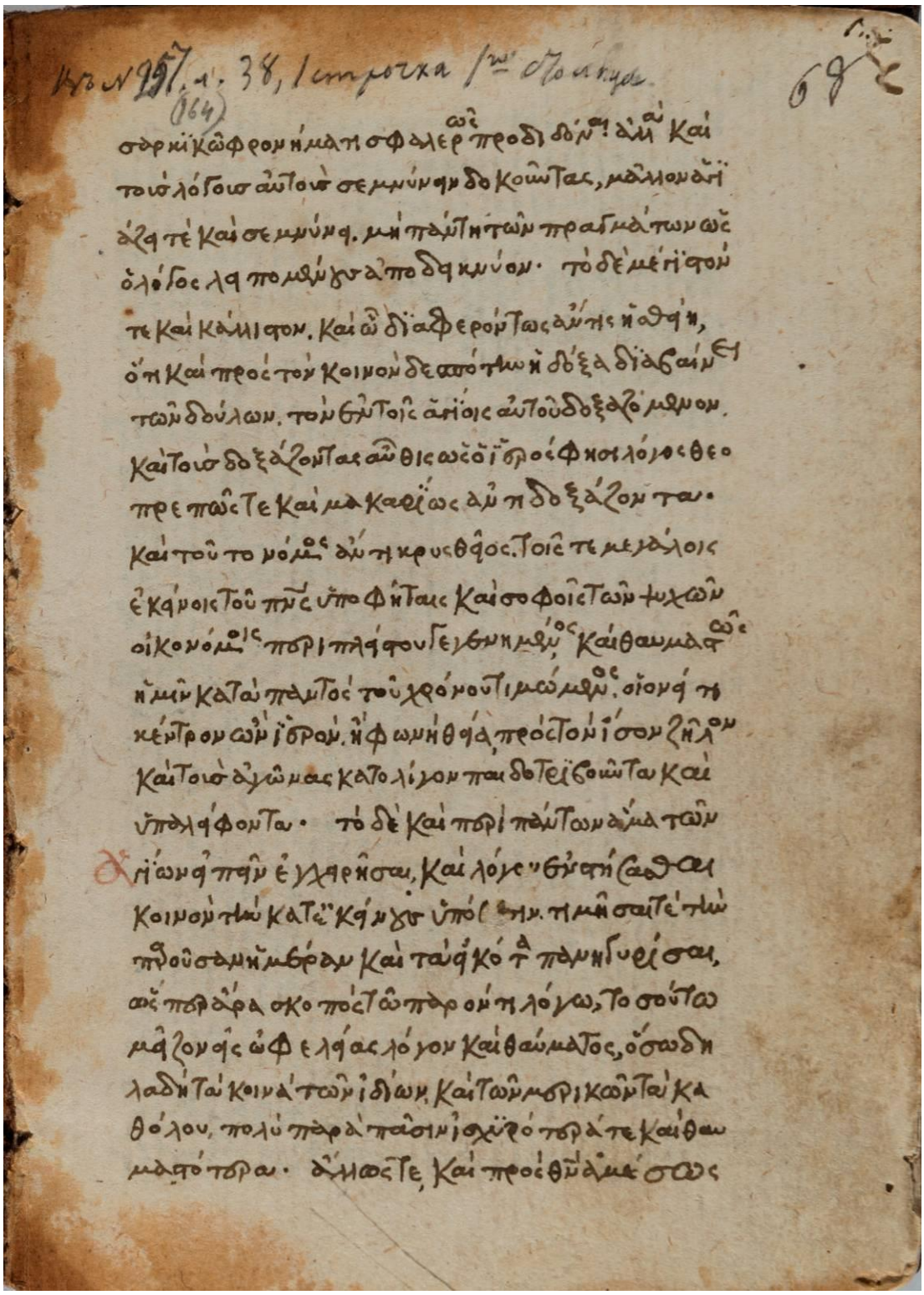

Plate 5
Moscow State Historical Museum (GIM), *Mosq. Bibl. Synod. gr*. 349, f. 68r

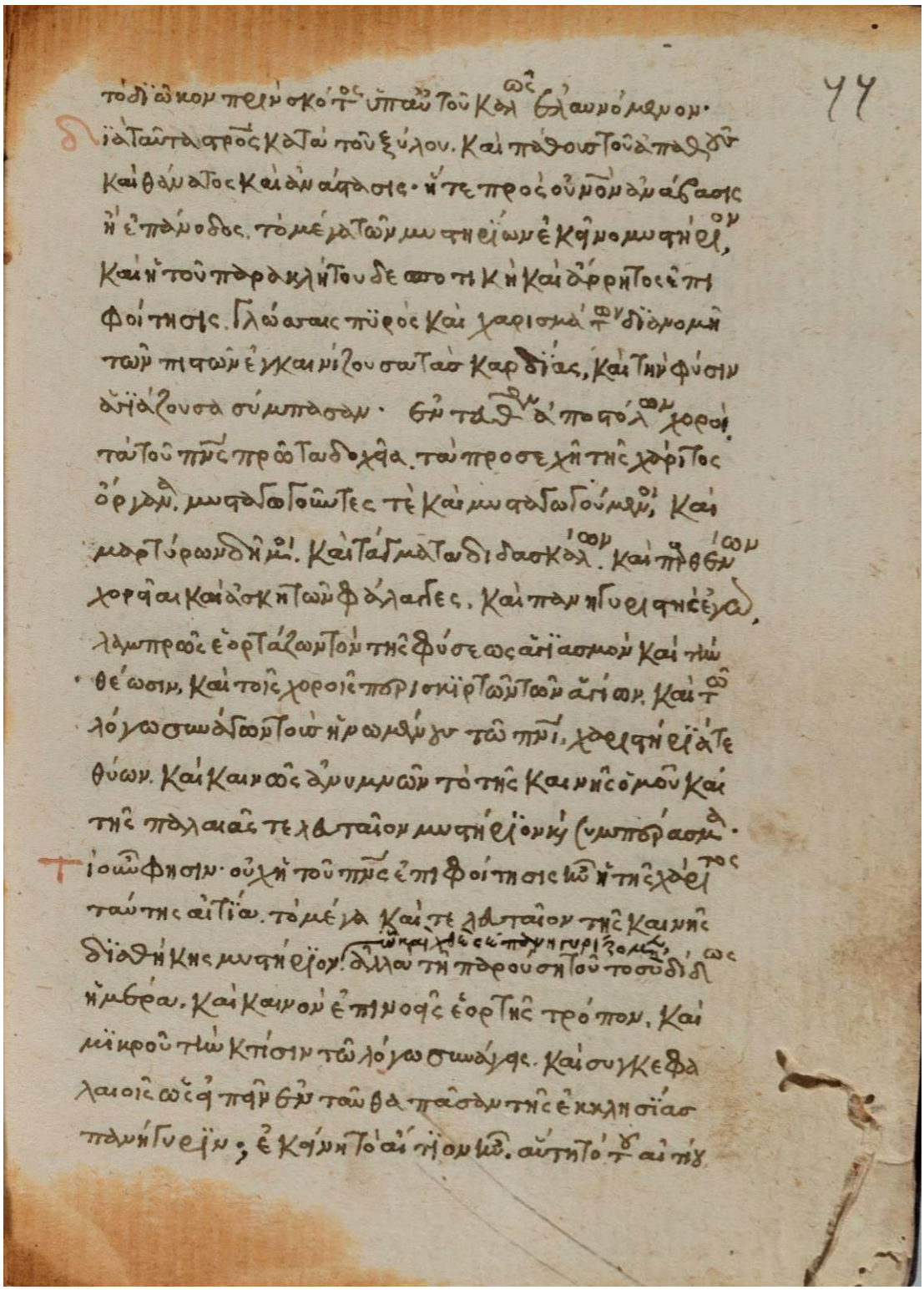

Plate 6
Moscow State Historical Museum (GIM), *Mosq. Bibl. Synod. gr*. 349, f. 77r

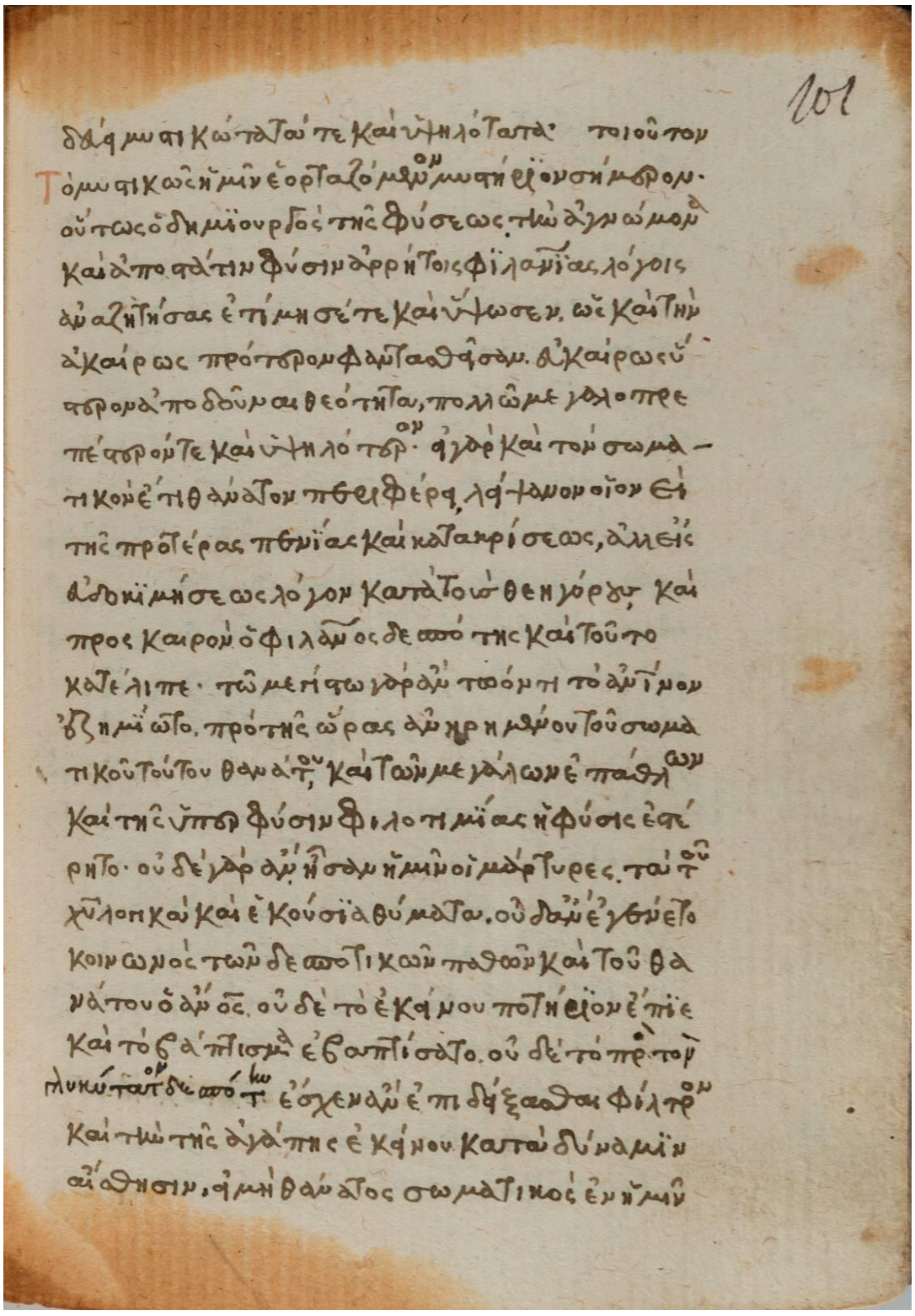

Plate 7
Moscow State Historical Museum (GIM), *Mosq. Bibl. Synod. gr*. 349, f. 101r

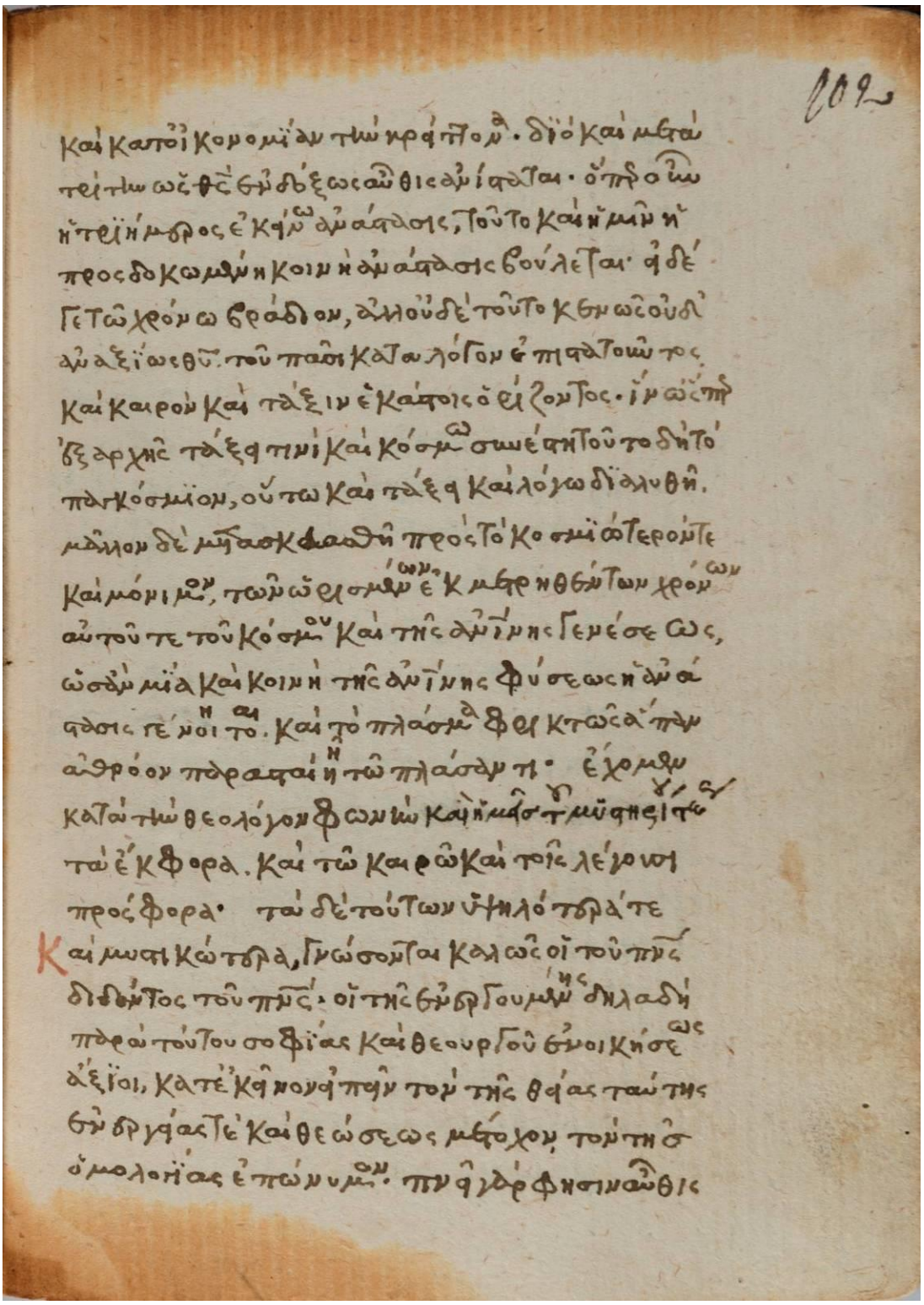

Plate 8
Moscow State Historical Museum (GIM), *Mosq. Bibl. Synod. gr*. 349, f. 102r

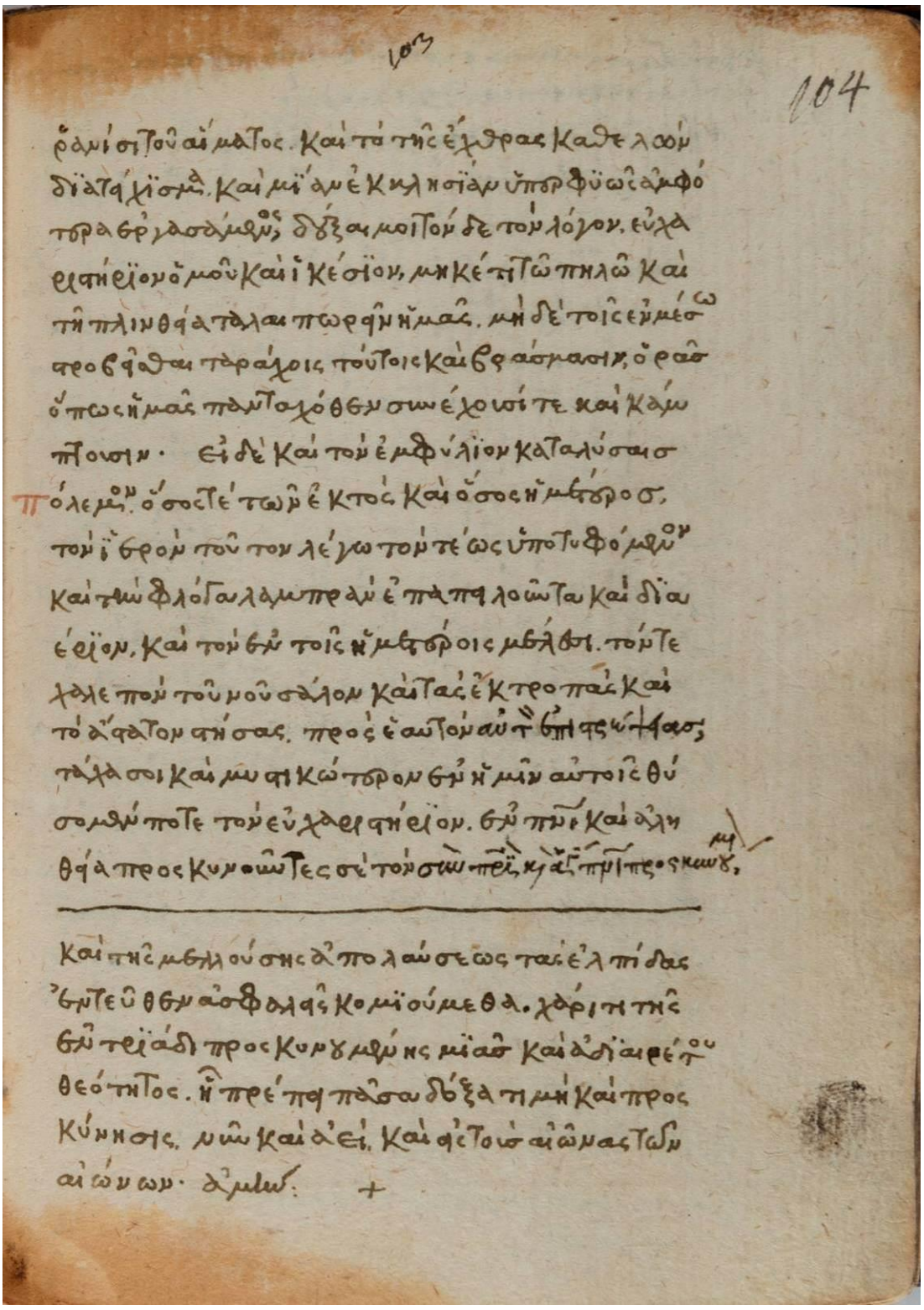

Plate 9
Moscow State Historical Museum (GIM), *Mosq. Bibl. Synod. gr*. 349, f. 104r

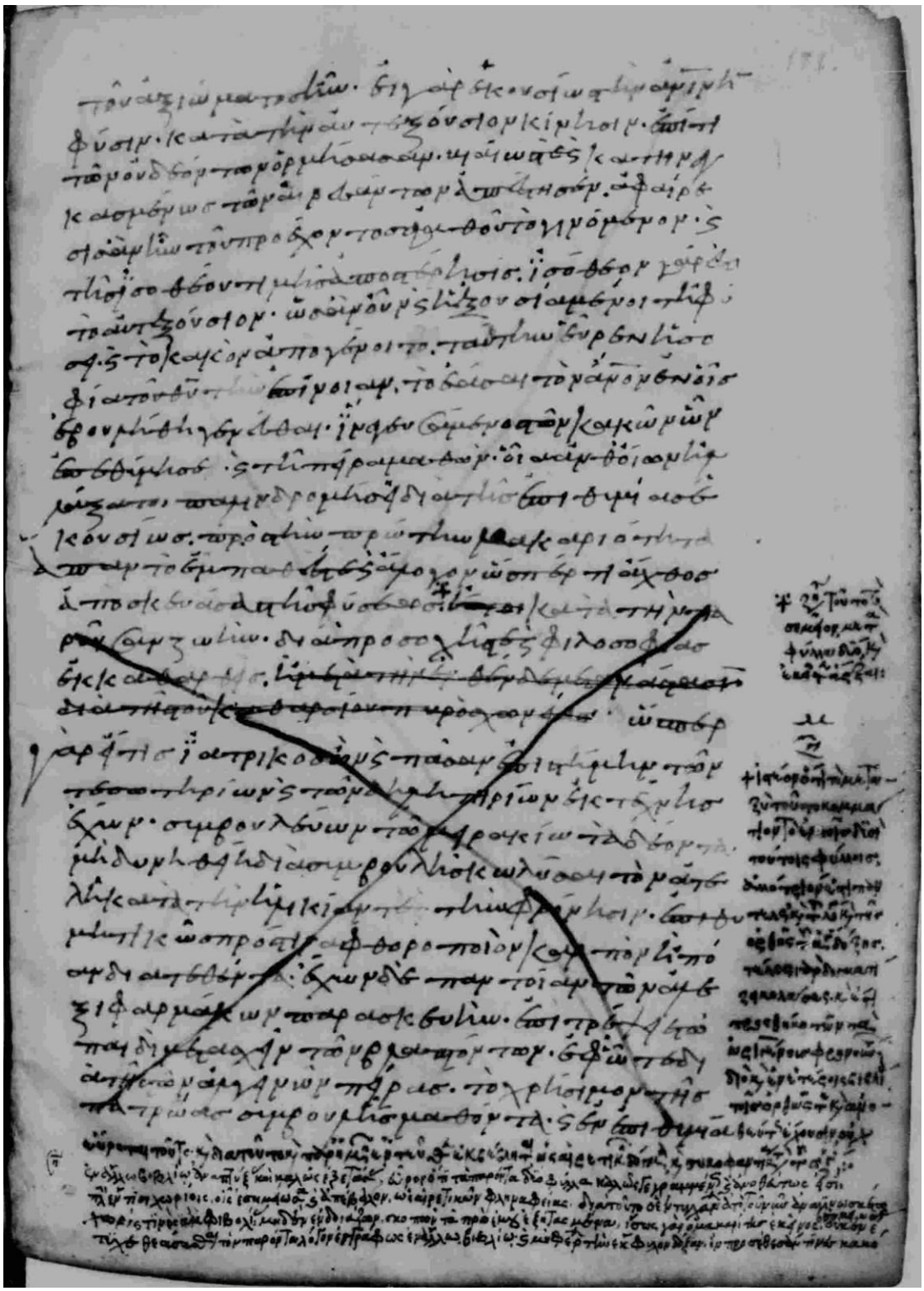

Plate 10
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, *Monacensis graecus* 466, f. 171r
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00003573-8

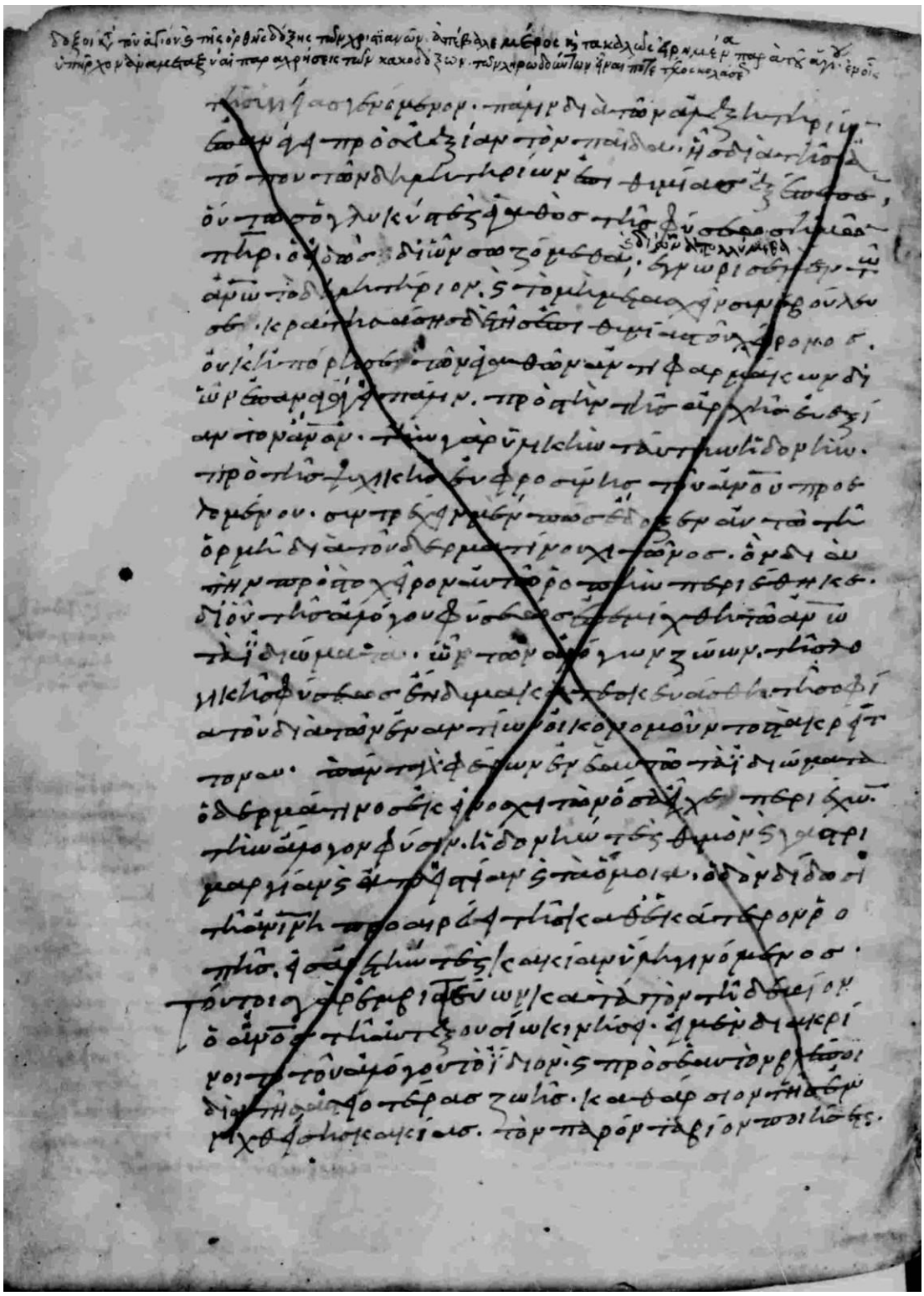

Plate 11
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, *Monacensis graecus* 466, f. 171v
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00003573-8

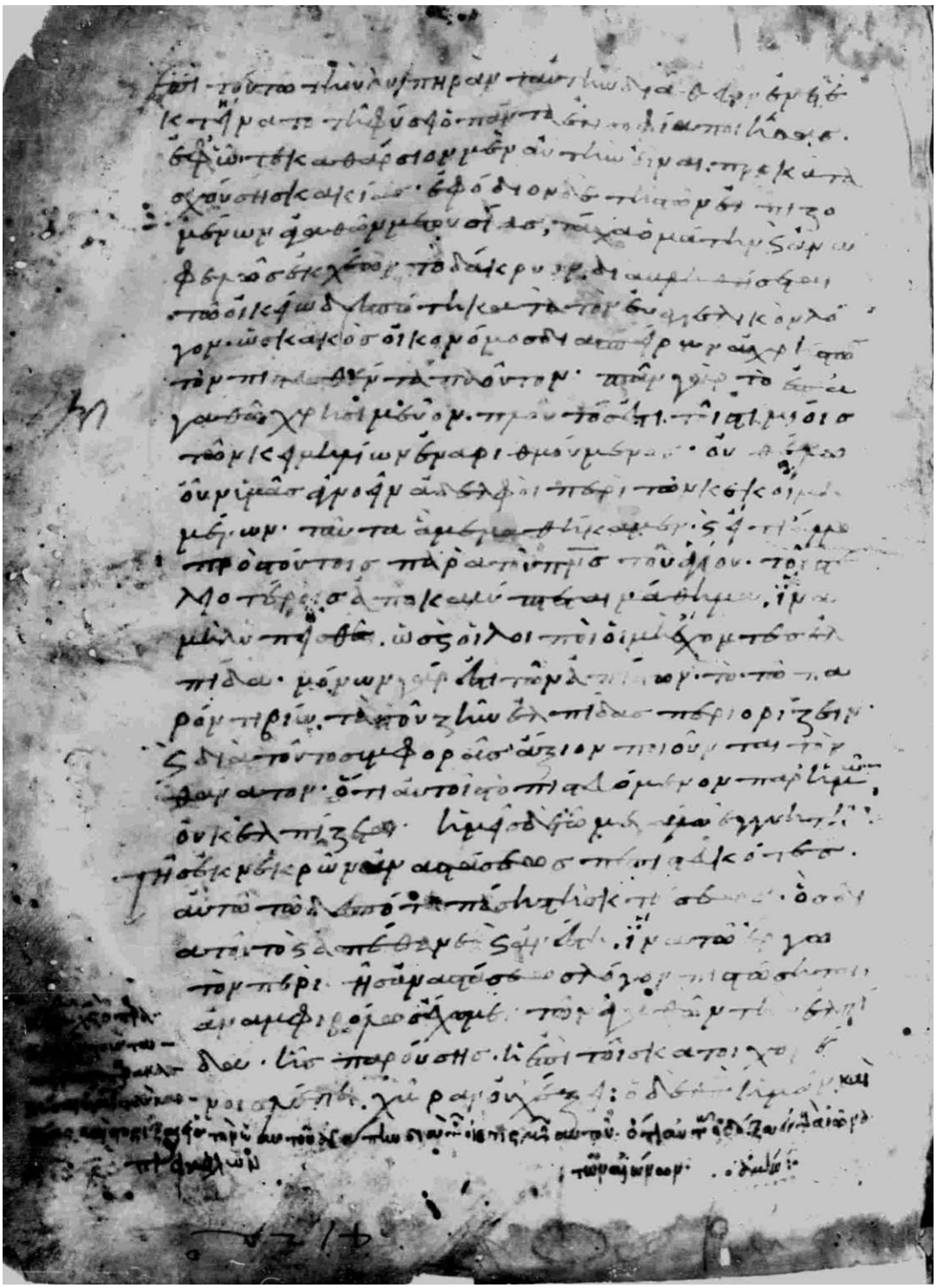

Plate 12
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, *Monacensis graecus* 466, f. 178v
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb000035